In Memory of

DR. C. H. FREEMAN

Professor of English, O.N.U.,

~~1910-19~~

1909-1952

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OUR PRESIDENTS AND THEIR OFFICES



OUR PRESIDENTS AND THEIR OFFICE

INCLUDING PARALLEL LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF SEVERAL CONTEMPORARIES, AND A HISTORY OF THE PRESIDENCY

BY

WILLIAM ESTABROOK CHANCELLOR

Author of "The United States: A History of Progress," and of other books

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY CHAMP CLARK

Speaker of the House of Representatives in Congress

"Tell the truth."—Grover Cleveland, Campaign Order, 1884



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To the Twelve Living but Unknown Presidential-elect of Destiny:
May you all be as brave as Washington, as good as either Adams meant
to be, as wise as Madison; and if so be the fate that befell
Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley befall you also, may
all America weep with an equal sorrow!

INTRODUCTION

THE PRESIDENT AS LEADER

By CHAMP CLARK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

AMERICAN HISTORY FOR AMERICANS

No man ever excelled Lord Bacon in expressing a great thought in a few words: he says, "History makes men wise." In addition to making men wise, history contributes largely to their pleasure; and the study of history, like the practice of charity, should begin at home. To us, George Washington is of more importance than all the Old World Captains together from Nimrod to Kitchener. Thomas Jefferson more nearly concerns us than all transatlantic statesmen from Lycurgus to Lloyd-George. Whether we voted for him or not, William Howard Taft, our President, is of more interest to us than all the crowned heads of earth.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PRESIDENCY

Sensible men will welcome "Our Presidents and Their Office" as a timely and valuable contribution to our literature. The Presidency of this Republic is the greatest political office known among men. Whether merit or geographical location, whether luck or accident has elevated them to that exalted office—and in the elections of most of them there was something of each and all—they and their careers are well worth study. Taken all in all, they will bear comparison favorably with any line of monarchs or statesmen that ever lived in any

age or country. They were all men of high character in this supreme station, of broad patriotism and of unimpeachable integrity. At least four of them wrote their names on the scanty lists of immortals. With graphic pen, the author of the present work analyzes their careers, gives the sources of their power and points out the reasons why they were chosen in preference to all their great contemporaries. With consummate skill, he uses their lives to illustrate the blessings of our free institutions. Perhaps the most notable of all the lessons displayed is that the greater Presidents stood for definite issues as leaders before their fellow countrymen. They were advocates of measures and policies. They were wise and courageous and loyal to principle as they understood the situations before them.

OURS A GOVERNMENT BY MAJORITIES

As a rule, our Presidents have been the leaders of men, and of the political thought of their respective parties; and ours is a government by parties, or perhaps, to speak more precisely, a government by majorities. As it has been, so it is now, and so let us hope, it always will be. Some of us may not wish it so to be, but the principle is fixed in the very nature of Americanism.

Consequently, an adequate discussion of the Presidents is really a history of the government of our country under the Constitution. The more that history is studied by our people, the better for us all. An intelligent democracy is the finest of all societies of men.

A STUDY OF INTENSE INTEREST

The study of the office itself and of its powers, apart from the personalities of the men who have held it, is one of intense

interest. This subject is treated by the author, who is a distinguished historian and educator, in a manner that both delights and instructs the reader—not only delights and instructs but also surprises him by demonstrating that the power attaching to the Presidency is greater than that of any constitutional monarch, and that it has been one of the forces that have lifted the United States of North America to preëminence and a prosperity unequalled to-day among the other nations of mankind. Our Fathers of the Constitution did no part of their work better than in the organization of this new and splendid office of Chief Executive representing, ruling and obeying all the people.

CHAMP CLARK.

Washington, D. C., December 18, 1911.
Speaker's Room.

PREFACE

The purposes of this work are several. Of these, the first is to recount, from the same point of view, as fully as the space permits, the life of each President. The second is to measure all the Presidents by uniform standards. The third is to show their relations to the main forces of American history. And the fourth is to show how the Presidency itself has developed since the days of the Constitution-makers.

If our Federal Republic were in the historical meaning of the term a "nation," our Senators would be elected at large by a vote throughout the country irrespective of States, and our Presidents likewise. Only the Supreme Court is national; and to the people it is the least satisfactory of our governmental devices. We may be integrating into a typical nation; but if so, the process is counter both to the spirit and letter of the Constitution and to the desires of all true democrats.

Wonder attaches to the careers of certain Presidents who seem to us "immortals of this earth." Their lives must be presented upon a different scale from those of the apparently lesser men of our highest office. Of this wonder, excellence of moral virtue is not the cause; nor is achievement. It does not ask the same facts of all great men. Perhaps it springs from a sense that here is a revelation of the essential nature of humanity; from each several man, a different revelation.

The historian seeks to tell the truth. With truth, we may win justice. But we are still too near even the first President to be able to say, "This is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth." Far less, may one say it of the Presidents of recent years.

It is becoming, therefore, to be chary of moral judgments respecting personal motives. A genial democracy warns us to respect the office always, and the person in the office within the limits of ascertained fact and of our own self-respect.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives, who has

kindly written the Introduction, is in no sense responsible for the details of the text of this work. He has in fact studied neither manuscript nor proof. He belongs, however, securely in the noble line of genuine democrats; and as such is in hearty accord with the main political propositions of this work.

If the opinions herein expressed differ widely from those of some readers who may have lived in one locality and have seen but little of public life, I can but cite for my views a quarter of a century of familiarity with politics, in and by which I have lived, and nearly half a century of migration, in which I have spent more than one year in each of nine States and have visited in every part of the Union. Politics, public office, travel and many changes of residence have made me a convinced decentralizationist and Jeffersonian democrat. And history seems to confirm this faith.

Presidents, Speakers, Chief Justices have worked and now work for whom? For us as well as themselves; for their own posterity and for ours. They are among our chief nation-builders.

W. E. C.

Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C.

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PART ONE

HISTORY OF THE PRESIDENCY

"Go put your creed into your deed,
Nor speak with double tongue."

—*Ralph Waldo Emerson, Concord Ode,* 1857.

Our Presidents and Their Office

CHAPTER I

The Road to the White House

Never the same road—Presidency and Chief Justiceship compared—an immortal list—the martyr-Presidents—the Presidency a web of fate—the influence of Franklin—and of others—the Jeffersonian dynasty—a revenge of fate—personal qualities of successful candidates—political opinions as to centralization and parochialism—previous official careers of Presidents—physical qualities of the Presidents—their temperaments and dispositions—there is no Presidential temperament—family status—wives of the Presidents—the meaning of a happy marriage—moral characters—the White House families—manners—births and deaths—occupations of parents—ages of Presidents in the office—their voting residences—youthful wealth or poverty—nearly all Presidents migratory in youth—later wealth—advantages of older children—small families and helpful parents—an early start in life—war records—scholarship of the Presidents—names of Presidents all agreeable—all Protestants—nearly all lawyers—party leaders few—plain men—mistakes that we have not made—two-term Presidents—future of the Presidency—popular requirements for the Presidency—the end of the road.

Never the Same Road.—In life's journey, twenty-six men since 1788 have found a stage at the home of the President of the people of the United States. Twelve or fifteen men now living in childhood, youth or manhood are upon the road to the White House. It has never been the same road for any two men. One man found it upon his life's journey at two different stages,—Grover Cleveland. Five men have died in the Presidency; and two soon after leaving it. The death-rate is one in four. The average President has for contemporaries two living former Presidents. The average man of

fifty-six years has an expectation of life of fourteen years. The average President lives but seven years after that age. Eight of the four-year tenants of the White House have been invited to take a second lease immediately after the first; but nearly all the others went out sorrowfully, some even with bitterness at heart. Polk was ill and did not care to remain, and Hayes was rich and likewise did not care. Of the twenty-two elected Presidents, only nine survivors have failed of re-election, and of these the ninth is still alive,—Roosevelt.

Presidency and Chief Justiceship Compared.—The Presidency of the people of the United States is commonly considered the most influential office of our government. Perhaps, the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court is the most powerful office of all; but the Presidency has the public eye and the public ear; and under our Constitution as now interpreted, is much more attentive and responsive to present public opinion.

Perhaps, if by custom Presidents were allowed to serve any number of terms, the office would rise to a dictatorship. And perhaps if by custom Chief Justices were expected to resign from the bench at the end of their second quadrennium, the office would sink to the European notion of the judiciary. Certainly such a changing court could not make itself a perpetual Constitutional Convention without referendum to the people. A President based his opinion of the primacy of his office upon the fact that he could appoint the Chief Justice, of course, "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," while he himself is the whole people's choice.

A Justice rested his case upon the statement that the Presidency is a kaleidoscope; every man in it is an amateur at the business, which it takes at least eight years simply to learn.

The pages of this history show that we do not yet know. Sovereignty here is not determined. We are a system of checks and balances, every officer watching every one else; and soon or late public opinion rules. When we don't like the kind of Justice and justice that we have, we wait for death, and then put another kind of man in, whence issues another kind of law. Similarly, we change our executive. And the *impasse* of checks and balances gives way to progress. We may yet find a better system; but so far this is the best in

human history. Sovereignty rests nowhere and everywhere in this nation. Such is American democracy.

Our Immortal List.—We have had eight Chief Justices of the United States.[1] Who knows their names? Millions can repeat the names of the twenty-six Presidents. The list is not less world-famous than that of the Roman Caesars, or that of British Sovereigns. Fortunately for the reputation of them all, it includes the names of several men whom any age and any land would be glad indeed to hold in high honor,—men of light and of leading, men of self-sacrifice and of ultimate heroism, men of notable talent and at least one man of positive genius of unique quality.

The Martyr-Presidents.—It is a list that has been glorified by the pitiful example of three martyrs, in each case men of singular amiability of character,—Abraham Lincoln, James Abram Garfield, and William McKinley.

These men were martyrs to public office, in each case modestly occupied. Their pitiful deaths made the Presidency of this Republic, in the deepest sense, sacred to all good citizens; which, however, should not absolve us from trying to make the office safer to occupy.[2]

The Presidency a Web of Fate.—The list of Presidents looks like a list, a line, a thread, until we come to know the history of the Presidency; and then we see that in truth we have before us cloth with warp, woof, and nap, a veritable, mysterious, fascinating web of Fate. In a sense, once given George Washington; and every other man was inevitable. In truth, again, we could not escape George Washington. In this sense, the whole of American history is a predetermined deliverance, that we may watch but may not control. We have seen a revolution due to universal manhood suffrage; we might also foresee another revolution due to equal suffrage. By 1850, the number of voters had multiplied and their quality had greatly declined, as Chancellor Kent so uselessly predicted in New York State. Irresistibly, woman suffrage is sweeping over the land. Some day, female Jacksons and William Henry Harrisons may occupy the White House. The age of majority may yet be reduced to eighteen years.

[1] See Appendix III.

[2] See pp. 66, 525, 531.

THEY MADE WORK FOR ONE ANOTHER.—Too little attention has been given to the decisive importance of individuals in the Presidency. Polk provoked a war with Mexico, Tyler had prevented a third war with England, McKinley annexed the Philippines, Cleveland refused to annex even little Hawaii. Jackson and Grant were spoilsmen; Cleveland and his successors civil service reformers. A hundred pages might be filled with these contrasts specifically set forth.

FOUR GREAT MEN PRIOR TO 1789.—But history does not deal with imaginary alternative courses save to lighten a perhaps monotonous narrative. It is clearly within the field of history to inquire into the causes whereby men rose to power. To a clear understanding of American history, it is necessary to see that between the call to arms in 1775 and the establishment of the new Constitution, four men were virtually the Presidency of the United States. They were not individually Presidents, but in combination they operated somewhat as a President operates. These four men were Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, John Hancock, and Benjamin Franklin. With them but one other needs to be mentioned, the field commander George Washington.

THE INFLUENCE OF FRANKLIN.—By far the ablest of these men was Benjamin Franklin. He had printing establishments in ten cities, including the West Indies. He ran the postoffice, was colonial agent abroad, wrote inspiring articles, hated war, and financed Braddock's expedition. Here is the true tap root of our national history. It lies in the genius of Benjamin Franklin, to whom the word "genius" applies more aptly and fully than to any other American.

No Braddock and Braddock's defeat, probably no George Washington, popular hero; no war-hero, no general revolutionary war. But for Franklin, Braddock would have given up the attack upon Fort Duquesne. It was not only his ingenuity that put the expedition on its feet; it was his money also. And Franklin had made all that money. Unlike Washington, he had not inherited or married a dollar. Not only intellectually but also morally, he was the superior of Washington. He had no love of money, no secrecy of his sins, and no vanity.

To specify another instance: But for Franklin, we could never have won Yorktown. No Yorktown surrender, no ter-

mination of that war. It came at the "nick of time," a finer phrase than "psychological moment"; and Rockingham let the people go. Franklin did not fight; but though very old, he crossed the dangerous ocean many times and risked capture often.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF PATRICK HENRY.—With the war-hero made at Braddock's defeat, Patrick Henry could declaim with terrible passion and splendid eloquence, "Let us fight!" He liked Washington even less than Franklin did; but he knew that the big, hot-headed, proud man was glad to fight.

THE SKILL OF SAM ADAMS.—Up North, an abler man than Henry was doing the same work of arousing the people, —old Samuel Adams, master of Boston town-meeting. He got a Continental Congress together, maneuvered it into a fighting mood, persuaded it to adopt the fourteen thousand Yankees around Boston as a Continental Army, and to appoint Washington as its head. Washington could never have done this himself. He had no political adroitness and no gift of speech. He could do three or four things,—coin the labor and sweat of slaves into money; write letters and keep accounts; fight; and look the hero in clothes that advertised him.

THE HANDLING OF HANCOCK.—With John Adams's help, Sam Adams made Washington commander-in-chief. No army command for Washington, small chance of the Presidency of a new nation. The two Adamses had to go at this thing hypocritically and deceitfully. Their patron and money-bag, John Hancock, wished to be commander-in-chief himself. They worked him off into President of the Congress, which he did not like. Hancock and Washington had the money and the pride and the two big offices; Henry and Samuel Adams aroused the people.

GIVE PLACE TO WASHINGTON.—Given Washington, his health, courage, and other military qualities; given his final success; and he comes into the Presidency of the Federal Convention in 1787 with apparent inevitableness. Behind the appearance is the intelligence of Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia, who might have been President instead. Washington was master of the Alexandria lodge of Masons. Therefore, they made the Federal Convention as secret as the grave. Of course, the President of this Convention must be the first President of the people of the United States. Orators and

philosophers and statesmen and rich merchants and even town-meeting politicians must stand aside. Washington had enough of the desiderata. They paid off all his debts as general, so that he might live securely and ostentatiously. Wealth, hero-worship at home, fame abroad, pride, and at last self-control made him President. Upon this fact, all American national history turns.

The Washington pyramid bases upon four corners,—Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Franklin,—upon agreements and discords and rivalries.

John Adams had helped to make Washington President as well as Commander-in-chief. He supported the President as Senator-at-large, such being his conception of the Vice-Presidency. In return, Washington made Adams his successor.

The Jeffersonian Dynasty.—But there is another thread in this fate. Another Virginian who loved neither Henry nor Washington had played his part in destiny,—Thomas Jefferson. He felt that the Declaration written by him made him the greatest of all Americans. In the terrible war, he had lost his wife and all but two of his children, his cash, even his reputation at home, for he was insolvent. Still, Washington sent him abroad and made him famous. This Thomas Jefferson envied Washington's wealth, his fame, his magnificent person, his powers. He had seen the increase of his neighbor, and was bitter of heart. He despised Hamilton, Washington's right-hand man. Out of all this grew the Republican party, the anti-Federalists, the haters of the more or less mythical "monocrats." Jefferson was suave, adroit, plausible. He throve as the opposition, and landed in the Presidency by one vote. In making Adams his heir, Washington had made a mistake. He had made the government unpopular. But every student of American history clearly understands that if Washington had not died in 1799, Jefferson would not have become President in 1801. Moreover, though Jefferson wrote the Declaration, Sam and John Adams put it through Congress. In more ways than one, Jefferson was himself the product of Washington and the two Adams. And he had caught something of the benignant manner of Benjamin Franklin and something of the fiery rhetoric of Patrick Henry.

So far, the web of this cloth is complete. No Adams, no

General and President Washington. No President Washington, no President John Adams. No President Washington, no Jefferson minister to France and leader of the opposition from hatred of pro-British Hamilton, agent in Philadelphia of New York bankers and speculators. No President Adams, tactless and strong, no room for a tactful President Jefferson. And with Washington alive, no room for Jefferson in the Presidency, even so! Washington died at a too early age,—we might call it "providential" for Jefferson.

The web of the cloth of Presidential fate grows now longer and wider. The certainty of it grows clearer. Washington, the Adamses, Franklin forced the Constitutional Convention. And this Convention brought into play the unique powers of a comparatively young man,—James Madison. Unlike most of his compatriots, Madison had learning and learned friends. Among them was Pelatiah Webster of Philadelphia who had written a deal about what the Federal Government should be. Result:—Madison put through a good Constitution. He was the peaceful, quiet star of that recent association over which Washington presided. Madison owed his Presidency to just three facts,—first, that Washington was dead, for the General had no interest in these frail scholarly men; second, his prominence in the Federal Convention; third, a personal and political friendship with Thomas Jefferson, who made him his Secretary of State and his heir, when it was supposed that the Vice-President would always be the heir. If Thomas Jefferson had formed an affection for Aaron Burr, how different history would have been!

Monroe had been a lieutenant under Washington and did not like him. This was a bond of sympathy between Jefferson, Madison and himself. Monroe was ardent and affectionate. This pleased Jefferson. He had defeated Madison for Congress, and then circumstances had brought them together. The mission to France had turned him against Washington and John Adams. Madison made Monroe Secretary of State, with the cordial approbation of Jefferson, who saw with delight a pro-Gallican foreign minister in office. Certainly but for Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, Monroe would never have been Secretary of State. In the "War of 1812," he was Secretary of War also, and alone of Americans in prominent office in Washington, acquitted himself creditably. To make

him President was not merely easy: it was inevitable. The Virginia dynasty was still the traditional notion. Virginia was very near the city of Washington.

J. Q. Adams.—Monroe took John Quincy Adams to be Secretary of State. Why? Years and years ago, George Washington had said that the son of John Adams would make a shining mark in the upper world of diplomacy and of government. Such praise by Washington in his older years was rare. And then Adams had left the Federalists to become a Democrat upon conviction and in the face of his constituency. This literally "made" J. Q. Adams. A real diplomat, one of the best we have ever had, the Secretaryship of State belonged to him. The glory of the Monroe administration was the Monroe Doctrine,—Adams wrote it out. He must be President. Old John Adams, his father, said so; Thomas Jefferson said so. Madison and Monroe agreed. And J. Q. Adams was made President.

The Radical Comes In.—All this is comparatively easy. It is harder to trace the causes set in operation by these six Presidents that made Andrew Jackson the revolutionist President. And yet these men made him such as truly as they made their other successors. If there had been no "War of 1812," there would have been no battle of New Orleans, and probably if there had been no battle of New Orleans, there would have been no call for Andrew Jackson to be President. But for Madison and Monroe, there would have been no "War" and no battle, at least of the half-guerrilla kind actually fought.

Jackson was mightily aggrieved against the government at Washington. Personally, he didn't like its manners and style. He had been Senator twice and had resigned twice. But he had been a soldier also, and the government had not treated him well. He had been even fined a thousand dollars for contempt of court. He felt outraged by his treatment. But the battle made him famous, and J. Q. Adams gave a glorious ball in his honor, the finest yet held in Washington. This made Jackson respectable Presidential timber. Jackson was a relentless hunter. He had stolen a wife from a husband in whose house he was lodging; he now undertook to steal the Presidency from the man who had once barely defeated him and who had then bestowed upon him signal honor.

With country-wide hunting, he took his prey. Jackson made "little Van" his Secretary of State and minister to England. His enemies forced Van Buren's return. Then Jackson made him President.

HARRISON AND TYLER.—After Van Buren came Harrison. Former Presidents had commissioned him Major-General and Governor of Indiana and Minister to Columbia, whence Jackson had removed him. Washington was a war-hero and therefore became President. Jackson was a war-hero and therefore became President. Ergo, "Old Tip" Harrison must be President. The General who had won the battle of Tippecanoe River must have his reward. The making of this cloth of fate is moving forward.

As to Tyler, he was never elected President and does not concern this argument.

POLK AND HIS PUNISHMENT.—Next came Polk, political manager for Jackson in Tennessee and Speaker of the House, working for the Jackson-Van Buren machine. "The Hermitage" spoke, and the voice of the dying "Old Hero" made Polk President.

Polk made Taylor President. He appointed him Major-General of the army of invasion. When he won Buena Vista and was forced by Polk to resign, the people remembered the political "outrages" of the past and yelled for "Old Rough and Ready." The outrages were the bad treatment by the government of Jackson; the refusal of the Senate to confirm Van Buren as Minister to England; and the recall of W. H. Harrison from Colombia. Washington, Jackson, Harrison, war-heroes, were made President; therefore, Taylor shall be President, and he was. Taylor was the revenge of fate upon Polk for the Mexican War.

Fillmore was never elected President.

TWO TACTFUL MEN.—Polk had picked up Pierce as a private in the Mexican War and had made him Brigadier-General. He had been hurt at Buena Vista. Surely, but for Polk and Taylor, both dead, Pierce would never have been thought of for President. It has been said that Nathaniel Hawthorne made Pierce President. Very possibly. Jackson made Hawthorne *charge d'affaires* in London; and this gave him political experience and close acquaintance with Martin Van Buren. Hence, the biography had weight.

If Polk had not made the Mexican War, Pierce would never have lived in the White House, unless as a minor employe.

Then came Buchanan, who had been Secretary of State under Polk and who by President's appointment, had held so many diplomatic posts that when the supply of war-heroes gave out, he was almost an inevitable President.

It has been no part of the purpose of this review to show that inferior men have been manipulated into the Presidency; but that whatever kind they have been, they have gone in from definite personal causes, relations and conditions. The history of the Presidency is not a succession of steps, but a series of links in a chain,—a hidden fate.

How, then, came Lincoln?

The Lincoln Revolution.—The people were tired of bureaucrats in 1828 and elected Jackson; they were tired of habitual office-holding politicians and elected Lincoln. Both Jackson and Lincoln were symptoms and, in a measure, evidences of reaction. Lincoln himself was in politics, deep in politics. Jackson, another revolutionist President, had worked for the Presidency in order to get full, sweet, and perfect personal revenge upon his enemies.

But in what way were his predecessors responsible for Lincoln? First, by his "Spot Resolutions" in Congress against the Mexican War, Lincoln came to be a national figure. Polk gave him this opportunity.

Buchanan helped Lincoln against Douglas. Lincoln got the majority vote, though he lost the Senatorship. With that majority vote, Illinois came into consideration as a field from which to choose a Presidential candidate. Buchanan hoped to keep Douglas out of the Presidency; and he won. This gave Lincoln room. Jackson made Taney Chief Justice. Taney gave the Dred Scott decision. The decision gave Lincoln his argument

Johnson was never elected President.

Grant Accounted For.—Against all his military and political advisers, Lincoln kept Grant in the army and steadily promoted him. Vicksburg and Appomattox made Grant President.

No Lincoln, no Grant as General of the Army in the days of himself and of Johnson. The latter put Grant into the

brightest of the political limelight by taking him on political tours, and otherwise.

More Generals.—Lincoln had promoted Hayes in the Army; and in Ohio politics and again upon the floors of Congress, Hayes had been a Grant supporter. If there had been no War between the States, Hayes would never have been heard of even in Ohio politics. The election of Lincoln occasioned the Civil War. His debate with Douglas was a potent factor in causing that war. No Civil War, no Lincoln or Grant and, therefore, no Hayes, for his army record was half the political power of R. B. Hayes. The rest was his money and good nature. He was honored in Ohio; and the Republicans needed Ohio.

The case of Garfield is much like that of Hayes, with the added factor that Hayes was grateful to Garfield for his Electoral Commission work. Partisans are not always ungrateful. Besides, by attacking Lincoln, Garfield had early made himself notorious.

Arthur is not in the record. But Hayes, by putting him out of the Collectorship of the Port of New York, made him Vice-President.

The Cleveland Reaction.—Cleveland was made by Arthur and Garfield and Hayes and Grant. The people had to take him instead of Folger for Governor of New York when Arthur ran him;[1] and that Cleveland landslide put him all the way across into the Presidency.

Benjamin Harrison as United States Senator fought Cleveland. This fact and his grandfather William Henry Harrison and his war record made him President.

Now comes McKinley. Who discovered and made him? Cleveland by fighting the protective tariff. And Hayes of Ohio assisted in bringing McKinley forward as the champion of the protected interests.

That McKinley made Roosevelt, and Roosevelt Taft are commonplaces.

Let him who would be President hasten to be public friend or public enemy of the President that now is in office!

Personal Qualities of Successful Candidates.—What is the first personal requirement for the high office? "Personal magnetism" is not the correct answer. The "magnetic"

[1]See p. 534, *infra.*

James G. Blaine, a delightful man to know, went down before the brusque Cleveland. The yet more popular Henry Clay was defeated each several time that he ran. William Jennings Bryan is certainly a more eloquent speaker than either of the two men who have defeated him,—McKinley and Taft.

Political Opinions as to Centralization or Localization of Governmental Functions.—The political opinions of candidates have not had much to do with their success. There has always been one main issue,—for centralization or against. Shall we be a nation or a federation? In the negative, this has meant that the centralizationists were nationalists, the decentralizationists were State's rights men. Some Presidents really had no political opinions; they did not understand, or they did not care. It has been the irony of fate that some decentralizationists were forced into many centralizationist acts,—conspicuously Lincoln, who at heart was a localist, a parochial, though, of course, not a divisionist.

Washington did not comprehend the issue, but in action was a centralizationist. The lists are as follows, viz.:

Centralizationists.	*Undecided and wavering.*	*Localists.*
Washington	Jackson	Jefferson
J. Adams	J. Q. Adams	Madison
W. H. Harrison	Lincoln.	Monroe
Polk		Van Buren
Taylor		Tyler
Grant		Fillmore
Hayes		Pierce
Garfield		Buchanan
Arthur		Johnson
B. Harrison		Cleveland
McKinley		
Roosevelt		
Taft		

Opinions on Questions in Issue.—It is, of course, not true that the opinions of a Presidential candidate upon political issues do not influence, even at times determine, his success. But American democracy is experimenting upon many matters,—tariff, currency, banking, corporations, transportation,—and tries now one policy, now its opposite. A

candidate is up to find out which the people intend to do. He cannot foreknow. If he could, he would either espouse the winning side or withdraw from this campaign, perhaps to try another after longer public agitation. In this sense, it makes no difference what are the political principles or what is the party of the candidate. In an opposite sense, he is put up because he believes or is believed to believe in certain policies.

So far as the Presidency is concerned, this is the sole significance of the party platform,—that it formulates the belief of the party as to what is the belief and will be the action of the man if elected.

In consequence, of this series of situations, known as Presidential elections, the views of a man respecting government and politics are not vital to his success. One side is as likely to win as another. We zigzag toward some unknown destiny. Our politicians proper pick principles and policies, as well as men, to win,—to win power through government.

And yet in order to keep before the people, win or lose, from decade to decade, let the man who intends first to be a power in the land be the advocate of a few principles,—the fewer the better; if possible, one until it wins. The spokesman for a principle or for principles may become a statesman. In truth, the main difference between great men and lesser is that a few ideas control the former while the lesser pick-and-choose, vacillate, and hesitate among many ideas. But for their surrender to worth-while ideas, most great men would appear as mediocre as most men are. Perhaps knowing a great idea when it comes by is greatness.

The Vice-Presidential Candidates.—Not only have the American people failed to choose Vice-Presidential candidates with a view to a chance of one in four of succession by death, natural or violent; but we have also failed adequately to consider whether or not the running-mate will help the ticket. There is not the slightest doubt that often the Vice-Presidential candidates have hurt the Presidential. Doing away with the Electoral College choice has put us into the predicament of electing pairs of officers, not a single officer. To illustrate from recent history, the Democratic party has nominated W. J. Bryan three times,—his associates were Arthur Sewall of Maine, of whom no one had ever heard, Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, who as Vice-President had been regarded

as inconsequential in the days of Cleveland, and John W. Kern of Indiana, suspected of being the pleasant tool of a boss. There was not a strong candidate among them. In a hundred and twenty-three years of our history, we have not had twenty wisely chosen Vice-Presidential candidates,—not twenty who if seated by the decease of the President or by later election would have been average Presidents, not twenty whom the voters were glad to honor. Usually, they have had a Hobson's choice, as in 1904 a H. G. Davis against a C. W. Fairbanks, or in 1908 a J. W. Kern against a J. S. Sherman, all then national nonentities.

Here is a chance for the wiser party to decline taking a deadweight (or perniciously liveweight) candidate and to run a ticket without handicap probably against a badly handicapped opposition.

Early Services of the Presidents.—The Presidents usually come from wide experiences, though not often of national prominence. These experiences may be classified as follows, viz.:

United States Senator	12
International Diplomat	8
Cabinet Secretary	8
State Governor	13
Army General	8
Congressman	20
Judge	4
Large personal business affairs	5
Average number of important prior experiences	3

No man ever reached the Presidency without at least one of these kinds of position in his career. Most Presidents had several, as their biographies show.

Those with the greatest variety of official experience were: J. Adams, Monroe, Jackson, Van Buren, W. H. Harrison, and B. Harrison.

Those with the least variety were: Washington, Madison, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, Garfield, Arthur, and Cleveland.

But when we add experience in business and in general life

and consider depth and intensity of experience, how the lists change! Our tables do not show the relative values of these experiences. Let no man doubt that in true life-experiences prior to the Presidency Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson rank at or near the head of the list.

Of all these offices, the State Governorship appears the most valuable as a preparation. Next to this, service as Representative in Congress.

Were official experience in nature and in amount alone to be considered, probably these men would have proven failures: Washington, Jackson, Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce, Lincoln, Grant, Johnson, Garfield, and Arthur.

And even Buchanan would have proven a great success.

That it greatly helps to have held some office in Washington is clear upon the face of the record; the voters get the habit of thinking of the man as belonging in Washington. That twenty of the twenty-six Presidents should have served as Congressmen tells it own story. Life there creates in some the desire to live in the White House. Excepting Cleveland only, every President had some official business in Washington for years before his election.

Physical Qualities of the Presidents.—Like Saul, some of these men stood head and shoulders above all the people. A dozen of them were either six feet or more in stature or above two hundred and twenty-five pounds in weight, or both. Several, however, were of frail and slight physique. The largest of them all is the President of the present quadrennium, six feet and more in height and three hundred pounds and more in weight. Next to him comes Grover Cleveland. But there has been no tendency upward in height and weight, for among the very small men came Benjamin Harrison, sandwiched in between the two terms of Cleveland. At the beginning of the list stands the man who probably in sheer muscle was the strongest of all, the superb Washington, six feet two and a half inches in his stocking-feet, weighing over two hundred pounds. He could ride one horse after another all day long, day after day. It is gravely recorded that he threw a Spanish silver dollar across the tidewaters of the wide Rappahannock. In the prints of the day, he was pictured as a mighty athlete, stripped for boxing and weight-throwing. His running jump was twenty-two feet. In his youth, he could dance

all night. As the years passed, he became valiant at the dinner-table, often eating and drinking for three or four hours with his guests.

Both the Adamses were good swimmers, but of other athletic prowess little is reported. They were small, stout men. For one who was thin and over six feet tall, Jefferson was a good horseman. Madison was a small, slight man, never strong. Monroe was scarcely his superior. Jackson always had poor health but marvelous endurance. He sat his saddle well. He was of middle height but slender. His bones were heavy. The bullet of Dickinson in a duel splintered against his ribs. Van Buren was a short, stout man, disinclined to exercise. W. H. Harrison was vigorous, six feet, and an out-door athlete. Tyler was a quiet gentleman of good height and strength, but though a planter, not interested in sports or any other physical exercise. Polk was like Madison and Monroe.

Taylor was a large, strong man, not so tall as Harrison but heavier, and an out-door athlete. By disposition, Fillmore was another Van Buren, though above six feet tall, but as indifferent to physical exercise. Pierce, the lawyer, was like Tyler. Buchanan was large and tall but an indoors man of sedentary habits. Lincoln was six feet four inches in height, but weighed only one hundred and seventy-five pounds. He had strength to work and to fight in his youth; as President, however, he took but little exercise and was in poor health. Johnson was of good size and weight but cared nothing for exercise. Grant, who was small and heavy, was a good horseman but seldom rode for pleasure. Hayes was a large, cheerful, healthy man who enjoyed life but cared nothing for physical exertion. Garfield was more active. Arthur was like Van Buren, Fillmore, and Buchanan, though not so tall as the last. Cleveland went fishing, which is good for the lungs because of the out-door air; he was tall and very heavy. Harrison was small and stout but in no sense an athlete or sportsman. McKinley was of medium height and weight, and sedentary. Roosevelt weighed above two hundred and twenty-five, rode horseback, played tennis, went hunting,—an inharmonious combination of Washington, Jackson, Harrison, Taylor,—an all-around athlete, first-class at nothing but ambitious in everything in the way of bodily exercise, essentially vigorous. Taft plays

golf because he likes the game and works in a gymnasium mornings to keep down his weight.

The review suggests that size, weight, strength and activity have had little or nothing to do with securing the Presidency or with succeeding in it.

Temperaments and Dispositions of the Presidents.—To mention "temperament" is at once to bring before the mind the men who most exhibited what is popularly meant by that term,—a natural character uncorrected by experience. We think at once of Jackson, the explosive and terrible when provoked, otherwise gentle and agreeable; of Roosevelt, explosive and voluble and indefatigable; of Washington, silent, dignified and, it is said, "stately"; of Grant, the imperturbable.

When a man reaches the Presidency, usually his natural temperament is so overlaid with habits, so suffused with aspirations, so calmed by trials, as not always to be easily discernable. Half the Presidents were already touched by senescence, which soon destroys the motor-temperaments and indicates falsely the reflectiveness of other temperaments. And yet nearly all Presidents were naturally of the motor-temperaments,—muscular, sinewy or nervous. Such temperaments are by no means essential to success as President, but they are almost essential to success in seeking the Presidency. Therefore, the war-heroes win. Such men as the Adamses, Madison, Cleveland, and Taft did not seek the office in the fashion of the warriors.

For industrial and commercial success, the motor-temperaments are essential. Merchants, manufacturers, farmers, mechanics, miners, seafarers admire the man who "goes," the man who "does," because he is like themselves. Yet statesmanship is not going and doing.

The Presidency is by no means solely an executive function. Strong driving power is not the temperamental necessity. In selecting Justices, Secretaries, diplomats, and the subordinates of importance, judgment is all-essential. The doer is seldom a good observer and critic. The Presidency is also a legislative function; and legislation requires study, contemplation, reasoning.

Men of every variety of temperament have been President, —the anaemic sedentary Madison, the sanguine sedentary

Adamses, the corpulent sedentary Cleveland, the muscular-motor Taylor, the nervous-motor Jackson, the sinewy-motor Lincoln. Whatever be a man's native temperament, until corrected, he looks upon the qualities of others as faults or even vices. No educated or socially experienced man permits himself to manifest crudely his natural qualities.

Temperament may be otherwise stated,—as voluntary, reflex or critical in action. The first is childish, the second machine-like, the third, considerate but sometimes dilatory. Tyler illustrates the first, being inconsistent yet active; Polk the second, being a driver but inconsiderate; and Taft the last, perfectly. The voluntary are victims of "bright ideas" and whims; the second, of habits of thinking and doing; the last, of over-caution and of dispassionateness to inaction, even indifference. By its quality, every temperament tends to destroy the individual. But no man has reached the Presidency with an uncorrected temperament. What he has had has been a disposition founded upon and rounded out from his native temperament. For this reason, the common talk in Washington of "a Presidential temperament" is beside the mark. There is no such thing. If there were, it would be a muscular-motor temperament calculated to win the nomination and election; and thereafter to wreck the office and the nation. The desideratum is any temperament duly disciplined by experience and chastened by affliction into something else.

Family Status.—Our standard of sex-morals for men has slowly changed since 1789. We know but little accurately of the earlier Presidents respecting their relations with women. But it is well to pause before condemning any man and to recall that Moses, who wrote the Ten Commandments, including the fifth, had at one time two regular wives and that he authorized husbands to divorce their wives with bills of writing—no trial in court being necessary. If we can give clean bills of health to nearly all Presidents upon this score, we may properly felicitate the nation; the record is unique in history. No hereditary dynasty ever had a series of monarchs with clean scores; or ever will have.

Wives of the Presidents.—We know too little of the mothers and fathers, of the grandmothers and grandfathers of the Presidents. We know also too little of their wives. And yet what we do know is important. For one item,—the

Harrisons, Garfield and Cleveland were near kin. Of course, the Adamses were father and son.

George Washington married one of the wealthiest women in America. Without her cash, he could never have financed himself as the unpaid commander of a rebellion that at times degenerated into guerrilla warfare. Even as a war-hero, without her funds, he might not have reached the Presidency in an age when wealth counted relatively far more than it does to-day. The common taunt of his enemies that "the Widow Custis saved him from being a common planter" had its bitterness in its relative truth. Still, Washington had the judgment to select her and the personal charm to win her; and deserves credit accordingly. Martha Dandridge Custis was an essential factor in his success.

Abigail Smith took an ordinary parsimonious Massachusetts grammar school teacher turned lawyer, getting fees with equal greed from Tory and Patriot alike, an irascible, conceited, industrious self-seeker, and converted him to public uses. She made him President, and gave to him a son who also became President under similarly competent training. She was a Quincy; and a proud race may well be proud of this their greatest scion.

On the other hand, if the first wife of Patrick Henry had not died, and if the second wife had not been so domestic that she would not let him out of her sight, he might easily have risen to so great a political figure as to have been President instead of Washington, for he was far more popular in the South. One tour of Henry into the North in 1787 might have changed all later American political history, for he was always the first orator of his times. Their wives,—the dispositions and health of four women,—largely determined the destinies of three men,—and, therefore, of this nation.

The whole later situation is similarly well worth consideration. The death of the wife of Thomas Jefferson in the middle of his career created widespread sympathy for him, and his continuing widowerhood gave him time for political activities. Madison's wife made his home socially popular. Monroe's wife belonged to a fine Northern family. Perhaps the career of J. Q. Adams was less affected by his wife than that of any earlier President, but the social prestige of her Maryland family helped even a President's son.

The case of Andrew Jackson is of absorbing interest. He offended not only the proprieties but also decency and sound morals by capturing a wife's vagrant fancy. This reckless exploit fascinated all the Western country. Over it, Jackson fought a duel. Throughout his lifetime, it made him a cause of endless fireside, country-store and pulpit discussion. Without a single really obvious qualification for the Presidency, Jackson owed his election to this marriage, to the battle of New Orleans, and to his own measureless egotism. And then to the world's astonishment, he made a fairly good President.

Van Buren was a widower with grown sons and much of a social lion among ladies; but it does not appear that his marriage affected his career. This is equally true of the patriarchal William Henry Harrison. But the complete change in the political skill of Tyler, following the death of his first wife, and his prompt second marriage suggest the question as to whether or not the wife of his youth was not the real political director of his earlier successes.

As for Polk, it was the money of Sarah Childress that gave him the means to work freely in politics; and it was her social grace that made his home a power in Washington. Taylor always said that his wife was the cause of all his achievements. She went upon all his military campaigns with him and was the financier. The attractive wife of Fillmore was well connected. She came of that Leland family which was said to have more blood-relatives than any other in America. An influence of this kind certainly could not have delayed her husband's progress. The wife of Pierce was a charming and brilliant lady.

The case of Buchanan, the bachelor, stands out unique. His betrothed died, and he remained faithful to her memory. Does this explain in part at least his absorption in politics and at the same time the social favor always accorded to him? In every aspect of private morals, no better man was ever President.

Mary Todd married Abraham Lincoln,—persuaded him to marry herself, to put it accurately,—in order to make him President. She said so herself, said that he was the smartest man she knew and certain to be the most popular. She always talked to him and about him on the assumption that he would be President. That kind of home atmosphere is con-

tagious. She herself was a clever woman, though not an agreeable one.

Grant had a good wife. Without her, he would probably have died a drunkard before 1861. Bessie McCardle taught Johnson nearly all that he ever really knew and was the good genius of his life. Hayes was well married to a lady of property. Arthur was a widower, a club man, a man-about-town, a man's man. Obviously, Cleveland's relations with women had nothing to recommend him to decent men for the first term in the Presidency. He arrived with apparently the worst handicap an able man can have. Benjamin Harrison was well married. That the influence upon McKinley of his beautiful semi-invalid wife was wholly for good because she herself was highly intelligent and thoroughly good, everyone knows or should know. She did not actively promote his progress, but she made him personally gracious and therefore popular; and having lost her children, she had time to give to him her woman's view of his problems.

Each of the wives of Theodore Roosevelt was wealthy, well-born and a social favorite. The wife of William Howard Taft has always been a political-minded, ambitious woman, like himself, with enormously rich relatives.

The Limited Meaning of a Happy Marriage.—Over against this record should be set that of the wives of other men who sought but did not attain the Presidency. Superlative merit in a wife is no essential for reaching that height. A good wife, a rich wife, a stolen wife, a well-born wife, an able wife, the memory of such a wife, the loss of one betrothed,—not one feature is essential. But it helps a man greatly that in his career with reference to women there should be something distinctive; either good that makes good women and good men think well of him or bad that makes him so prominent as to cause his good or great other qualities to be clearly seen. For political purposes, in a world of good and evil, it is quite possible that the record of Grover Cleveland actually forwarded his interests, not because men, even bad men, approved the record, but because against such blackness the white qualities of the man shone brilliantly. How great a name might such a man have had—if! if, early in his manhood, he had seen and recognized such a helpmeet as the wife who at last came into his life!

Of not one man can we say that whatever his experience with women, he would certainly have been President; yet of nearly every one, we must report that his good or evil fortune in respect to women was nearly or quite decisive in shaping his career. And it is altogether well that this is so, for the President is over all the people,—the women and the children as well as the men, over the homes as well as the factories, stores, mines, and farms.

Moral Characters.—The shameful thing is not that men in some respects not clean are called to the Presidency, but that once there, by a conspiracy of silence regarding their sins, they are held up hypocritically as ideals, even as idols, for a nation's unreserved worship. Final history is not so written. Truth has a way of coming to its own. Even "charity rejoices in the truth."

One who conceals the truth soon comes not to care for it; and one who does not care for the truth soon loses interest even in his beliefs. And one who is not earnest in his beliefs must lose not only his intelligence but also his character. Truth-seeking and truth-speaking are the price of self-respect.

The White House Families.—Almost every President has had children. Candid history has not diligently inquired into the lives of all the Presidents; but if in any measure in the absence of positive information, rumors and traditions are to be heeded, only Polk and Buchanan were really childless when first elected to the Presidency. The bachelor does not get near to men's hearts. Cleveland's frank acknowledgment, "Tell the truth," gained rather than lost votes.

Most of the Presidents had happy family households. J. Adams and his son had wives and children and grandchildren. Jefferson had two grown daughters. Madison had wife and stepchildren, a beautiful household. Monroe had a wife and two daughters. Jackson was alone, all alone; he had stolen his affinity from another man's hearthstone. This marriage had been happy, though childless; but Mrs. Jackson had died at the time of her husband's election,—of a broken heart, he said, because of the publication of the circumstances of their union. Van Buren had four stalwart sons. W. H. Harrison had wife, children, grandchildren, a large family. Tyler had wife and grown children. In his administration, the White

House saw a funeral of a matron and the wedding of a youthful bride. Public opinion was shocked. Yet both his marriages were happy and fruitful. Polk had a beautiful wife but no offspring. Taylor had a charming household,—wife, children, son-in-law, grandchildren. Fillmore was well married and had children. Pierce had lost three sons. Buchanan was alone in the world. Lincoln had wife and three boys, of whom one died in the White House, to his almost desperate grief, for he was a devoted father. Johnson had wife, children and grandchildren. Grant had a fine family. Hayes had wife, children and grandchildren. Benjamin Harrison's wife died in the White House; they had grown children. Cleveland in his second term had a young wife and small children. Arthur, a widower, had a son and daughter. McKinley and his wife had lost their two children; they were true lifelong lovers. Roosevelt had six children, one by his first wife. He has always been a good husband and father. Taft has a wife and three children, and a pleasant home-life.

Minor Morals.—As to the minor virtues of non-use or of strict moderation in using alcohol and tobacco, the record of the Presidents is good. Jefferson, Pierce, Johnson, Grant, Arthur, and Cleveland erred as to alcohol; Jackson, Grant and McKinley were excessive users of tobacco. But no other Presidents were incapacitated seriously even upon occasions from either of these minor vices. On aesthetic grounds, we may delight in the good examples of such recent Presidents as Lincoln, Hayes, Roosevelt, and Taft; but both Grant and Cleveland were,—to use a mild term,—"careless" in respect to alcoholic stimulants and to tobacco. One was a weak, perhaps even a bad, President, the other strong and good.

In money matters, the unhappy examples of Jefferson and of Monroe, in early days, have been warnings to later statesmen. Notably careful and thrifty were Van Buren, Buchanan, Lincoln, Hayes, and Cleveland.

Painstaking honesty in money affairs has characterized nearly every successful candidate for the Presidency.

Selfishness and Manners.—Those who would set up such propositions as that "the people will not elect a selfish man President" or "an unselfish man has no chance, for he is sure to be crowded out" are hard put to it to make their argument. The contrasts are startling. We have had at least a half

dozen intensely selfish Presidents in the simplest meaning of that term,—men who asked first, "Where do I come in on that?" And we have had, by way of startling contrast, Jefferson, Monroe, W. H. Harrison, Lincoln, and McKinley.

Moralists do well and frankly to admit that neither does egoism prevent large public service nor does altruism prepare for it. Perhaps the man who looks well to his own going may be a wise guide for all of us. At any rate, Washington, Jackson, Van Buren and Cleveland, though conspicuously selfish men in small matters, were useful Presidents.

There are various kinds of manners,—"fashionable," good, kind though rude, and none. Manners are conspicuously matters of taste and opinion; but these four graded lists serve to set the distinctions:

Intended to be fashionable.	*Good.*	*Kind though rude.*	*Almost none.*
Washington	John Adams	W. H. Harrison	Johnson
J. Q. Adams	Jefferson	Polk	Grant
Jackson	Madison	Taylor	Cleveland
Pierce	Monroe	Lincoln.	
Buchanan	Tyler		
Garfield	Fillmore		
Arthur	Hayes		
Roosevelt	B. Harrison		
Taft	McKinley		

Formal manners, however insincere, evidently help toward the Presidency. The plain people like to hear "Delighted to see you" from a stranger. It is the language of friends.

Months of Birth.	*Months of Death.*
Jan. Fillmore, McKinley.	Tyler, Hayes.
Feb. Washington, W. H. Harrison, Lincoln	J. Q. Adams.
Mar. Madison, Jackson, Tyler, Cleveland.	Fillmore, B. Harrison.
April Jefferson, Monroe, Buchanan, Grant.	
May	W. H. Harrison.
June	Madison, Jackson, Polk, Buchanan, Cleveland.
July J. Q. Adams.	
Aug. B. Harrison.	J. Adams, Jefferson, Monroe, Van Buren, Taylor, Johnson, Grant.
Sept. Taft.	
Oct. J. Adams, Hayes, Arthur, Roosevelt.	Pierce.
Nov. Polk, Pierce, Garfield.	Arthur.
Dec. Van Buren, Johnson.	Washington.

The three Presidents who were assassinated died in April, September, and September, respectively.

Those who believe that the month that sees the advent of a person to this life is of considerable importance would do well to note this list. February and March are certainly starred splendidly. More human beings are born in May than in any one other month, and yet this month has seen no President arrive. If the stars that are said to preside over births have aught to do with character and luck, what shall we say of October that brought such diverse men here as Hayes and Roosevelt?

Evidently, the early months of summer are highly morbific for old men.

Occupation of Parents.—Fourteen Presidents had farmers or planters for fathers,—the first six, Jackson, Van Buren, Polk, Taylor, Garfield, and B. Harrison. Three had lawyers,—J. Q. Adams, Tyler, Taft. Two had clergymen,—Cleveland, Arthur. Three had merchants,—Buchanan, Hayes, and Roosevelt. One had a hunter,—Lincoln; another had an iron manufacturer, McKinley; one had a politician, W. H.

Harrison; another a sexton and constable, Johnson; one a tanner, Grant.

Four Presidents had at least one parent of foreign birth.

Ages of the Presidents in Office.—Considerable age has not been a requirement for the Presidency. Our youngest Chief Magistrate was Theodore Roosevelt, who arrived at forty-two years, an age when men are just finding themselves in ordinary business life. At inauguration, our oldest President was sixty-eight, W. H. Harrison. Next to him was James Buchanan, sixty-six less seven weeks.

Upon entering office, the average age of our Presidents has been fifty-six years. It is interesting to note that in March (inauguration delayed, however, until April), 1789, Washington was fifty-seven years old; in March, 1801, Jefferson also was fifty-seven; in March, 1829, Jackson became sixty-two, while in March, 1861, Lincoln was but fifty-two. It is an office attained in what would have seemed to the Fathers in the Constitutional Convention "old age." They were fathers then, not grandfathers. Their own average age was but thirty-seven years. We now call fifty-six "advanced middle life."

The Presidents of the highest administrative efficiency have, in general, been the younger among these men,—Polk was forty-nine when his term began in 1845, and Cleveland became forty-eight in 1885. The extreme youth, as the Presidency goes, of Roosevelt has already been remarked. His administrative efficiency is too well known to require emphasis. But such efficiency, however, has been by no means always synonymous with success and usefulness as President.

The Voting Residences.—The State of their voting residence has had a deal to do with the election of candidates to the Presidency. In early days, Virginia was "the mother of Presidents." She has given to us five,—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Tyler. The fathers of several other Presidents were Virginians,—indeed, William Henry Harrison, though nominated from Ohio, was himself a native Virginian; so was Taylor. To-day, Ohio and New York are disputing primacy as the pedestal to the Presidency,—Ohio named W. H. Harrison in 1840, Hayes in 1876, Garfield in

1880, McKinley in 1896, and Taft in 1908; while New York named Van Buren in 1836, Fillmore (as Vice-President) in 1848, Arthur (as Vice-President) in 1880, Cleveland in 1884, and Roosevelt (as Vice-President) in 1900. Tennessee has had three Presidents,—Andrew Jackson (a native of South Carolina) in 1829, Polk (a North Carolinian) in 1845, and Andrew Johnson (as Vice-President) in 1865.

In this present epoch, it is clearly advantageous to be a resident either of New York or of its western neighbor, Ohio. Along with the center of population, which is now at Bloomington, Indiana, the nursery of the Presidents is moving westward. It is a reciprocal relation of cause and effect. Had Blaine lived in New York State or in Ohio, he would have defeated Cleveland; but in this world, nearly everything offsets,—he might have been unable to get to the front either in New York or in Ohio, for he tried both his native State of Pennsylvania and Kentucky before trying at twenty-four years of age a middle walk of life in Maine. Live near and east of the limelighted center of population in order to be known in time.

Youthful Wealth or Poverty.—Assuming that one-tenth of the population at each period of our history have been well-to-do or wealthy, one-half in moderate circumstances, and three-tenths poor, one observes that to preserve the ratios three Presidents should have been born of well-to-do parents, thirteen of parents in moderate circumstances, and ten of poor parents. The facts show that the well-to-do have an enormous advantage. To this class belonged the parents of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, J. Q. Adams, Tyler, Taylor, Pierce, Buchanan, Hayes, B. Harrison, Roosevelt and Taft,—twelve in all. To the class of those in moderate circumstances belonged the parents of J. Adams, Monroe, Polk, Van Buren, W. H. Harrison, Fillmore, Grant, Arthur, Cleveland, and McKinley,—ten in all. To the poor by birth belonged Jackson, Lincoln, Johnson, and Garfield,—four in all. And yet these facts show that even the very poor, even those who in childhood do not have food enough, are not barred from the Presidency. The only requirement is to get food enough to keep alive. Lincoln never owned what men call "clothes" until past his majority; his poverty was almost desperate.

Nearly All Presidents Migratory in Youth.—Yet

more significant are such facts as changes of location and loss of parents in the upgrowing of youth. It is a strange, pathetic, startling truth that childhood troubles increase the chances of success. But few Presidents were allowed to grow up in their home-towns. Washington lost his father early and went a-roaming. Jackson, Polk, Lincoln, Cleveland and half of the others were wanderers in youth. Jackson as a growing boy indeed had neither mother nor father. The father of the soon motherless Abraham Lincoln was never an asset to him. Perhaps, the social sympathy for an unfortunate stranger boy in a town helps bring him into political prominence. Perhaps, the early necessity to shift for himself drives him forward. At any rate, to be motherless or fatherless or both, a stranger, and not too poor, is an advantage in the early stages of the road to the White House. And yet we have elected some men who were reared happily by their parents in their home-towns: not nearly so many, however, as the ratio of average of population requires. It is human nature that generally communities in their early political careers back strangers whom they never saw in boyhood rather than native sons. We have been a migratory people; and we elect transients who are most like most of us.

Later Wealth.—At election, nearly all of our Presidents have been poor men. Poverty is, of course, a relative term, and they were not poor as compared with unskilled day-laborers; but they were poor as compared with average business men and lawyers. Most of them had been servants of the public, which reflects its own poverty in the salaries paid.

In 1860, Lincoln said that he was not worth twenty thousand dollars, including his home and office furniture. His friends called the estimate twice too high. By 1865, out of the hundred thousand dollars our fathers paid him "to save the Union," he had saved about twenty thousand dollars.

"Workingmen wanted. Capitalists barred." Such is the writing over the gateway to the Presidency. The several rich men who nevertheless have passed in were always under suspicion. In history, as in the Gospel, all things are possible, but the real millionaire who desires to enter the White House as tenant for four years by election would do well to sell all that he has and to give the proceeds to the poor,—all, saving out not even the nest egg to a fortune, saving only a town house

or a modest farm for respectability's sake and perhaps a balance of a few hundred dollars at his bankers'. He must remember that the American people do not ask of a Presidential candidate, "Where did you get it?" but "Have you got the goods on you or cached?" To have wealth is at once to be politically damned for the Presidency.

This fact recalls the vicious contest of 1876-7, when one-millionaire Hayes euchered five-millionaire Tilden out of the Presidency that perhaps he had bought legally.

In 1844, Polk had the larger property but Clay the larger income.

Mark Hanna of Ohio could and did make a President, but he could not have made himself President against a poor man.

In nearly every Presidential campaign, the poorer man has won, backed by the richer party. In 1848, Taylor was rich, but Lew Cass was richer; in 1866, Lincoln was poorer than any rival; the exceptions to the rule have been very few. In 1896, and in 1900, McKinley, in financial distress, even duress, defeated Bryan; Taft who defeated him in 1908 was poorer than he. Even wealth won by public favor for voice and pen is a political debit. A statesman like a priest should be poor; so the people think in all Christendom.

At election, the average President has an income from all sources of less than five thousand dollars a year. The richest of the Presidents were Washington, Hayes, and Roosevelt. So great have been the changes in the purchasing power of money that no comparison between their reputed financial positions is feasible. We don't know the average equated value of the dollar that Washington threw across the Rappahannock and of the dollar-per-word that Roosevelt received for that interesting book "African Game Trails." But Washington was one of the four richest men of his time in 1775—the others being John Hancock whose bold and beautiful signature graces the Declaration of Independence as President of the Congress of the Confederation, Thomas Nelson of Virginia, and Charles Carroll of Maryland, signers with him. Perhaps, Nelson was morally the finest of them all, for he spent in the war for the patriot cause every acre and every dollar, dying penniless,—like most of us.

Hayes and Roosevelt were millionaires,—the latter the

richer. Taylor had less,—just how acquired we do not yet know. Buchanan, still less, perhaps $300,000, saved by a bachelor from law fees, not from salary. Monroe had almost nothing, Johnson likewise, and Garfield. All the rest had something,—save McKinley, who died insolvent.

Our Rich Presidents.—Hayes had such large private interests as to require in the White House a separate office for their management to which, under the direction of his father, one of his grown sons devoted his entire time. The sources of this wealth and its investment have never become known. Neither Washington nor Roosevelt gave much personal attention to the details of their fortunes, though each was a careful business man.

Annual Incomes.—The median President in respect to property has not possessed twenty-five thousand dollars or received an annual income of two thousand save as he immediately earned it.

Slaveowners, Otherwise Capitalists, and the Self-Dependent.—In any society, the man who depends solely upon hand-to-mouth, his own daily toil, no matter how skillful, seldom becomes a ruler. The status of the Presidents at the time of their first elections was as follows, viz.:

Slaveowners.	*Otherwise Capitalists.*	*Virtually Self-dependents.*[1]
Washington	Van Buren	J. Adams
Jefferson	Buchanan	J. Q. Adams
Madison	Hayes	W. H. Harrison
Monroe	Roosevelt	Fillmore
Jackson	* * *	Pierce
Polk	Washington	Lincoln
Taylor	Madison	Grant
Tyler	Polk	Garfield
	Taylor	Arthur
		Cleveland
		B. Harrison
		McKinley
		Taft

[1]Most of these men owned a farm or a city residence and some were "worth" a few thousand dollars besides.

Advantages of Being Older Children in Family.—There are often broached interesting speculations as to which child of a mother is the ablest. The Presidency has no positive answer; but it seems to indicate the oldest or at least the older children. Primogeniture in favor of sons helped a little in that older age before the Kentish system of equal heritage was established. Primogeniture gave all of the estate of Washington's father to him by a succession of three steps.[1] It helped Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Assuming that in our history the average family has had five children, the Presidency shows that the chance of the oldest of three sons, or the elder of two, is considerably better than that of the others. But parental favor has something to do with the case. Yet Benjamin Franklin, who was of Presidential grade, was the youngest of seventeen children and ran away from home in order to find room to grow. The middle and youngest children in families are too little influenced by adults to come forward vigorously; they are smothered in childishness by older children, and escape thereby through life much affliction.

Abraham Lincoln was the middle of three children of his mother, the oldest being a girl, the youngest a boy who died in infancy. He was soon motherless, though he had a good stepmother. His father chose good wives.

J. Q. Adams was also the second child and first son.

Jackson was the youngest of three doubly orphaned boys.

Small Families and Helpful Parents.—It is noteworthy that distinguished and wealthy parents help any boy forward, which is bad for the mediocre boy, for he cannot make good. Several Presidents have been helped greatly by older brothers,—both Washington and Taft by rich half-brothers.

Presidents seldom come from large families. Perhaps, one neglected reason is that *"Nil admirari"* is too often in the mouths of brothers and sisters who "damn" one another "with faint praise." And yet it is not true that most Presidents have made their way forward alone.

The case of Garfield is seldom fairly stated; he had his mother and the farm to help him until he was on his own feet. The "poor canal-boy" was a campaign phrase. Only Jackson, Fillmore, Lincoln, Johnson, and Cleveland really came up the

[1]See p. 221, *infra.*

long road to the White House alone. Two of these were so marred in the making as not to be elected Presidents. Fillmore was amiable but characterless; Johnson ugly and of too harsh a character. Every other President was helped through childhood and youth (and some of the Presidents in early manhood) by parents or near relatives or by inherited estates. Pierce had a prolonged infancy, being under wise and strong paternal guidance until in middle life. J. Q. Adams likewise. This is measurably true of both Roosevelt and Taft. But most Presidents were not retarded by too long association with children. Perhaps, the care of smaller children does not retard so much as being cared for by older children. This may in part explain the superior progress of the older children.

No "only child" of parents surviving until his majority ever became President. Such persons are indeed but 1 in 78 of the population. Orphanage in desperate poverty yet permitting survival is a far better preparation for American politics.

Similarly, no institutional child has arrived at this greatness of manhood.

An Early Start.—An early start in war or in politics, which is an unending war, is helpful. The start is easier for the stranger than for the native to get. Though the transient has no social standing, and nobody knows him and he knows nobody, yet he gets a majority of the ballots at election time. There are no ancient jealousies, no family feuds, to bedwarf or to sidetrack him. Nor is the stranger as timid as the native; he has seen at least two worlds, that of "home" and this of "here-and-now." He is going forward and upward because he is on the move.

War Records.—A requirement of a President is identification with some war. Let the man who would be President go before the enemy somewhere and be shot at. The people love those who hold their own lives and those of the enemy cheap. A soldier is a protector, and a patriot.

In lieu of the war-hero, we sometimes elect a war-legislator or a war-diplomat.

Washington was an Indian fighter, a colonel against the French, and our Revolutionary general. John Adams was an agitator at home and a diplomat abroad for war. Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, became a war-governor, and suffered greatly from war-depredations. Monroe

was a soldier. John Quincy Adams was a diplomat in the War of 1812. Jackson was a general and a terrible Indian fighter. As State Senator, Van Buren was the star war-jingoist in New York prior to the War of 1812. William Henry Harrison, Taylor, Pierce, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Benjamin Harrison, McKinley, and Roosevelt were all soldiers, the first seven being generals, the eighth a major, the last a colonel; and all saw service in the field. Madison never fought, but was made to permit a war. In early life, Polk was not connected with any war, but he made one. Buchanan was a diplomat, Cleveland a fighting reformer, Taft a colonial administrator. Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson, and Arthur were Vice-Presidents elevated to the Presidency by death. Lincoln went to the Black Hawk War.

It is safe to say that the man who, being above seventeen and under fifty when a real war is on, stays at home will not be President; some man who goes to the front will be preferred to him. One might suppose that our main concern in America is war. Yet in fact since 1775 we have fought but one year in ten,—fifteen years of battles in a hundred and forty-two years.

In the period from 1861 to 1865, of 6,000,000 men and boys of military size, one in five went into the Union armies. Two in five were physically unfit to fight. It is not to be wondered at that, from Lincoln to McKinley, we had six Presidents who had seen battle. Statistical probability favored this. Historically, if not philosophically, considered, war is the supreme examination of peoples; and democracy like aristocracy makes its warriors into rulers, seldom good ones. War-comrades are usually loyal political supporters. They vote not Republican, but G. A. R., which has been the chief asset of the Republican party and its tariff beneficiaries.

Scholarship of the Presidents.—Many of the Presidents were students, even scholars, in a fine sense of those two words. Both the Adamses, Jefferson, Madison, Pierce, Buchanan, Hayes, Garfield, Benjamin Harrison, Roosevelt, and Taft were all men of learning. Lincoln was a master-artist in writing, and Jefferson but slightly his inferior. Washington, J. Q. Adams, Cleveland, and Roosevelt all wrote with power if not with skill. Several were orators or debaters of excellent quality. Among these were J. Q. Adams, Pierce,

Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley, and Roosevelt. Several were thinkers or casuists beyond other men of their generation,—Jefferson, Madison, and Lincoln.

It is a fiction of tradition that several of the Presidents were almost illiterate. The fiction attaches to Jackson, to Lincoln, and to Johnson. Jackson made blunders in spelling, in grammar, and in rhetoric; but none in argumentation and in exposition. His errors were of form, not of substance. His mind was good, his oral conversation lucid, convincing, delightful. In a sense, Lincoln was an illiterate until he was twenty-four or five years old; but by the time that he went to Congress, he was admirably skilled both in written composition and in oral speech, a skill attained by study. Scarcely any other Americans ever knew the Bible, Plutarch, Blackstone, Shakespeare, Bunyan, grammar, geometry, and American history as well as he, for he thought parts of them out and understood them clearly. Johnson was less illiterate than Jackson; with a decent Congress, he would have made an average President.

Few youthful scoundrels have ever become Presidents of the United States; and no man once in office ever betrayed his trust for personal profit. Still, we have had a variety of the somewhat unworthy. It is interesting to see that no man who sat in the seat of the scornful ever became President. The sneer has barred nomination. We elect only men who are in earnest. It might even be set up and defended that our Presidents have been inclined to take themselves too seriously. Single individuals are seldom so important as our Presidents have sometimes seemed to themselves, forgetting that our responsibilities are only for what we have caused and can change.

No fool, no ignoramus, no child, no dotard can be elected President, wherein election surpasses heredity in making a nation's chief ruler. We are in peril enough of error even as we are, especially of electing men once useful but become senescent like Buchanan, or weakling like Pierce, or mere war-heroes, pure specialists, naïve in all other matters like Grant, or political "availables" and the favorites of some preceding President.

The Names of Our Presidents.—We have yet to elect a President with a disagreeable, a fanciful, or a painfully

common name. We elected an Andrew Jackson, not a "John Jackson." We do not like long names,—Hayes was handicapped by the longest name in the list. We prefer two names to three, and the less letters and syllables the better. Cleveland wisely dropped Stephen early in his career. Roosevelt, really three syllables, became two in America; the Theodore "God-given" and Roosevelt "red field" were attractive. Ulysses S. Grant and U. S. Grant fascinated millions. Franklin Pierce was a reminder of an American immortal. John Adams was powerful; and, for popular uses, Abraham Lincoln—"Father Abraham"—was almost perfect.

The table of first names is:

James	5,	William	3,	Zachary	1,
George	1,	Thomas	1,	Franklin	1,
Martin	1,	Millard	1,	Chester	1,
(Hiram,		Ulysses	1,	Theodore	1,
not used)	1,	Rutherford	1,	Andrew	2,
(Stephen,		Grover	1,	Benjamin	1,
not used)	1,	John	3,	Abraham	1,

Nearly every President had some sound of "a" in his name.

Probably the nicknames Jim, Bill, Jack, and Andy helped these men. A man named Samuel in the popular vote overwhelmed one named Rutherford. And the Confederates chose a President surnamed Jefferson.

It is improbable that a John Smith will ever contest the American Presidency with an Algernon Clarence Peterkin. As for the four-name persons, the American voter and the American party-leader have no time or inclination to bother with the alphabet. The Gillespie that split James from Blaine made an open wound.

In Presidential politics, "a good name is rather to be chosen than great riches."

But let not the good name be that of a famous "blue-blood" family two generations away from "work." No aristocrat true to the manner will ever come to the White House gates with the lease in his pocket. Roosevelt did not have the manners of his birth.

All Presidents Protestant.—By Constitutional provision, all our Presidents have been native Americans; and

by fortune, nearly all have been wholly of descent from the British Isles. Yet several, including Jackson, have come from parents or grandparents of foreign-birth. Such being the case, it is noteworthy that every President has been a Protestant member or sympathizer. Several were church denominational leaders. Among them were several sons or grandsons of Christian ministers. History finds no warrant for regarding any of them "atheists" or even "infidels," as their contemporaries sometimes asserted. They were perhaps free thinkers, a little ahead of their times. Certainly, no liberal student of religion to-day would call even Thomas Jefferson "anti-Christian": he was in fact an Episcopal vestryman.

Their affiliations were these, viz.:

Episcopalian: Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, W. H. Harrison, Tyler, Taylor, Pierce, Arthur.

Presbyterian: Jackson, Polk, Buchanan, Lincoln, Cleveland, B. Harrison.

Methodist-Episcopalian: Johnson, Grant, Hayes, McKinley.

Trinitarian Congregationalist: J. Adams, J. Q. Adams.

Unitarian Congregationalist: Fillmore, Taft.

Reformed Dutch: Van Buren, Roosevelt.

Disciples: Garfield.

(The President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, was a Baptist.)

With over two hundred Christian denominations in America, this record of nine Episcopalians, six Presbyterians, and four Methodists is instructive. The non-church-member, the member of a small denomination, even the member of certain large denominations, is not in line for the Presidency.

Nearly All Presidents Lawyers.—Nearly all Presidents have at one time or another studied law. To say that we have "too many lawyers in government" is as absurd as the early colonial notion in Virginia, in New York, and in Massachusetts that lawyers should be barred out, as absurd as to say that we have "too many priests and ministers in religion" or "too many teachers in education." The law is government; and the lawyers are the profession that governs.

Yet half of the Presidents at election were not practicing lawyers, though more of them practiced quietly than their biographers have cared to tell. Is it a relic of the notions that

only gentlemen of property and leisure should rule and that Senators are Earls and Presidents Kings?

Being a lawyer is not a *sine qua non* for the Presidency. But most of the good Presidents were good lawyers, and some were little else,—among them, Van Buren, Lincoln, Cleveland. Yet most of the Presidents engaged in other pursuits and had other interests as well as the law,—among them, Jefferson, Jackson, Hayes.

The law helps politically for two reasons,—the people expect lawyers to be concerned in government; and the clients of successful lawyers are, therefore, numerous and prosperous, becoming groups of almost certain political supporters.

Among the Presidents, only Washington, Jackson, W. H. Harrison, Johnson, Grant, and Roosevelt knew little or no law; the second, however, was for a time a judge and the last a university law-student. A knowledge of the law would have hurt none of these men.

We have had in fact but two great lawyers in the Presidency,—Van Buren and Benjamin Harrison,—and but three others notably good,—J. Q. Adams, Lincoln, and Taft. None of the others was above the standard of a fair lawyer in a routine practice.

Dark Horse Candidates.—The first seven Presidents were logical candidates, and the people expected them to arrive. But many of the others were either "political unknowns" or "dark horse candidates." Since J. Q. Adams, only Buchanan, Cleveland, McKinley, and Taft were, in any sense, "inevitables." To list the "unknowns" and the "dark horses" would be to draw too fine distinctions. All the others were more or less "surprises." Jackson, the war-hero, was a political unknown and a vast surprise to the national political managers whose calculations he swamped. No prophet ever could have predicted the succession three terms ahead. The foremost leaders, the famous statesmen and politicians do not arrive.

Party Leaders Few.—Misconceptions regarding the Presidency are so numerous that it is not advisable to try to collect and to correct them all. One is that the standard bearer is a party leader or at any rate a good party man. Since popular elections began, the record is this:

W. H. Harrison was a moderate party man, a Whig.

Tyler was a Democrat nominated by Whigs.

Polk was a strongly partisan Democrat.
Taylor had never voted, and had no politics.
Fillmore, Pierce, and Buchanan were partisan Democrats.
Lincoln was a partisan Republican.
Johnson was a Democrat nominated by Republicans.
Grant was a moderate Democrat nominated by Republicans.
Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur were partisan Republicans.
Cleveland was a partisan Democrat.
B. Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft were partisan Republicans.

As for being party leaders, only Polk, Buchanan, Lincoln, Garfield, Cleveland, McKinley, and Roosevelt were party leaders, seven in eighteen. It is almost a disadvantage to be a party leader. The records of defeated Presidential candidates show that party leaders often fare badly. Clay, a party leader, was always defeated. So was Cass. Buchanan, a party leader, defeated Fremont, a figurehead candidate. The contest of 1860 was between party leaders. Lincoln, a party leader, defeated McClellan, a figurehead. Grant, also a figurehead, defeated Seymour, a party leader. Four years later, Grant, become a party leader, defeated Greeley, a leader but not a party leader. Hayes, scarcely a leader, polled less votes than Tilden, decidedly a party leader. Garfield, a dark horse but a leader, defeated Tilden, a party leader. The contest of 1884 was between great party leaders. In 1888, Cleveland, a party leader, defeated Harrison, not yet a real leader. In 1892, the two leaders met. In 1896, McKinley, a great party leader, defeated Bryan, a rising party leader. In 1900, he defeated him again. In 1904, Roosevelt, a minor party leader, defeated Parker, not a leader. In 1908, Taft, in no sense a leader, defeated Bryan, a famous leader then.

Some of our Presidents, indeed, had seen too much service, beginning too early, working too hard, resting too little, arriving too late; and arriving only (in part at least) to fail. Many certainly came to the White House overworn; it was almost their characteristic condition, their bodies tired, their heads a-swim with plans, and their hearts hot with hope, and their souls, it may be, eager to do right and therefore well.

Plain Men in the Economic Scale of Life.—To most Americans, it is comforting to know that small means and a considerable family are almost essential to election as Presi-

dent. To some, it is even exhilarating to know that at sixty years of age, W. H. Harrison, former Governor, Senator, Minister to Columbia, and Major-General, was ekeing out a living by working a little distillery (not moonshine either); he lamented that his product made his neighbors drunk, noisy, idle and poor, and closed it up, and with it the door of hope of ever getting upon his financial feet again. At sixty-four years of age, he drew one month's salary as President, dying poor indeed but with a legacy of fame for his descendants.

It is a saying in Washington, "No gentleman ever lives at the White House,"—meaning gentleman of leisure, who knows and practices the ways and manners of good society. In fact, the White House has seen men of various ranks of society. Few Presidents have been strictly "men of fashion." Some of them, however, may be so regarded,—Washington and Roosevelt lived in style; likewise, Arthur and Taft. Otherwise, our Presidents have usually lived plainly, very plainly. This plainness has perhaps often been intentionally exaggerated for political purposes; but we need no certificate to understand that our Presidents have generally been neither spendthrifts nor overly good dressers and too generous diners. The thrift of Hayes is famous; but Cleveland also saved money as President. Thrift is a kind of certificate of character. It requires foresight to withhold from spending.

Mistakes We Have Not Made.—We have not been an ungrateful people. Not half of these men really deserved second terms. Of the less-than-one-term Presidents, none deserved reëlections,—personal bad habits interfered in the case of Arthur. Of the one-term Presidents, none except Roosevelt deserved consideration for a second term; personal morals interfered in the case of Pierce; and Roosevelt was given his elective term. We have made some bad mistakes in choosing Presidents and Vice-Presidents; and others in reëlecting them; but we have avoided others just as bad. We did not give to Grant a third term.

This world is not Heaven or Paradise; and it is not Hades or any other place (or ever will be while men dwell upon it) than what it is—an experiment in good and evil—somewhat more good than evil.

The Two-Termers in Groups.—The first four of the two-term Presidents were elected by electors chosen by the State

legislatures and the first five of the two-termers came in before the days of party conventions to nominate Presidents. We can set forth these two groups:

1. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe.
2. Lincoln, Grant, Cleveland, McKinley.

Jackson occupies a middle position, for he was elected by electors chosen by popular vote, but their choice of himself was not controlled by the pledges of a party convention. Since, however, Jackson undoubtedly would have been chosen by a party convention of the Republican Democrats of his time, he may fairly be considered as in the second group.

Roosevelt will not go down into history as a two-termer. His place is unique, our seven-year Vice-President-President.

Two-termers before 1829:

A.—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe.

One-termers before 1829:

B.—John Adams, John Quincy Adams.

Two-termers since 1829:

C.—Jackson, Lincoln, Grant, Cleveland, McKinley.

One-termers since 1829:

D.—Van Buren, W. H. Harrison, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, Johnson, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, B. Harrison.

Of these one-term Presidents, three were such by reason of death,—W. H. Harrison, Taylor, and Garfield. Four of them were less than one-termers in that they were Vice-Presidents succeeding to the Presidency upon the death of their chiefs,—Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson, Arthur. The one-term group, therefore, is properly divided into two subgroups:

The one-term Vice-President-Presidents:

E.—Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson, Arthur.

The complete one-termers in the Presidency:

F.—Van Buren, Polk, Pierce, Buchanan, Hayes, B. Harrison.

The Future of the Presidency.—Of these, three groups are especially interesting because in them we are concerned with the future of the American Presidency, viz.: Group C, containing the nominated and popularly elected Presidents, who have had two elections; Group E, the Vice-Presidents who became Presidents but failed of nomination and election, and Group F, the Presidents who failed of election, one of

whom, however, was nominated a second time. With them all may be fairly contrasted Cleveland, who ran three times, winning the first and third time, Roosevelt, the Vice-President who became President, and Grant, who tried for a third nomination, but failed to get it. Is it possible to discern any principles that concern any of these groups?

In 1892, a President and a former President ran as competitors. Otherwise, Benjamin Harrison probably would have been a two-term President.

Every two-termer was originally put into the Presidency by a group of admiring friends. Every one had a large and strong personal constituency. Every one was picturesque,—for different reasons but truly so. Every one was a radical, and was styled by his enemies an extremist. Every one of them had been a fighter of some kind—in arms or in politics.

Incidentally, it is to be noted that nearly every President was a member of at least one great secret society. Washington was one of the most prominent Freemasons of his day, and set the pace.

Popular Requirements for the Presidency.—In the light of history, apart from the Constitutional limitations, it is not possible to discern a single absolute requisite for election; but it is possible to discern many qualities in candidates that are likely to promote their election.

First, to live near the limelighted center of population.

Second, to possess wife and children.

Third, to have a public official record, including a war-record and army-comrades.

Fourth, to be a Protestant and preferably a member of one of two denominations, Episcopalian or Presbyterian.

Fifth, to be by descent from the British Isles.

Sixth, to have an agreeable name, preferably but two.

Seventh, to be money-honest.

Eighth, to be publicly known as a warm friend or as a bitter enemy of at least one President.

Ninth, to be an orphan or an older child; and thereby to get an early start in independent living.

Tenth, to be from forty-five to sixty-eight years of age.

Eleventh, to be of but limited wealth and income from earnings.

Twelfth, to have had a migratory youth, preferably within the same State.

Thirteenth, to have some knowledge of the law.

Fourteenth, to be a country boy by birth and rearing.

Fifteenth, to belong to one or more national secret societies.

Sixteenth, to be identified prominently in the public mind with some cause or principle or achievement or issue, *i. e.*, to wear a halo or at least a badge of distinction.

Seventeenth, to have a group of enthusiastic friends, either "insiders" or with large financial means, or both.

Eighteenth, to be known as intensely in earnest.

Nineteenth, to be well known in Washington, and at home to be thought of as having Washington political interests.

In the contest, the poorer man wins; the mere standard-bearer often defeats the party-leader; and the relatively silent man overcomes the orator and the writer. These tendencies are worth thinking about. There are many possible permutations. We have yet to set an oratorical party leader worth a million against a purse-poor, reticent mere standard-bearer.

Our Unstable Equilibrium.—But why do the great issues of tariff and of currency count so little? Partly, because we are experimenting, and like a pendulum swing from one side to the other. Partly, because the poorer man, the standard-bearer, is, in literal fact, more compliant with the requirements of the men of great property, who have always been potent in American politics, than is the brilliant party-leader. Partly, because we are still in a condition of unstable equilibrium on the main principle itself. Are we a nation or a federation? Where is the sovereignty? Compared with this principle, slavery, internal improvements, banks, currency, tariff, pensions, war-preparation, severally and collectively, are small and dependent.

Wanting a great foreign war to settle the principle, we tried a domestic, and found ourselves tending to centralization, and now avert our faces from the truth with its historic lesson that when "all roads lead to Rome," the peripheral termini decline in prosperity and the travellers grow few.

Who is President deeply concerns us. In 1912, we have reached the pass predicted by Alexander Hamilton when for a year we set ourselves to thinking almost solely who the next President shall be. And yet as a nation we have never seri-

ously considered what are the essentials for a President, our highest employe, and yet the director of our fate, and in large measure the determiner of our lives. The man in the White House, for good or ill, controls the destinies of us all.

THE RIDE TO THE WHITE HOUSE.—On his fine thoroughbred, General George Washington, big, brave and splendid, rode along into the hearts of the people. He was literally "the man on horseback." Nations integrate upon great individuals; such was Washington. Nations split upon great individuals, a part going one road, the rest another, or sitting down and refusing to travel. Jefferson split the nation, winning by one electoral vote; and then slowly, steadily nearly all the people, all indeed save the Eastern commercial classes and the great Southern planters, united around his standard.

Came another upon horseback, pale, white-haired, keen-eyed, soldierly General Andrew Jackson; nearly all the people rallied to his standard.

So General William Henry Harrison gathered them about his political war-eagle; and likewise General Zachary Taylor's war-clan grew as big as the nation.

There was no other popular movement until General Ulysses S. Grant swept down Pennsylvania Avenue, the fifth man on horseback.

Last came Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, galloping.

These were all personal elections. Principles, policies, party, had but little to do with these mob-assemblings in honor of the warrior-great.

Others walked in,—some barely squeaked in. A few of the sober pedestrians, however, had great majorities or pluralities as this record shows. Occasionally, principles, policies, party did count,—for or against.

Sometimes, the victory has gone contrary to early expectation, as when Polk defeated the brilliant Clay, and Taylor the yet richer Cass.

In 1876, two millionaires were pitted against one another; in 1880, two war-generals; in 1892, a President and a former President.

There are often hard battles to get within the White House gateway. Lincoln came in literally by stealth and under guard; Hayes by a protracted legal battle.

There on Pennsylvania Avenue at the foot of Sixteenth

Street, Northwest,—above the Potomac, over which the white Washington Monument shaft stands sentinel,—is the most dramatically important spot in the New World. Even Wall Street yields primacy, battling for the Presidency rather than the Presidency seeking to win it, for big business is more dependent upon politics than politics is upon big business.

The House at the End of the Road.—The Presidency is no office for any man to seek. Yet no man in health, whether former President or minor citizen, will ever decline it, or even a nomination to it by a great party.

But it is a humanly undesirable office. A painter tried to kill Jackson at the Capitol; three other Presidents were killed. Not that death by violence is undesirable, but that the assassinations have created an atmosphere of suspicion. It is painful to be the object even of madmen's hate.

The Presidency shortens life.[1] It may virtually wipe out an entire family. When Abraham Lincoln left Springfield in 1861, he had a wife and three surviving boys. One boy died in the White House; he himself was killed; a second boy died of the shock and grief. Only one son remained, and he to-day has no grandchildren. The whole affair proved a family tragedy.

But for the Presidency, Garfield and Benjamin Harrison and McKinley might be alive to-day. The office means earthly fame and a long, long memory; but it may mean condemnation, not admiration.

Every man who knows the American Presidency knows that the inducements to it are possible opportunities of public service to offset certainties of many disagreeable kinds and possibilities of violent death and of public disgrace perhaps through fault of others beyond one's control.

Our Presidency is the most difficult, the most perilous, the most honorable, the most laborious, the least rewarded, and yet altogether the greatest chieftaincy in the world.

[1] See p. 171, *infra*.

CHAPTER II

The Essential Issues of Our Politics

Contemporaneous public opinion—a meddlesome government cannot be strong—the pension question—no ecclesiastical capital here—union and liberty—national respectability—how the politician wins—patriotism and individual liberty—the hypocrisy of a patriot—the Whigs and the Tories in England—the revolt of the have-nots—the younger men—our economic system—capital-and-labor alienated—our social order—certain crimes—the second Federalist President—the first democrat—the dynasty—the second Adams—"Old Hero"—restricted government—disconcerted speculative business—Polk the expansionist—a new rich slaveowner—a dynasty of failures—the meaning of the War between the States—the Whig turned Republican—things are seldom what they are called—the net gain—impeached for his merits—Congress overrides the Supreme Court—reconstruction compared with secession—Hayes the beneficent—Garfield and Arthur—government in itself is not good—a link in the tariff chain—a modest imperialist—a hunter—a contented man—a new social cleavage—what wealth may properly be property?—past issues restated—the new issues not merely political.

Contemporaneous Public Opinion.—In a formal sense, with many qualifications, the President represents existing opinion upon a few main issues.[1] But our politics have usually failed to make several synchronous clean issues; and under cover of one issue, often politicians have forced through victories contrary to existing opinion. The high tariff early in the Civil War was forced through Congress under cover of the overwhelming Union sentiment against the principles and policies of seventy years. Most acts of legislation are rule, not representation; authority, not service and obedience to the public will.

A Meddlesome Government Cannot Be Strong.—To undertake many things is evidence of weakness, of distrust, not of strength and of confidence. It usually causes not success but failure. A strong government undertakes few things but accomplishes these. That our National Government requires the service of one man in fifteen of our population is a proper

[1] See pp. 30, 31, *supra*.

cause not of felicitation but of alarm. That we pay annually $156,000,000 in pensions to nearly 1,000,000 persons, one in ninety of our population,—there being on the average one other person directly benefited by each pension,—is a moving cause not of congratulation but of dismay because the general need as evidenced by this patriotic pauperism is so great. And yet we are about to increase by many millions this annual distribution of a tax-gathered surplus. Why are we so poor that fifty years after the War, our people are not yet upon their own feet?

The Pension Question.—This is not to question the right of those who saved the nation at the risk of their lives to a dollar-a-day pension. Still, the argument for every mother who in travail brings forth a child at the risk of her life for national recognition at a dollar-a-day is just as valid. Child-bearing is instinctive. So also is fighting.

Investigation shows that one political cause of soldiers' pensions is the intention of an effective minority to force high revenue duties in the interest of American manufacturing capitalists. Pensions to mothers would mulitply this demand for a great national revenue.

The situation forces a question as to the reasonableness of the present politico-economic regime. And the question shows also Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, B. Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, all ranged upon one side; and Cleveland standing alone upon the other. In attacking the protective tariff, Cleveland was making also a flank movement against extravagant soldiers' pensions.

No Ecclesiastical Capital Here.—No experienced and discerning man who knows the scope of present governmental enterprises and who knows the history of other civilizations and of other nations can look with complacency upon the immense political community upon the banks of the Potomac devoted solely to government. If we had such a city devoted solely to an ecclesiastical community, similarly dominant in its field, we would all agree that liberty itself was at stake, was indeed at the stake and being consumed by fire. A people that produces annually $30,000,000,000 of wealth and spends $800,000,000 of it upon its central government alone, not counting its State, county and municipal governments, has cause not for self-glorification but for self-examination.

And the worst of it is the humbug of so much of it,—the phrase in so many laws—"The District of Columbia"—as though the District actually legislated![1]

Union and Liberty.—The two essential issues of our politics have been national government and the freedom of the citizens. Since the beginning, "union and liberty,"—to use the phrase of Daniel Webster,—has been our desire. We have finally decided that national government and independence and union are virtually synonymous for the practical purposes of a large and prosperous population in our land. By liberty, we mean the freedom of the individual in respect to many matters,—the freedom to acquire property, to work for wages or for profits as opportunity affords, to travel, to marry, to vote and to hold office, to worship, to talk, to write, to publish, to assemble, to resist the interferences and trespasses of others,—in short, to live and to act much as one pleases,—to do as one wills within the limits of the equal rights of others.

We have decided that a central government,—a strong central government,—let us say plainly,—is essential to national independence, and that this government shall be a single indivisible union of all States from seacoast to seacoast and from the inland freshwater seas to the salt gulf. We are even getting ready to offer to Canada eighteen Senators and thirty Representatives to join us. We have located sovereignty not in thirteen Capitals from Boston to Augusta in forty-eight States from Sacramento to another Augusta but in the District of Columbia. Our States are provinces; and the Federal Circuit Courts override their Supreme provincial courts.

Whereupon millions, mistaking the meaning of terms, have imagined that a central government in order to be strong must do many things. Yet government cannot do many things without thereby transgressing the freedom of the individual citizen. Nor is any ruler, even a President, wise enough to direct many enterprises.

Beyond doubt, in civilized society, men cannot be free save under strong government. Civil freedom is a creature of law vitalized by force. Every person in our history who has risen to prominence and to power has stood in some relation to this quest for liberty under law. Every President has had his influence, good or bad, upon the development of our insti-

[1]See pp. 99 *et seq., infra.*

tutions and of public opinion in respect to strong government and to the freedom of individuals.

National Respectability.—Closely connected with the main issue of a strong central government to maintain national independence and the rights of citizens to liberty under law is the minor feature of national respectability in the family of nations. To citizens in private life under ordinary conditions, this feature is apparently of no immediate personal concern. They live remote. Their lives are absorbed in individual interests.

How the Politician Wins.—Such a situation has invited betrayal of national interests and is the mother of fraud. Many, many things have been done, many have been neglected because most citizens are blind to facts, or misled by false cries or by false appearances, or are lost in the remoteness of their locations or in the difficulty of their personal affairs. A thousand things have been done upon specious excuse or upon no excuse, that, upon prior consideration, no majority of the citizens, certainly no majority of well-informed citizens, would have endorsed. The politician does his turn, plays his trick, pockets his gain and makes his get-away before the citizens learn his whereabouts or performances.

To offset Louisiana purchased, according to most citizens, wisely though by stealth, we have the Philippines that not one citizen in a thousand desires. To offset the substantial gain of upper Mexico and California by treaty and purchase after war, we have the blood-training from which was born again the blood-lust of the Civil War.

The second of the main issues of American politics has been that of the social relations of the inhabitants with one another. This issue has taken protean forms,—ecclesiastical, economic, political, ethical, educational.

Two Great Questions.—In the beginning, it was requisite to form and to propagate the national idea,—to inculcate patriotism, to stir pride and resentment against the domination of aliens abroad. Forming the national idea was itself a slow matter. In this, James Otis perhaps was foremost. He with others saw that at last there had been evolved in this land upon its eastern side another "peculiar people," different from all others, with different needs, different interests, different capaci-

ties, whom no other people could benefit by giving advice to them or by exercising authority over them.

Patriotism and Individual Liberty.—It was the work of Revolutionary leaders to stir in the minds of the many pride in this soil, resentment against orders issued and taxes laid by persons not native here. Samuel Adams, Dabney Carr, Patrick Henry, gave their early lives to this propaganda. They taught many of their fellow-countrymen to hate a tax, however small, that others not native-born had imposed. The British restrictions that they must not manufacture or engage in the sea-trade were indeed oppressive. They invaded that sphere of liberty which British traditions had held sacred, and denied rights and freedoms that were necessary to life and to property. Worst of all, the British laws threatened to grow worse in the future. Mankind will bravely suffer many a present wrong in the morning of the rising sun of progress; but once let us believe that the future is dark and foreboding, and resistance arms itself, as we all know.

The Hypocrisy of a Patriot.—With an unfathomable hypocrisy, justified by the rules of war, Benjamin Franklin professed abroad as agent for various colonies that independence was not desired or even thought of; all that the Americans wished was to be let entirely alone,—of course, under the Crown. As for Parliament, no Americans were in it or could be in it; and "taxation without representation is tyranny." The colonists would voluntarily contribute money and men for the wars of the empire; but try to coerce them and see—rebellion.

Edmund Burke understood, and in glowing periods acquiesced. North also understood and, with British soldiers and impressed sailors and with Hessian war-slaves and Indian savages, tried to crush the natural destiny of this people. France seized upon the situation and, with arms and ships, handsomely intervened against the ancient enemy, split between her Whigs and her Tories.

The Whigs in England.—Whereupon in one of those pendulum swings characterizing every human society, the electors of England put North and the Tories out and Rockingham and the Whigs in. In that year, Howe really won. Burgoyne and Cornwallis were done for. And then Rockingham went out, and North came back; and King George the

Third reigned over a diminished empire with an irreparably lessened glory. The prestige of Great Britain fell. Successful republican revolution in America hastened revolution in France; and Napoleon came in to organize the new social order while terrifying the earth.

Certain Ambitions.—Beneath and within the war of resistance to longer oversea control, beneath and within the rebellion that came to be a war of independence, there were two other forces at work. Of these, the first was the ambition of certain natives to be the first Americans, without alien governors and bureaucrats as rivals. They intended to be the unchallenged lords,—the owners of lands, the masters of trade, the princes of government, free men like the barons of old, like the living nobles of England. "I will raise a thousand men, subsist them at my own expense, and march on Boston," said George Washington. It was not a boast but a confession of purpose spoken like a Saxon earl. This was exactly the spirit in which later he took command of the army at Cambridge in the summer of 1775; but he grew wiser.

The Revolt of the Have-Nots.—There was another social force far more significant. Tens of thousands desired to get rid of all persons and families of wealth, distinction, culture and leisure. It was the spirit of loot, of equality in barbarism. Because of it, tens of thousands of Loyalists were robbed and exiled. It was an attack upon the existing social order. Tom Paine came from England and put its philosophy into print. These social rebels meant to have a land in which each man does that which is right in his own eyes and there is "no judge in Israel." They would farm where they had power to seize the lands, make what they chose, whether cloth or rum or ships or tools, trade where they would, marry or not, enslave if they could,—and be free.

They made the war of independence into a civil war,—a more terrible war than that of 1861-'65 because it was in the streets of all towns and upon every hillside and in every valley. Dr. Benedict Arnold, apothecary turned soldier, cruel, brilliant, bold, lewd, treacherous, was the perfect poison-flower of this seed-time and harvest.

The Younger Men.—But these men of blood, of deceit, of pride, were not to control the new nation. Younger men who had grown up within the struggle and yet not of it, and

older men whom fortune had kept apart from the surging hatreds and ambitions, dominated the Federal Convention that made the Constitution. Yet they set as their head toothless, silent, solid George Washington, "the unwearied Titan of the War," who at last had won supremacy over nearly all his terrible passions. Such sublime self-control does not come without inner conflicts correspondingly severe.

And when they began their work, they pledged themselves not to talk about it to others or to make notes thereon,—which pledge Madison nobly violated for the edification of later generations. Moreover, when their work was all done,—and so badly done that few even thought they knew what the Constitution meant,—only thirty-eight out of fifty-six delegates ever signed it, no man from Rhode Island and but one from New York,—they entered into a further conspiracy,—in the true fashion of that great secret society to which most of them belonged,—to set their hero upon the pedestal of the Presidency and for the glory of the new fatherland to deny and to conceal the ugly realities of his life. Thenceforth, nearly all Americans accounted it sacrilege to burn daylight in the sanctuary of the Washington myth. It has been done likewise for their heroes by all other peoples.

The Contribution of Washington.—The first President indeed cared much for the independence and respectability of the United States among the nations. This foremost care of his explains the central policy of his administrations. Of gratitude to France, he would not hear a word.

A great private property, such as he secured, is an expression of character. His was the necessary character of the owner of lands, of trade, of slaves, and of money, all alike valueless as property unless government sanctions by adequate force any and all violations of title.

Our Politico-Economic System.—Since 1789, our economic system has passed through many stages; nor is it now quite the same system as it was then. Still, its fundamental principles are these, viz.:

1. Private property in land by title with or without possession and use, whence the "have's" draw rent that the "have-not's" or the lesser "have's" pay.

But since 1789, governmental taxation in State and in municipality has made this property different in nature from

what it was, while the filling up of all desirable localities with owners has made rent far higher than then. The property is less absolute, but the gain vastly greater.

2. Private property in goods, in money and in credit, whence the "have's" draw interest that the lesser "have's" and the "have-not's" pay.

The rate of interest is but a fraction of what it was in 1789; but the total amount vastly greater.

3. Private property in profits from the handling of goods upon lands by hiring "labor."

This is the critical point in this economic system.

4. Wages earned and paid not in proportion to the product but according to the law of supply-and-demand.

The supply has come to be more or less limited by unions of laborers; and the demand by associations of capitalists in corporations, syndicates, trusts and pools.

5. A public right of several governments to get revenues by taxation direct and indirect.

This right was admitted gingerly in 1789. To-day, it consumes on the average seven dollars in every hundred that this economic system produces in value of goods and of services.

George Washington had to fight with Great Britain for its possession in 1775-1781 and again with the Pennsylvania backwoodsmen in 1792; and Hamilton had to scheme and to contrive for it through half a dozen years. What they did on a large scale, all the States and towns and counties were also doing.

Added to the system from Boston to Savannah in 1775, there was private property in negroes and limited private property in "redemptioners" and other bond-servants. What happened to this anachronistic mediaeval feudalism is the very substance of our history until 1865.

Capital and Labor Alienated.—Considered as a whole, the existing system is simple. In it, unlike feudalism, with its slavery, serfdom, villainage and vassalage, the wealthy have no stake in the poor. From labor, they may derive profits or sustain losses. But slavery solves, in a sense, the capital-and-labor problem because capital owns the labor. The welfare of labor is, theoretically, the welfare of capital.

Our Social Order.—From our economic system rises our social regime. Therein, the landlords, the money-lords, the profit-takers, the tax-collectors and the tax-spenders, the wage-earners and those who neither pay nor get wages, rent, interest and profits, take on names different from these. Moreover, a new class appears,—the professional, which has for its business the preservation of mutual rights and the social peace. This class has various groups, more or less honored,—lawyers and judges, police and soldiers, ministers and priests, teachers and professors, nurses and physicians, clerks and officials, writers and poets, reporters and editors. In the social regime, the economic primacy of the rich is somewhat tempered by a biologic primacy of the really well-born, by a customary station of the elite, and by many social graces and decencies standardized in age-old traditions. The poverty and the subordination of the mere hand-to-mouth wage-earners and paupers are correspondingly relieved.

The Constitutional Amendments.—It is in respect to this matter that the Constitutional Amendments have significance. The first eleven were proclaimed in force by Washington, Adams, and Jefferson as Presidents, being advocated by such men as Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, and Madison.

Their necessity arose from the fact that men feared that the power of the central government would overcome that of the States and be used for the oppression of individuals. These men foresaw that the sovereign States could not long maintain the rights of their citizens (who were also "the people of the United States") against the rising nation because the States were certain to become mere provinces. Exactly this has come to pass,—United States Circuit and Supreme Courts are now haling individuals and States before them in true sovereign style. If the plain people had not distrusted the future, these "Bill of Rights Amendments" would never have been demanded overwhelmingly. Even so, the Federal Government has won; but it respects these amendments, which are, therefore, amply justified.

Fortunately in 1790-1804, we still had the traditions and the spirit of Saxon freemen, though the merchants and their attorneys who drew up the main plan of government machinery neglected such minor details as "the rights of man." Their concern was business.

The Changes by Presidents.—Every President has stood in some distinctive personal relation to this economic system and to this social regime. The actions of several Presidents are startlingly important. Perhaps, the worst mistake ever made by a President was the naming of Taney as Chief Justice by Jackson; it was done in good faith and with good will. But it resulted in an effort by Taney to supplant the *laissez faire* economic system itself by the Southern feudal system, which was, as the event proved, a badly handicapped rival.

Certain Crimes.—Polk started the Mexican War to get cheaper land for the extension of this same anachronistic by-system of owner-and-slave. He also hoped to do good,—to his section and to his class, which seemed to him his country and all the (real) people.

Roosevelt engineered the morally indefensible Panama affair, intending to benefit those in the foreground of his own mind,—the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific Coast merchants and a wider trade. It was an economic class affair glossed over in euphemistic terms of patriotism and later confessed as a shameless sin upon those modern housetops, the front columns of our newspapers.

There are other examples closely visible to such as understand that the present economic system is not an eternal status and the present social regime not finality.

Had Cleveland, and not McKinley, been President in 1898, the Spanish War would not have ended in imperialism,—probably, it would not have begun. The result of that war has been for us to learn that "the Constitution follows the flag—sometimes." It follows the flag where the interests of the dominant social class designate, for the court obeys the sovereign. The significant thing in America is that this "sovereign" is easily recalled by the democracy.

To promote the Pacific trade is an insufficient purpose for us long to remain in Asia.

What Washington Did Respecting the Economic System.—George Washington as general had foremost in his mind the interests of land speculators who would be freer to operate out from under Great Britain; but he did not forget the desirability of having native rather than British officials of government or of developing the American trading-class. He was not directly interested in extending slavery or slave-plan-

tations or in benefiting wage-earners, rent-taking landlords or interest-getting capitalists. As President, he had foremost in his mind securing the results. Everything else was incidental; and yet though incidental, some new purposes existed.

In a rising industrialism, the merchant who trades in goods comes earlier than the employing manufacturer-capitalist. As these develop, the banker develops. Clearly, the main domestic purpose of Washington was to strengthen the tax-collecting and the tax-spending official class. His minor purposes were to promote the interests of merchants and of bankers, nor did he entirely forget the rising manufacturers. He scarcely saw the wage-earner or the freeman who neither draws nor pays wages but lives in comparative independence and isolation upon a farm or by his blacksmith shop or other trade. Washington did not see the negro slave.

In his Presidency, by advice of Hamilton, a law was passed to sell lands at not less than two dollars per acre in plots of not less than nine square miles,—but the purchasers were to have long credits. As the country had but four banks, this gave the rich virtual monopolies and put the poor at their service to labor and to rent or else to pay the speculator's profit.

The Second Federalist.—John Adams was the lawyer who had taken a nation as his client. He went to wreck upon the rocks of the "Sedition Laws," aimed at foreigners and at others who were criticising especially the political features of the new social order. *Nova ordo saeclorum* was indeed the motto of the United States. The people were still colonial,—pro-Gallican, pro-Anglican,—very few had yet risen to the nationalism of John Adams. Some had found a way-station in State-sovereignty. New questions were up,—central government *versus* the States; naturalization with the right to disavow natal allegiance; personal liberty; the relative merits of England and France; and, unfortunately, Adams was only the fourth, possibly the fifth, not the acknowledged "first citizen" of the land. The others were Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, and perhaps Burr. The event showed that Adams was not a leader, but only an instrument, at times unwilling and seldom self-understanding. He was wiser after the event.

As for his management of government, his policy was, with minor variations, that of Washington; but his personal interests were distinctly different. He was that native official of

government whom the patriots intended to establish in their service. Bred to the law, like tens of thousands of later Americans, he lived upon taxes.

THE FIRST DEMOCRAT.—Never was another such as Thomas Jefferson: violinist, inventor, pseudo-scientist, near-scientist, real scientist, gentleman-planter and breeder, kind husband, devoted father, diplomat, evader of personal responsibility, horse-rider, politician, educator, author, philosopher, religious leader, intriguer, wine-bibber to the muddling of wits; and yet seer, prophet, philanthropist, diplomat and statesman, truly polyphase, truly democratic. He even devised that mathematically convenient township system of topography upon which has been founded the political organization of many a Western State. By one vote only, his plan to exclude slavery from Kentucky and Tennessee was defeated in the Senate. He carried it in the Northwest Ordinance for the Ohio Territory in 1787; truly, the much objurgated last Congress of the Confederation was more liberal than the lauded Federal Convention. He stood for the free pioneers of the receding Appalachian frontiers,—of the wood-rangers, hunters and Indian fighters first, of the cattle-raisers next, of the land-holding farmers last,—and for the wage-earners of the towns; and he stood steadfastly against merchants, manufacturers and bankers, government officials, landlords and slavelords. He stood; he did not fight. But for him, the West that Jackson represented and the populace upon whose hearts his fortunes depended would not have existed in strength in the lifetime of "Old Hero."

Jefferson was somewhat inclined to see the past as ideal. His true American was the independent farmer, well-educated, self-reliant, interested most in his own household, next in his community, next in his State and least in the United States; in short, the ancient German allodial freeman.

Jefferson did three immortal acts,—he did King George by the Declaration of Independence, Napoleon by the Louisiana Purchase, and Federalism. Thereby, he short-circuited millions of people into national independence, into the Mississippi valley,—richest and finest and widest garden of the Lord upon all His earth,—and into democracy. He did five immortal acts, —also, he separated church and state in Virginia whence all

America drew one lesson, and he founded the University of Virginia, the brightest star in the Southern sky.

But Thomas Jefferson died insolvent. He had widened the base of the American economic system, had freed those at the bottom of the social pyramid, and had enlightened the minds of all civilized mankind. Perhaps, it is an even greater contribution patiently to keep a nation out of war, as Jefferson did, than it is eagerly to thrust a nation into war as certain other Presidents and statesmen have done.

Measure the man fairly. He seems quite the peer of our greatest,—even of Franklin,—as a contributor to national and general human progress.

The Dynasty.—James Madison was a quieter but richer political Jefferson. He saw things somewhat differently and in truth looked out upon a different nation and upon different world-politics. The planter of Virginia was a little nearer and dearer to him; and he was not quite so firm against merchants, bankers and manufacturers. James Madison cared but little for the slave, for the wage-earner and for the free farmer. War was not quite so hateful to him as it was to Jefferson; and he had less power to keep down the war-rage in Congress. But the times were different. Jefferson did not meet Clay in the political arena.

James Monroe was temperamentally more like Jefferson than Madison was. He also died insolvent. Perhaps in respect to the economic system and the social order, Monroe had less class-interest than any other President. If he was, in any sense, partial, he was partial to the independent farmer or other freeman. Like Washington and Adams, he stood for American nationality. There was no trace of colonialism in him. New Orleans and Waterloo had washed this out in blood. Spain was almost entirely ousted from the New World; and Monroe would set the United States as the protector of the new Republics to the South, founded according to her example. Like Adams, Monroe was substantially an official by habit.

Under him, the citizens prospered as never before. All classes save one prospered,—the wage-earners lost ground. In one of his annual messages Monroe was unwise and unkind enough to congratulate labor-employers upon the fall in the price of labor.

The Missouri Compromise was the little cloud in the sky to tell of the coming storm. Cotton and rice and tobacco in the South with chattel-slavery of the blacks, serving the lords of land, stood over against iron and leather and wool in the North with the wage service of the poor, waiting upon the pleasure and profit of the lords of money. It was plantation-agriculture *versus* factory-manufacture, farm-agriculture and commerce. And no man read the signs of the times. Along the line of the edge of lasting winter snow were to be erected two almost entirely different social structures.

The Second Adams.—John Quincy Adams had something of the universal genius of Jefferson,—diplomat, author, economist, scientist, poet, orator, accomplished lawyer, statesman, and at the last philanthropist. He tried tremendously hard all his life to become good and great; and nearly, perhaps actually, succeeded. But he was never amiable. He spent his life in public; he was scarcely half-grown when he went post-rider for news almost daily to Boston. He was a centralizationist and a nation-expander. He belonged to the professional class of the lawyer and took the government for his client, not the people's government, however, but the government of the "superior economic classes." Beyond Monroe, and like Washington, he was the President for speculative, adventurous business men. Hence, his advocacy of tariff for protection. "The Tariff of Abominations" came in his Presidency.

Arrived in Congress afterwards, he gave voice to the cries of the poor, but his allegiance was to the manufacturers of his District. The petitions in Congress made even an ex-President more famous; and in this democracy, fame is power.

"Old Hero."—The essential Andrew Jackson was the typical freeman. He was the self-reliant, forth-stepping, untamed and unfettered man. And yet he became himself a speculator and an office-holder, a general and a judge,—because he fascinated millions. He was or seemed the apostle of turn-it-over, redistribute the honors, the privileges, the properties. Behold! All things are made new. By him came the first threat of the break-up. The predatory rich who were gaining in the North from banking and tariff were robbing all citizens in the South and many others in the North. The lords of chattel-slaves threatened nullification of the nation's statutes as punishment of the Northern lords of wage-servitors and government-privi-

leged manufacturing capital; and Andrew Jackson, bolder, noisier and more willful than any lords, was referee *ad interim*.

The strength of the Presidency was his; and he made life more interesting to the average man. In 1833, the public lands under new statutes sold at the rate of $4,000,000 worth a year; in 1837, at $24,000,000. The people were so busy speculating that they had no time to raise wheat, which they imported from Europe at $2 a bushel.

Jackson was a famous hunter; he gathered into his hunting-bag those great men,—Pakenham, J. Q. Adams, Clay, Nicholas Biddle, and Calhoun,—and several minor personal enemies. He died well-to-do.

Restricted Government.—With Van Buren, straight business men,—those who a generation before were the radicals of business but were now its conservatives,—came to the saddle. For the first time, we had "real money," intrinsic money of redemption. But Van Buren made government strong by restricting its energies and by confining them to a channel. In earlier days, he had been all for the common man. He was not so much an habitual office-holder as our first typical politician-President. He was a distinctly successful lawyer and made a fortune thereby,—which his official biographers scarcely mention.

Disconcerted Speculative Business.—William Henry Harrison was the industrial unit man, the farmer-soldier. Party-managers,—meaning thereby the agents of big business,—thought they could use him, and manufactured hurrahs enough to float him into the Presidency, being greatly helped by the delight of the common man in that other "old-hero," Andrew Jackson. But Harrison did not travel so much upon his own steam.

Then came a bolt out of the blue! The Whig capitalists, who might have found Harrison docile and teachable, found Tyler fractious. He was the little slave-owning planter and politician frequently in office. In the industrial phase, he was a pale reminder of Monroe. The upshot of his work was some advance of slaveowners into Texas. But Tyler was also the localist, the parochial, the decentralizationist. And when the whole record is studied, his public life becomes respectable from an inner consistency of principle not obvious to his con-

temporaries. He raised fourteen children, and died with but little property.

Polk the Expansionist.—Polk rushed in. Power-hungry, land-hungry, money-hungry, even heaven-hungry, he was our first devoutly religious President, our relentless agent of manifest destiny. He hurried and harried us on to a goal where we shall be found too big to hold together,—for all our telegraph and printing-presses and national laws and officials. And with his hurrying, he killed himself. He was all for the slaveowner and for the land speculator. He put the army to work, and in the end paid Mexico a quarter of a dollar, two bits, per acre for some million square miles of land. The Comstock lode alone paid for it several times over.

A New Rich Slaveowner.—Taylor and Scott were the chief tools of this agent of destiny. In the nick of time, Taylor ran for the Presidency and won; out of keeping with the times, later, Scott ran and lost. Taylor was devoutly religious. Polk and Taylor,—enemies at deaths so near together,—were proponents of fate, meaning their own uncontrollable wills, backed by the wills of millions; and prayer was their penance.

In his economic phase, Taylor was the money-getting, property-accumulating government man,—for the army is the heart of government,—who planted his stakes as he won them in lands, in slaves and in cattle. Risking his life in campaigns from Lakes to Gulf, he made perhaps half-a-million dollars, mysteriously. The lords of the North used him; they were all of a piece with himself.

A Dynasty of Failures.—Fillmore was a lawyer, agreeable to respectable men of property and of business, North and South. For him, the poor, the plain farmer, the wage-earner did not exist save as voters. Except near election, they were "hands," the "masses," the unimportant. Perhaps, no other President had less principles; his were self-preservation, and such property and offices as came his way easily.

Pierce, the lawyer, had enough personal graces to make his measure of performance seem even the more contemptible. He played both ends, South and North, and bent double in the real failures of apparent successes.

Buchanan was the almost constant office-holder, domestic and diplomatic, who, nevertheless, by the law acquired a for-

tune. He was put into the Presidency to do nothing, and by graciously doing nothing, let whatever hell this world knows and its fiends loose. Buchanan worked destruction unwillingly, almost unwittingly. He was too old and perhaps naturally too dull to see North and South what mischief was afoot.

The day of Northern lawyers with the South as their supposed client was past.

James Buchanan belonged to an elder age, and the pitiless misfortune that befell him was to live too long and to be raised too high.

A new time was on hand. He lived in the past. In the time of Monroe, these predecessors were alive,—Adams, Jefferson, and Madison. They obscured him by clouding him out with their ancient glories.

In the time of Polk, these predecessors were alive,—J. Q. Adams, Van Buren, and Tyler. Again, the President suffered.

In the time of Buchanan, these survived,—Van Buren, Tyler, Fillmore, and Pierce.

And Buchanan, who was intellectually their superior, consulted with them, whereby all the blind together went into the ditch.

The Meaning of the War between the States.—The cities of the seacoast had become the trade-agencies of both systems. Politics were almost as commercial as to-day, and perhaps more commercial than in the second half of the eighteenth century. The cities carried water on both shoulders and caught trade both going and coming. The cotton-factors grew rich; the jobbers of manufactured goods likewise; and the city bankers. The greater lords of capital in the North tried to stay out of the combat as neutrals. The wage-servants of the North, believing themselves to be free, the small farmers who were plucked without knowing it, the tradespeople who shared in the commercial spoil, rose enthusiastically, going themselves and sending their sons into the fight, and even allowing their daughters to nurse the sick and wounded. They meant to save nationality as it had been; what they saved was nationality, it is true, but it was a nationality operated in a joint agreement between tariff beneficiaries, the Grand Army of the Republic and the bankers. The consumers of goods, fined by mysterious indirect taxes, paid the bills.

In the South, with the lords of lands and of slaves, rose all free laborers. All the South, the proud and the lowly, went into battle,—to save their economic system upon which the social structure depended.

THE WHIG TURNED REPUBLICAN.—Lincoln was the lawyer-spokesman of the speculative business men of the North, not of the conservatives and routinists. He was, economically, the typical Whig politician. Clay was his early worship. For his client, he took the Constitution broadly construed as he understood it. His followers imagined that things are what they are called. They pictured the horrors of chattel-slavery, and the glories of wage-service, neither being at least universally characteristic. They called it the "free North" against the "slave South." Numbers began to win, with the resources of bankers, of manufacturers, of railroaders, of merchants, all out for profits, at their service. The lords of capital began to buy up the Federal Government with bonds. They raised the tariffs beyond the dreams of former avarice and put government commissariats and private citizens' households under commercial bondage. They leagued the Government with the banks through the bonds. With drafts and bonuses and wonderful promises of pensions and honors, they flooded the poorer youth of the North out upon Southern battle-fields.

The time of the War between the States,—under the Constitutions, the old and the imitation-new,—was a time of riotous growth for stay-at-homes of every class,—bankers, manufacturers, landowners, farmers, freemen, wage-earners, professional men. Money, of various kinds, was plentiful. Prices soared; and profits were amazing. While some men were dying on battlefields, other men were running a railroad across to the Pacific. And the government had given away the finest provinces of the empire as bonuses to railroad-builders and "financiers." Never before had public resources gone so readily to the benefit of individuals.

And Lincoln, seeking his one goal, union, was powerless to prevent this sudden development into plutocracy, government by and for wealth.

THINGS ARE SELDOM WHAT THEY ARE CALLED.—The Southerners also imagined that things are what they are called. They pictured the men and boys of the North as dull laborers

and greedy money-getters and their own people as universally war-heroes, neither being universally characteristic. They dreamed also that the wage-servants of England would back the lords of capital and for the sake of food and shelter bow before King Cotton. This also was error. The laborers of England thought of the black slaves as equal human beings, which was still another error.

At last, all were swept into the maelström,—South and North, "have's" and "have-not's," the happy and the hungry, country-men and city-dwellers, learned and ignorant, even the servants, all save Northern capitalists who stayed home and gained more capital out of the fear and misery of the rest. Suspension of *habeas corpus* in the North, invading armies in the South put an end to liberty. When the end came, the "hungry have-more's" and the "happy have's" of the South were dead or desolate; but the "hungry have-more's" of the North had piled up riches. The cemeteries were full of the named and nameless dead of a criminal war. One-third of our national wealth was gone; all the rest was obligated for $3,000,000,000 of bonds drawing 6 and 7 per cent. gold, for which paper way below par had been paid; and obligated also for yet more in pensions to Northern soldiers.

The Net Gain.—For what was the immense treasure paid? For what were these lives laid down? To maintain the old Union, the one nation for its own sake and lest other cleavages befall later; and to replace the Southern chattel-slavery and its responsibility of the master for support with the Northern wage-service and its hire-and-fire of the master and work-or-shirk of the laborer.

It was a costly transition for the slaves,—of whom uncounted hundreds of thousands perished of want and its consequent diseases. In the end, not only did the old South disappear but the old North also. It was a common ruin; into the vacuum of the North came the millions of Europe, into that of the South, the flotsam and jetsam drift of the North.

Legally, it was the work of John Marshall, Chief Justice, bequeathed by John Adams, and of Roger Brooke Taney, Chief Justice, bequeathed by Andrew Jackson. Marshall had ruled that the Supreme Court can declare laws null for unconstitutionality. Accordingly, Taney made the Missouri Compromise null. Together, they kept open the Pandora's box of consti-

tutional revision unchecked by any other authority. Had the original Constitution,—that of Madison, before its amendment by Marshall,—contained a provision calling for a decennial or quarter centenary convention of revisionists properly constituted and assembled, or had it created a Congress with the Constitution-making power of Parliament, there would have been no InterState War. Humanity has at last reached the stage when it would rather argue than kill. But the amended Constitution created a feud between North and South; and they fought it out.

In the end, the colored man was not a slave attached to the person of his owner but a serf attached to a job,—like every wage-employe of the North. Also, in the end, the Republic was less of a federation and more of a nation than before; and the free citizen looked less to the Capital of his State and more to the Capital of the United States.

Slavery Not the Cause of the War.—Slavery was not the cause of the InterState War. Brutal treatment of slaves was not common enough for that. They never rose in order to win the freedom of wage-service. The alleged deep wrong of owning a person but one or two or three generations removed from savagery in Africa was a wrong not felt by the person owned, but only by remote sentimentalists. We had slavery since 1619. To isolate a cause, eliminate the common factors present when in the same situation the corresponding effect failed to manifest itself. The plausible assertion that the wrongs of the bondmen piled up until at last they overtopped the endurance of the slaves themselves, of their masters, and of Northern spectators and philanthropists is historically contrary to fact, for the slaves multiplied; whereas races increasingly oppressed decrease in numbers, of inevitable course.

Not the rising resentment of slavery as ethically wrong,—which is indubitable,—not even fanatic abolitionism was the cause of the Inter-State War. John Brown failed ignominiously in his raid; and no other John Browns were likely to appear. The North was altogether anxious to leave slavery alone.

The State's rights doctrine did not cause the war. It continues to this day, and yet no war comes. It is the very antithesis of war, seeking to avoid collisions of sections by making the burden of national government light.

Nor was the war "a necessary evil," something that "must needs be for the final good." Men used to think that measles, chickenpox, and that nerve-disease which from its symptoms is styled "whooping-cough," were good for children, and necessary because they were so general. But now we know better. All wars are wicked, just as all diseases are evils. Said Benjamin Franklin, "There never was a good war or an unjust peace."

Certain Conditions and Forces.—A cause is the sum total of the conditions and forces whence a result issues. The blood-lust only sleeps in the heart of man. Yancey and Toombs, the fire-eaters; senile and loquacious Taney,—senescent, shuffling and misunderstanding Buchanan; a Constitution rigid on paper, but bending in fact at the will of the few Supreme Court Justices, and a strange Northern faith in the perfection of the wage-service, capitalistic system over against a convinced Southern belief in the necessity of the chattel-slave, landlord system: these were the forces and the conditions that were the cause of the Inter-State War.

It was a futile war that settled only the trivial bondage feature of the vital race-conflict. They have rights only who dare and can maintain them. The negro cannot be the equal of the white. Of course, we are a nation of several castes,—natives of many generations, mostly at leisure or its equivalent, white foreigners mostly at labor; both voting; and the colored who labor but do not vote. To deny this is as foolish as it is hypocritical.

Impeached for His Merits.—Half-tailor, half-official, all-defiant, Johnson spoke for the poor. He was all for the rights of localities and of individuals. None understood him. The Presidency is for lawyers, being usually attorneys for interests. Some day, historians will show and the people will know that Andrew Johnson, personally full of faults, made the Presidency itself as an office powerful. His vetoes display the free man of the people standing upon the rights of his office. It is respectable to say that "if Lincoln had lived, the South would have had its rights. Far, far more likely is it that if Lincoln had lived, he also would have been impeached for doing his duty as God gave him to see it.

Congress Overrides the Supreme Court.—It is not yet "standard history" to tell that in the term of Johnson, the

plunderers in Congress passed a law forbidding the Supreme Court, upon pain of fine and imprisonment, to declare their laws unconstitutional; not until 1875 did the court dare to call this law unconstitutional. And yet if any law is unconstitutional, this "Force Bill" against the South was such, being also essentially wicked, corrupt and base. White indeed does Johnson seem side by side with Thaddeus Stevens, the iron-manufacturer, overseer of Congress.

The Social Situation at the Capital.—The War had unsettled all social relations. It had created great breaches in the walls of the old society North as well as South, into which as into vacuums the waters of the general rushed. The rich were impoverished, the strong and noble were dead, the learned were out of date and scorned. It was a time of new measures and of new men. And more than any other city of the land, not excepting the ruined cities of the South, Washington was changed. Except in minor clerkships, only new faces were to be seen. Here and there out of the ocean of the new, an *ante bellum* mountain top like Teneriffe arose.

The newspaper correspondence of the period is amazing,—it is even more interesting than that of the time of Andrew Jackson and the arrival of the new West. The *nouveaux riches* had replaced the Southern slave barons and the Northern attorneys and capitalists. Certain departments, such as the Interior, were already sinks of pollution. There was a change of manners; a change of ethics; a change of values; a change in the sense even of decency. There is a new flaunting of wealth, of power, of what money and power will attract. Writing of a scene at the doors of the Capitol at the impeachment of the President, a brilliant woman correspondent wrote to a Northern newspaper, "Now came the wives of the wealthy members, not the leading ones, for great men seldom take time to get rich. More carriages, and the demimondes flutter out, faultless in costume, fair as ruby wine, and much more dangerous. The carriages bring the cream, and the street cars the skim milk."[1] They fill the ladies' galleries whenever orators speak.

It was not so before the War. It has been so ever since. It grew worse under Grant, quieted under Hayes, rose under Arthur, concealed itself under Cleveland, was rampant under McKinley. It is the very essence of a government by special

[1] *Olivia Letters*, Emily E. Briggs.

interests, for the special interests, and of us all except the special interests. To flaunt their wives or their women is the evidence of "easy money" and of the confident, unrestricted, unchallenged power of male humanity.

After the War, Grant followed. Stripped of his fame and of the gratitude of the compulsory Unionists, he appears a soldier-yeoman with one feature of genius, ability to handle masses of men. Raised to a pinnacle whence one may view the world, he saw in it opportunities for companionship with the rich and for helping his friends at the expense of society organized as government. For him as for Jackson, a people's favor exercised a dispensing power.

Reconstruction Compared with Secession.—Reconstruction, by the same arms that had forced secession to defeat, was far more of a moving cause for war than anything that the South had done or suffered hitherto. But the South was helpless. Reconstruction followed defeat and ruin. Repudiation followed reconstruction and horror. Readjusting followed repudiation and shame. And the old South with her glory is buried deep in the ashes of pitiless crimes, wrongs and disasters.

Hayes the Beneficent.—Then Hayes arrived, taking constitutionally, legally and by common consent what was not his in ethics. He was a beneficent soul, comfortable from rents and interests, and not eager. Though not a decentralizationist, he put an end to force. He did some hunting, but with snares, not with guns. He was religious and pious, virtuous and contented, but he was not self-gratulatory. God was good to him, and he was grateful, not grasping for more; and yet because of the economic system, the more and more kept coming, for he was a steward, not a spender, of riches. More bishop than statesman, he is unique in our record.

Garfield and Arthur.—All for national glory, ready to bargain for aggrandizement, Garfield counts mainly as evidence of what manner of man the people of the year 1880 delighted to honor. He was the yeoman turned scholar, then general, then legislator, always poor and healthy and self-confident, a lawyer public servant; and like some contentious lawyers, he set all the country by the ears.

Arthur was a gay and happy poor man usually in office, nearly devoid of principles, using manners, graces and favors

in their stead. He cared almost nothing about to-morrows. His was a pleasant figure at not too close a view.

Government is Not Good in Itself.—As from another world came Grover Cleveland, manifesting that to be respectable government must be economical and honest. He worked like a man in a dream. Servant of the new commercial classes, he brought in a new age, but not to stay. Strong government never dissipates its energies. Riotous memories of the past were shut into a compartment of his mind, and its door was never opened.

A central government pursuing many enterprises is in the way of destruction, and its people are on the way to "bread and a circus." Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Lincoln had glimpses of this truth, for which Cleveland, too dull to apply the principle rigidly, was nevertheless brave enough to go to battle and to defeat calmly; and then to go again to battle and to victory.

A Link in the Tariff Chain.—Another and a greater lawyer but lesser public servant defeated and then was defeated by Grover Cleveland. This was Benjamin Harrison, worker for tariff-protected manufacturers and bent upon national expansion.

A Modest Imperialist.—Then came William McKinley, a happy-less-than-nothing, a lawyer-politician, habitual office-holder, speculating iron manufacturer the while, existing almost solely for the development of the tariff. Thanks to what happened under this amiable helot of millionaires, we now police a quarter of the world. Oh, for a day of someone else, —the day we took the Philippines! Would that it had been a day of a man of gracious common sense like Madison or Lincoln, or of angry resistance like Van Buren or Cleveland. For it makes a deal of difference to one's children's children who is our President. Not even Polk could have done worse.

A Hunter.—Roosevelt was a plunger. A big game-hunter in forest and in politics, he took his prey everywhere. Landlord, money-lord, writer, by profession, and always an office-seeker when not in office of peace or war, he admired most the permanent classes.

The pictures in the gallery of the mind of Roosevelt were seldom hung and were usually not even framed; the corridors went unswept and the windows unwashed; but it was an im-

mense gallery full of a variety of pictures; and at the doors, to all a welcome.

A Contented Man.—Socially, the most pleasant of men to know are the unworried poor, whom Roosevelt scorned and occasionally condemned. And yet being ever contradictory, he made one such President,—William Howard Taft, very useful to the powers behind government according to the ever-increasing demands of bankers, of transporters of goods, of merchants, of manufacturers and of capitalists. And yet the fate of Fillmore, of Pierce, and of Buchanan his prototypes may be his.

A New Social Cleavage.—To-day, a new social cleavage threatens. Whether it will break, as did the Revolution of 1775, in every city and town and village and hamlet and in the open country, or as secession did in 1861 between sections, no man knows. The economic system that became universal after Appomattox is working out to its logical end. By our legislation, and by our court decisions, we guarantee to protected manufacturers "reasonable profits"; to capitalists employing their wealth in business, we guarantee interest upon their money,—except every dozen years when a natural panic readjusts artificial values,—and "reasonable restraints of competition"; to our laborers, by police and militia, we guarantee the "free rights of labor"; and to landlords their rents unless the tenants are in poverty. Employers in midwinter can and do discharge thousands of laborers penniless upon the streets without notice. Employers can and do lock the doors of their factories so that their laborers perish in holocausts. Employers can and do about as they please. For every wrong to one negro, in slavery, wrongs to a hundred whites in wage-service may be set forth. The future is capitalized, the public good will, statute law, natural monopoly; and stocks are watered accordingly.

And from top to bottom, wage-earner, manufacturer, freighter, trader, banker charges all that the traffic will bear in one consistent and yet not universal covetousness. The workers organize in unions and make war,—with conspiracy and with dynamite,—against the lords of land, of capital and of privilege. The vaunted free-labor system is supplied with laborers by immigration from Europe,—one-seventh of our people are foreign-born, one-sixth more are the children of

the foreign-born,[1] and the reproduction of the *ante bellum* stock has long since ceased to equal its death-rate,—and we wonder why our free institutions do not work well. A really great people multiplies by its own reproduction.

On field, in mine, in factory, in store and office, we ask,—"What next?" Our cities multiply; their populations grow; but does the average level of intelligence and of morality rise? We seem at last awakening to the fact that heredity counts as well as education. But then Priscilla herself was a Mullins from Ireland.

What Wealth May Properly Be Property.—Of course, it is a question of poverty in the midst of plenty. Savagery and barbarism do not tolerate it. Civilization always produces it. Nearly all Americans are wage-servants and rent-tenants, hungry and happy "have-not's" waiting upon the "have's" to let them take food and shelter enough to keep them alive for more wage-earning and rent-paying. And all Americans have come clearly to see that the mode of government operation exists primarily not for property as such,—property is the reservoir of wealth, the residuum of lives, the guarantee of the future, and absolutely necessary, which makes impertinent the question whether or not it is desirable,—but for certain kinds of property, accumulated by government-privilege, municipal, State or national.

Some Past Issues Restated.—Originally, the supporters of high protective tariffs asserted that when loaded with profits, the capitalists would pay the wage-earning, hand-to-mouth,-give-us-day-by-day-our-daily-bread "have-not's" generous wages. But appetite grew by what it fed upon; and the paid tariff attorneys in Congress made profits grow by statute while wages remained under the iron law of demand-and-supply.

We do not know what "sound currency" means; we never have had it. Inflation is to the interest of speculators and of all other debtors; comes with silver flooding from the mines or with gold likewise as well as from fiat paper money flooding out of government printing shops.

Credit freely given is inflation. So is spendthriftism, which keeps money going about fast.

But asking for specie instead of a bank check or a paper dollar is a bear operation, just as issuing a paper dollar or a

[1]Census of 1910; summary published December, 1911.

silver dollar at 16 to 1 when the market value is 31 to 1 is a bull operation; and in this fashion, men merrily make war upon one another, and throw aside the dead.

Internal improvements upon government taxes mean graft —for the localities collected from all of us, and for the contractors and laborers who otherwise would be less competed for in the industrial markets. The next generation may try to pay the bills to the workless and worthless sons and daughters of to-day's bondholders.

The expansion of slavery meant offsetting the artificial expansion of wage-service in the North and increasing the supply of raw materials and also the markets for the manufactured goods of the "have's" and "have-not's" alike of the North.

Territorial expansion into Louisiana and Oregon and Alaska was to help the "have-not's"; into Upper Mexico, the Philippines and Porto Rico, to help the "have's" primarily.

And this history exploded the myth that "you cannot help one man without helping every other," for the artificially enriched capitalist became a competitor of the poor man for agricultural and mining and lumber lands and bid up prices beyond his reach. A big navy and government glory and a vast pension list, the spread of exports to three billions of value a year, and newspapers full of political news, and legislatures weltering in bills, bills, bills (mostly private, however), have not concealed from the "have's" who are content with economic gain and from the intelligent "have-nots" the real inner truth of this process. The birth rates of the various classes and nationalities tell the story. New England no longer has youth and children of the old stock; and her legislators average past fifty years in age.

The New Issues Not Merely Political.—The race questions and the Mormon question go below economics and concern flesh-and-blood, the moral ideas, the intellectual aspirations, and the quality of our population. They concern our fellowship in the nations of the world; they concern our religion, our education, and morals and manners. Both negro and Morman are to-day manipulated for the benefit of the Republican party, which is the defender of property-as-it-is. What may be righteously the subject of property? What is liberty in a complex and multitudinous society? Does modern property force the growth of cities? Does the secret ballot

teach cowardice and lying? What new classes are coming? Is caste already here?

With the commands, "Thou shalt not covet" and "Thou shalt not kill," ringing in our ears,—being natural laws, they ring whether they are known to come from Sinai or not,—present political alignments are becoming obsolete. Politics never do manage vital issues; but politics may become so trivial as to become worse than base,—they become absurd.

To have political divisions respecting ethical issues brings a nation into the contempt of the discerning.

The two black-and-white race questions are not settled. We do not yet know what to do with Afro-Americans or with the Hispano-Filipinos. Inequality and friendliness in the relation of owner and bondman did not settle the relations of negro and Caucasian. Inequality and alienation in the relation of employer and wage-servant have not settled them.

The Filipino situation is likewise unsettled.

The Mormon question with its content of polygamy and ecclesiastical domination is just as serious. To-day, political Democracy as a party stands for "a white man's land," not knowing exactly the purport of the phrase. But Republicanism protects the Mormon hierarchy, and polls its votes in the Legislatures of six States and in the Congress of all the States.

All the while, the mythical average man is asking the question,—"What does this party (or that party) think of property itself and of my liberties?" He fails to see that parties do not think; they are instruments only, when old, the instruments of power and privilege; when new, the instruments of thought.

To-day, the State, which is the visible body of government, is universal and dominant. There are no outlaws from Key West to Cape Nome; but the Church, which is the visible body of religion, is by no means universal or powerful. There are millions of infidels in the land. Our morals and ethics are in confusion from conflicting race-standards and no standards at all. Race-equality fanatics, Mormon propagandists, the apostles of revived Oriental cults find open forums here.

As abolitionism split the old Whig and Democratic parties, ending the former, so progressivism may split the present Republican and Democratic parties, ending the former. Aboli-

tionism opposed slavery, progressivism opposes outworn laws, including the tariff.

Our Doom is to Change and to Grow.—We have lived through several social revolutions and many other social changes; and more portend. Our Presidents of the future must be more than politicians and go deeper than any other Presidents hitherto have gone into the struggles at the heart of humanity.

The American ship of State rides "chartless upon the storm-engendering sea of liberty." Upon every quadrennium of Presidential election, with some Washington or Jackson, Lincoln or Roosevelt, the new storm may break over us. As we skirt the coasts of change, not often or for long do we find quiet harbor under a Monroe, a Fillmore or a Benjamin Harrison. Four times, we have added great areas to our domain, —in the days of Jefferson, of Polk, of Johnson, and of McKinley. Are we yet to add other areas? If so, are we to wake up some morning with a section of China or of Mexico or of Canada added by the trustees of political power directed by the lords of wealth? We are doomed to go on and on; but as a single nation, only until when?

CHAPTER III

The Principles and History of Our Political Parties

Fundamental court and country parties—capital and labor—Republicanism and Democracy—high tariffs—individualism—ancient and colonial politics—part played by Madison in Constitutional Convention—Federalism—Democracy—strict construction of Constitution—two lists of Presidents, before and after Jackson—the party convention—manhood suffrage—social revolution—National Republicanism—slavery and Douglas—Copperheadism—negro-rights amendments—free coinage of silver—Americanizing the foreigner—Anti-Masonry—Whiggism—Clay and Webster—Compromise of 1850—Liberty—Birney—Free Soil—J. P. Hale—Know Nothingism—spread of Roman Catholicism—Seward—free public education—wages, prices and standard of living—Republicanism—first principles achieved—

definition of party—Squatter Sovereignty—lyceums—Ostend Manifesto—Dred Scott decision—Lincoln—legal tender—national banks—city and farm—reconstruction—insurgency—Liberal Republicans—factionalism—reciprocity—insurgency—GREENBACKISM—Peter Cooper—PROHIBITIONISM—a two-party nation—ethical influences—Populism—Bryan—SOCIALISM—state and coöperative—individual freedom through politics—the problem society and individual.

PLAYING THE ROULETTE WHEEL.—In the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, we set up the Convention system for the nomination of Presidential candidates. It corresponds closely with the roulette wheel. One who expects to get men of a high order out of hurrah conventions could expect always to win a 100-to-1 play.

THE FUNDAMENTAL COURT AND COUNTRY PARTIES.—In the second decade of this twentieth century, we have two great parties, the Democratic and the Republican, and several small parties, among them the Prohibitionist and the Social Democratic or "Socialist," as it has been named under court order in several States. Under all political parties runs the line of social cleavage, formulated as "capital" and "labor," meaning "capitalists" and "trade union laborers." With the capitalists are affiliated the "middle class," composed mostly of tradespeople and small farmers, the professional men, the clerks, and the non-union laborers, including farm-hands.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.—To the capitalists and their allies, the Republicans offer, first, "prosperity" through protection of American manufacturers, thereby securing profits to them, though profits are not guaranteed to any other class of Americans, and, second, national honor through strong central government. To the laborers and their allies, the Republicans offer "prosperity through constant work at high wages." For thirty years and more, this program has constituted the hold of the Republican party upon the National Government.

To the capitalists and laborers alike, the Democrats appeal as consumers, with so much income with which to buy so much merchandise, asserting that lower tariffs and less costly government mean lower prices and "more goods for your money." The Democrats have the advantage of a solid South shut to Republicanism by the crimes of reconstruction. The party struggles have been in the North and in the West. The

Democratic party has been right upon the race-question, in comparison with which, properly, the South thinks all other questions trivial.[1]

The Democratic party has existed since the beginning of American political history. Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, and George Mason were all democrats.[2] Thomas Jefferson formulated Democracy and gave it party existence. Jackson made his important contribution by giving the offices to the people,—"fishers and choppers and ploughmen shall constitute the State," as Emerson said. Calhoun made his contribution of political metaphysics. Cleveland redeemed Democracy by showing that a government that rejects tasks not strictly governmental, a non-meddlesome government, may, nevertheless, be all the stronger by reason of concentration upon its proper tasks.[3]

Republicanism and Democracy.—Though since 1861 the Republican party with contemptuous pride has viewed the Democratic as "in the opposition," American history abundantly warrants the statement that the Republican theory is transient while the Democratic is permanent. A protective tariff, unless prohibitive, is always and necessarily unstable. Moreover, strong central government is always and necessarily so restrictive of individual initiative and ingenuity as to invite resentment while at the same time constricting growth of population by reproduction, the main security of nations and the first criterion of their happiness. As a class-party, Republicanism constantly is hard put to it to find and to publish new and extraneous issues lest its falsity to the truth of universal history be obvious. Some of these extra and noncognate issues have, however, been admirable.

Though Anti-Federalism was logically Democratic, Federalism itself was not Republicanism but a far broader philosophy. Federalism was neo-constitutionalism, in a sense, nationalism. Chief Justice Marshall and his associates of the Supreme Court by setting themselves up as a non-reviewable constitutional convention in continual session made Federalism legally Americanism. Federalism was absorbed and dissipated in its own success. Thereafter, it had no reason for existence, and accordingly disappeared. For a time under Madison, Monroe,

[1]See p. 90, *supra*. [2]See p. 68, *supra*. [3]See pp. 63, 65, 86, *supra*.

and J. Q. Adams, all Americans were Democrats, trying to find the rights of the States and of the individuals beneath the foundations of a Federalistic Nation. South Carolina "nullification" and Confederate "secession" were earthquakes. When Jackson broke "Biddle's Bank," he tore out one of the great halls of the Federalistic National structure. What Washington, Hamilton, and John Adams tried to do with the one National Bank, Lincoln and Chase and John Sherman did far better with their chain of National Banks,—banking with democratic dispersion. And what both Jackson the Democrat and John Sherman the Republican did in demanding and getting specie payment, "intrinsic money of redemption," was the work of democratic individualism. Only excessive "nationalism" attempts fiat money, legal tender, greenbacks, irredeemable paper currency,—all of which came in the InterState War for the extraordinary purpose of "saving the Union." The individual with gold dollars in his pocket, with a deed to his house and garden-close duly registered in a Government office, and with his job, is the true democrat. In seeking to secure to him the job of making his employer rich and theoretically generous, Republicanism is seeking to produce the true democrat; but in so doing, it creates the two classes, one of government-privileged masters and the other of wage-earning servants. By its legal tenders and national bank notes and its government bonds for debts, Republicanism makes money plenty and stimulates speculative business.[1] Democracy does not seek to produce the true democrat, believing that in a free society with a minimum of government assistance and meddling, the true democrat grows of himself. The views of Republicanism and of Democracy in respect to government and to human nature are mutually exclusive. Democracy considers government a concession to the weakness and errancy of human nature and a convenient method of advertising social customs and of publishing in words the natural laws established in facts.

Individualism.—Democracy lets the individual work out his own destiny, but Republicanism coddles him. Trade-restrictions and non-importation laws are all forms of the social taboo characteristic of primitive societies. In civilized nations, they are atavistic and fortunately intermittent in appearance

[1]See p. 104, *infra*.

and transient in term. Free trade, like free speech within the gates of one's own lands and like equal rights beyond their bounds, is the sign manual of true civilization.

Ancient and Colonial Politics.—Human societies have taken various forms,—tyrannies, tribes, communities, monarchies, republics, what not? Governments change, national lines disappear, languages, religions, institutions vanish; but men grow like grass. The individual is a unit,—for all one knows, he is from everlasting to everlasting. The real man has been the same whether Sargon or slave, Caesar, Charlemagne, Shakespeake, yeoman or lord. Once out of childhood, the real man has always been virtually self-sufficient with a surplus to spare,—he carries more than his own weight. He asks nothing tangible from government; he asks by it justice, and shares in its transactions equally with others on the level floor of a common humanity. When the self-sufficient man with the surplus turns his superabundant strength to trespassing upon others, he must be curbed. In the democratic conception, government is concerned with preventing such trespass and in punishing it when accomplished, and is concerned with little else.

The roots of Federalism and of Democracy lay in the colonial soil. The colonies were variously governed at the top, but most of them had the same mode of local government,—the assembling of the citizens for discussion and voting. New England called this "town-meeting"; and wherever it may, persists yet in this indubitable democracy.

Conceived in the broadest terms, the local communities in nearly all the colonies had democracy in the sense of majority rule after public discussion. Similarly conceived in the broadest terms, the government of the colony was superimposed from without as by an absentee but absolute sovereign. The local government was usually weak and often vacillating,—not government by force but control by speech and influence. The central government,—from the Capital of the Colony backed by the oversea Crown,—was the government by force.

In the War of Independence itself, the partisans of each theory of government were deeply concerned. Patrick Henry was the true parish-meeting democrat, George Washington the aristocrat real or would-be, proposing to put oversea and alien aristocrats aside that native gentlemen might rule.

Part Played by Madison in the Federal Convention. —In the Constitutional Convention, the partisans of each theory again took part. Between the two factions, James Madison played with matchless *finesse*. Hence arose the amazing complications of the Constitutional checks and balances. In the end, the partisans of the theory of force-government had a by no means complete victory. In other terms, the capitalists who save, administer and direct wealth had rather the better of the four months' argument with those theorists who, consciously or unconsciously, were playing the hand of the laborers and wealth-producers. The men who would not sign the Constitution bore eloquent testimony; they were ultra-democrats.[1]

The members of the Convention scarcely foresaw that parties would arise to choose Senators and Congressmen and even the President. They certainly looked upon the Electoral College as a device absolutely safe from party manipulation, as the documents prove.[2]

Federalism.

The Federalists fought through to success the struggles for the ratification of the Constitution in twelve of the thirteen States,—Rhode Island long held out. Yet according to its own text, the Constitution was not to be fully in force until unanimously ratified.[3] Still, the Federalists went boldly forward. Three of their number wrote "The Federalist" to interpret the Constitution. So absolute was their hold upon the State Legislatures, which in 1788 chose all the Electors, that they elected George Washington unanimously as President. It was their good fortune to have in him the one most admired man in the nation, a circumstance that suppressed many an otherwise Anti-Federalist vote. They organized the government. Washington himself said that it would be folly to appoint to office an opponent of the Constitution as the Federalists understood it.

In 1801, the Federalists lost control of the government by a small majority, and then went wild. In 1808 and again in 1814, at the Hartford Convention, surviving Federalism lost

[1] See pp. 69, 276 *et seq.*
[2] Madison's Journal, July 25.
[3] Federal Constitution, Article VII.

its original doctrine and talked State's rights. In the middle years of its life Federalism tried to make a South Carolinan President, a political error, for Federalism was a theory for bankers and merchants, creditors, army and navy officers, large employers of hired labor, not for agricultural regions, and could not thrive in the South under its economic and social systems. When he consented to a Potomac site for the Capital,[1] Hamilton helped to kill Federalism. But the suicide of the party was not completed without the Alien and Seditions Acts, the New England factionalism and sectionalism, and finally the setting up of the social cult in Massachusetts to the effect that "all gentlemen are Federalists." There and thereof and then, Federalism died.[2]

Democracy

While Federalism was pursuing its suicidal course and vanishing into a memory of the past, a dead hope proclaiming a nation's ingratitude while itself had become a sickly treason, Anti-Federalism was on its march to greatness.

The two leaders of Federalism had been Hamilton, brilliant and bad, and Adams, energetic and good, but neither of them winning and tactful. Anti-Federalism had one major leader and one minor, both winning and tactful, Thomas Jefferson, brilliant and at heart good, and Aaron Burr, brilliant and bad.

Strict Construction of the Constitution.—The Anti-Federalists took the view that the powers assigned to the National Government should be strictly construed while those reserved to the States should be loosely and liberally construed. The principle has been recognized for ages in the English common law. Criminal statutes are strictly construed, civil statutes are liberally construed. As the days of the Revolutionary War and of the period of unrest before 1787 receded into the background, the home-love for the State brought to Anti-Federalism many a convert. But for the flare-up when Adams made Washington general of an army against France,[3] the victory of Anti-Federalism over Federalism in 1801 would have been overwhelming. Continued shrewd

[1]See pp. 261-262, *infra*. [2]See p. 309, *infra*. [3]See p. 249, *infra*.

and bold politics of this kind, and John Adams might have won his second term.

Part of the strength of Thomas Jefferson as leader came from the fact that he had favored the ratification of the Constitution but had been away from the scene of conflict.[1] The term Anti-Federalism lost meaning after the defeat of Federalism, and the far better, the positive, term Republican-Democratic came in,—indicating a commonwealth ruled by the people and for their welfare. Hitherto, the prevailing notion of organized society was that "the people" existed for the welfare of the privileged. In the Constitutional Convention, the ablest men, such as Madison, Gouverneur Morris, Wilson, and Franklin, debated anxiously whether or not even the judges should not be given short terms, like the President and the members of Congress, and be made ineligible for reappointment lest they should form the nation that the people exist for judges to judge. What constitutes a proper government in respect to the relations of the rulers and of the ruled was indeed the most frequent theme in that Convention—"Republicanism" was the answer of Thomas Jefferson to a decade of general public discussion. The spirit of this "Republicanism" forced the addition of the "bill of rights" amendments[2] to the Constitution. In 1801, the party won control of two branches of the Government, the executive and legislative. In so doing, it escaped giving the Presidency to Aaron Burr only because Hamilton hated his party associate more than his political opponent. Federalism, however, still controlled the courts, and in fact always has controlled the courts since the time of John Jay, the first Chief Justice. Judges, like all other persons, naturally seek aggrandizement of power. The first inaugural of Jefferson contains the "Republican" creed; and is one of the most famous of all Presidential papers.

Court and Country Parties.—Says John Adams,—"a court and a country party had always contended." Jefferson represented the country party. The terms were "court party," "aristocrats," "monarchists," "Anglicans," as over against "country party," "democrats," "republicans," "Gallicans."

[1] See p. 260, *infra*.

[2] See p. 135, *infra*, and Constitution, Amendments I-X.

By political power, wealth is seized and becomes property. To political power, all capital gravitates. By 1812, the capitalistic, commercial and manufacturing classes were forced to go over to the dominant Republicanism. Save in spots, here and there, of ancestral Federalism, the whole nation became Republican. Moreover, rulers always seek to widen and to strengthen their authority. The official Republicans began to talk liberal construction of the Constitution. These two classes, the capitalists and the office-holders, naturally came together and organized a faction, called the National Republicans. Its titular head was J. Q. Adams. The others, really the descendants of the old "country party," by 1824 had a real head, Andrew Jackson.

Two Lists of Presidents, Before and After Jackson.—These Democratic Republicans soon came to be known as Democrats. "The people," that is, the country people, ruled. The city and town population was still but a small percentage. In this epoch came the transfer of the election of the members of the Electoral College by the Legislatures to the popular vote. Thereafter, until 1876, Congress made no decisions as to the Presidency.

Andrew Jackson marks the crisis of this change. In consequence, we have two lists of Presidents,—those who were the free choice of the Electors or of the Congressmen, and those who were the popular choices as between the nominees of party conventions. Politically, this revolution was of major importance. It gave us this contrast:

George Washington	Martin Van Buren
John Adams	William Henry Harrison
Thomas Jefferson	James Knox Polk
James Madison	Zachary Taylor
James Monroe	Franklin Pierce
John Quincy Adams	James Buchanan
Andrew Jackson	Abraham Lincoln, etc.

It is not likely to be denied that in quality the Electoral College-Congress list is at least not inferior to the Party Convention list. Certainly, the Electoral College never would have freely chosen more than one—James Buchanan—of the first seven members of the Party Convention list. This speculation

as to the issue of an alternative course has no other value than to suggest the limits of democracy in respect to the recall. If the President had been within power of a prompt recall, in all likelihood neither of the Adamses nor Madison nor Van Buren nor Buchanan nor Lincoln nor Cleveland nor Taft would have been allowed to finish out one term; and certainly not Tyler, or Johnson, who were never elected Presidents.

The Party Convention.—We owe the party convention with its 500 or 1000 delegates to the same spirit of democracy that put Andrew Jackson into the cabin of the Captain and scraped so many "Federalist barnacles" off the old Ship of State. The first convention was the Anti-Masonic in 1830; the next the National Republican in 1831; and the third of importance, which was the first of the Democrats, in 1832. By this device, the "Electors" were converted into long-wired puppets pulled by party leaders and pulled at again by public opinion.

Soon afterwards, sectionalism began to appear. Most of the National Republicans were in the North, most of the Democrats were in the South. Both became "minority" parties, for, owing to the development of schismatic factions, neither had a safe majority of the popular vote.

Manhood Suffrage.—In this epoch, startling changes were made by many States, in the right of suffrage. In the earlier days, but one man in a dozen had the "liberty to vote," the franchise. Property and other qualifications were rapidly reduced or omitted by State Constitutional Revision Conventions, ratified by the people. Government, hitherto set as an overturned political truncated pyramid upon its head, was turned upside upon its broad base.

Democracy now plunged downhill, in but two or three mighty jumps, to the lowest ditch of universal manhood suffrage. The marvel is that government survived, for one who cannot think is not fit to vote for himself and the others,—in this epoch, for women and children. In truth, millions cannot yet think, cannot read human nature, cannot comprehend measures, cannot estimate values.

With universal manhood suffrage came the demand for universal education,—for boys that they might vote intelligently, for girls that they might be fit companions for and mothers of voters. This was very good—as an ideal,—but it was

incapable of realization, for two reasons, either of which is valid and sufficient: first, the subnormal and the abnormal, who are numerous, cannot be educated adequately; and, second, the lords of wealth have never yet been willing to pay the bills really demanded by a sincerely operated universal education. In consequence, though government survived manhood suffrage (in a few States, limited by some requirements), it changed in its quality, manifesting this change in village, town and city, in country and State and nation. The total result was revolution.

Social Revolution.—The new voting population was divided into parties and factions, with leaders and bosses necessitated by the ignorance of the rank-and-file. In 1860, by adopting nationalism, the old Democracy perished by self-slaughter.[1] Being the country party of the South, it inevitably reflected the nationalizing pro-slavery sentiments of the planters, sentiments as false to true democracy as secession in the days of the Hartford Convention was false to Federalism.

National Republicanism.—The National Republican party had taken to itself the name of Whigs, a name high in favor in colonial and Revolutionary days. It was no longer "Republican," for it had endorsed the National Bank ideas of Federalism and had developed the tariff for protection ideas and the internal improvement ideas that properly fit a "court party." It also approved of paper currency, of free-and-easy large-scale monopolistic sales of public lands,[2] and after the breakdown of "Biddle's Bank," of "wildcat State banks." It became the special organ of speculative business.

In part, Democracy was true to its faith. Under Van Buren and Polk, it separated banking from government;[3] it opposed internal improvements, based the currency upon value, and paid off the public debt. But in part it was false. This was not only in respect to slavery but also in respect to the distribution of the surplus[1] to the States and to the patronage of a hundred or more special banks by grants of public deposits for private profit.

Until 1856, Democracy strove with Whiggism and later with Republicanism for the control of government, and partly by

[1] See pp. 423-424, *infra*. [2] See pp. 359, *infra*; 73, *supra*.
[3] See pp. 361 and 386, *infra*.

"luck" and mainly by superior generalship was on the whole successful, as this conspectus shows:

Van Buren	Democrat	4 years	
Harrison and		1 month	Whig
Tyler[2]	neither	3 yrs. 11 mo.	
Polk	Democrat	4 years	
Taylor and		4 years	Whig
Fillmore			Whig
Pierce	Democrat	4 years	
Buchanan	Democrat	4 years	
	Democrat	20 years	4 yrs. 1 mo.

Slavery and Douglas.—Then the inner social forces burst. The political occasions were, first, the Kansas-Nebraska bill[3]; second, the Dred Scott decision[4]; and, third, secession.[5] Clearly, two parties and, obscurely, a third were formed out of the Democratic party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Pierce. Jefferson Davis headed one; this asserted that the Constitution recognizes, and the National Government must protect, slavery in all the Territories. Stephen A. Douglas headed a second; this asserted that the inhabitants of a Territory might defeat slaveholding within its borders by "unfriendly legislation" and hostile public opinion. A third arose in 1860, asking for the Union under the Constitution. The Republicans asserted that the first meant ultimately nation-wide slavery in all States and Territories; called the second "squatter sovereignty;" and ridiculed the third as the trick of the ostrich hiding its head in the sand and thinking itself safe.

The target of the fighting in 1860 was not Breckenridge or Lincoln or Bell but Douglas, who made one of the finest canvasses in our political history. The Breckenridge party (whose real leader was Jefferson Davis) meant to bring Douglas to defeat and to help Lincoln win in order to proceed to secession—under color of necessity. They believed that Lincoln's government would not even fight; if he did fight, they gave

[1] See p. 345, *infra*.
[2] See pp. 372-373, *infra*.
[3] See pp. 410, 415, *supra*.
[4] See p. 417 *et seq.*, *infra*.
[5] See p. 424, *infra*.

him thirty days to endure before catastrophe. They believed that New York State, as Governor Seymour said,[1] would join the South, and that the business men of the cities would never finance a real war against the secession States.

Copperheadism.—During the War, the Douglas Democrats were nearly all Union men. In fact, Lincoln tried to get rid of the Republican name, and said that he was "a Union man" only. Most of the Constitutional Union[2] men of the North became Unionists. But the Breckenridge voters, some Douglas men and some Bell men of the North turned Copperhead Democrats. For twenty years thereafter, wise Democrats in the North,—such was the social odium attaching to Copperheadism after Appomattox and the murder of Lincoln,—called themselves "Union" or "War-Democrats."

The crimes of reconstruction, the corruption of Grant's administration, and the coming of millions of new voters from across the ocean by 1876 gave Democracy a new life. Bulwarked by a nearly restored "solid South," Tilden had more votes than Hayes; he was in fact elected, but he was not constitutionally elected. The paper documents bound the living men of that eventful year.

The Free Coinage of Silver.—The history of the Democracy since 1878 has been exciting. For twenty years, it evaded the silver question as did Republicanism. It has stood against the negro-rights amendments to the Constitution and by its State branches has effectively "nullified" them by methods subtle enough to please even Calhoun[3] and Jefferson.[4] It has favored economy of administration, civil service reform and a lower tariff. But in 1896 the West gained control and set the party against its sound-money traditions by pledging itself to the free coinage of silver.[5] Then gold-inflation came upon us,—such as had happened but twice before in world-history,—100 B. C. and 1500 A. D. New gold,—rising to $400,000,000, $425,000,000, $450,000,000 per annum,—so deluged the country with currency that silver inflation and Greenbackism became trifles in the face of prices that in only ten years rose 52% for the necessaries of life, unsettling all values, easing the debtor classes, impoverishing wage-earners, and confusing

[1] See pp. 462, 502, *infra*.
[2] See p. 337 *et seq.*, *infra*.
[3] See pp. 423, 424, *infra*.
[4] See p. 284, *infra*.
[5] See pp. 552-560, *infra*.

trade. For a year, there was a flurry of "Gold Democrats"; but the cry of "anti-imperialism" brought the new faction back into the party fold. This cry is true democracy, which asserts that "all just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed," as Jefferson phrased it. At the present time, most of the "radicals" and "new issues" men, most of those who appeal to the "masses" for support are Democrats. Since 1874, the Democratic party has had control of the House of Representatives (1) from 1874 to 1880, (2) from 1882 to 1888, (3) from 1890 to 1894, and (4) from 1911 to ——. Since 1860, it has never controlled the Senate. It has elected one President twice,—Cleveland in 1884 and in 1892.[1] It statistically elected Tilden in 1876.

The Democratic party secured for us Louisiana, Florida, Texas, California, and Oregon.

Americanizing the Foreigner.—To the Democratic party, we owe the Americanization of the foreigner. The capitalistic class, though eager to work him, has been perfectly content to leave him in ignorance. And to Democratic Presidents, we owe the efficient use of the veto,—Jackson,[2] Tyler,[3] Johnson,[4] and Cleveland.[5] The movement to elect Senators by popular vote, the income tax, reciprocity, and the Presidential primary are all essentially Democratic doctrines.

It was in 1840 that the Democratic party introduced the innovation of a party platform. "Interrogating" a Presidential candidate by a letter to which he would reply publicly was a Democratic device. Obviously, the contributions of the Democracy to American history are far more numerous than those of any other party; unfortunately, the crime of the Mexican War, the measureless folly of armed secession and the excusable error of free silver must all be set to its debit account.[6]

Anti-Masonry

Both Democracy and Whiggism from 1830 to 1850 were really minority parties because of certain ephemeral parties. Of these, the first to appear was the Anti-Masonic. Upon the

[1] See p. 532 *et seq.*, *infra.*
[2] See pp. 335, 345, *infra.*
[3] See p. 376.
[4] See p. 488.
[5] See p. 537.
[6] For the crimes of Republicanism, see pp. 115-117, *infra.*

disappearance of Morgan,[1] opposition to Masonry was undertaken in crusade-fashion by certain churches. The J. Q. Adams leaders in New York seized upon the movement to help their man. Jackson was high in Masonry. By 1824, Adams and Anti-Masonry Whiggism in New York had spread into New England, and was strong in Pennsylvania. The leaders advocated internal improvements and high tariff. They tried to get Clay to renounce Masonry and to head their party.

In 1831 they nominated William Wirt of Maryland, scholar and orator, for President and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania for Vice-President, hoping thereby to gain those States, but in 1832 they won only the seven electoral votes of Vermont. By 1836, the party was really dead, though as late as November, 1838, it held a convention and named William Henry Harrison for President. "Anti-Masonry" meant nothing but factionalism. Wirt was himself a Mason, and defended Masonry in the Convention of 1831. But the party embarrassed the Whigs by emphasizing their dogmas. Its early religious tone was a new phase of American politics.[2]

Whiggism

After Napoleon broke down, Europe rested. There was thenceforth no need in America to advocate a strong central government to protect its independence. Federalism had fed upon this fear of a people. Democracy then won complete control. But after integration, there always follows disintegration, after solidarity factionalism, after homogeneity, heterogeneity. The universal "Republicanism" of 1820 could not last; the "era of good feeling" burst in the quarrels of Jackson, Crawford, Calhoun, Clay, and J. Q. Adams. About 1828, the partisans of Clay and Adams began to call themselves "National Republicans," and in 1834 they took the name "Whigs." They were a propagandistic association,—to make America great and rich and to teach to the world Americanism. Incidentally, they would resist the encroachments of the executive upon the legislative,—that is, of Jackson as President upon the Whig Senate.[3]

[1] See p. 342, *infra.* [2] See pp. 120, 121, *infra.* [3] See p. 345, *infra.*

CLAY AND WEBSTER.—The fame of Whiggism has endured because of the surpassing personalities of two Whig leaders, Clay and Webster. (They were personal friends borrowing at banks upon joint notes and splitting the proceeds. One such note is still unpaid—$500.) Clay made his appeal to the business community in the forms of high tariff and of internal improvement; Webster added constitutional interpretation. The Whigs championed the Bank, fought for the "rights" of Congress, attacked and practiced the spoils system, and tried to quiet too noisy pro-slavery. When nullification roared in North Carolina, the Whigs went immediately to Jackson's support; that majestic soldier Winfield Scott who led the little army to Charleston was a Whig. They made the way of the nullifiers easy by suggesting the compromise tariff of 1832.[1] Most of them favored the gag-rule against J. Q. Adams in Congress.[2]

They were not faithful to their real leaders, Clay and Webster, but in 1836 and in 1840 nominated old W. H. Harrison for President in order to win. They won, and he died. In their folly, they had sought votes by nominating John Tyler of Virginia as Vice-President. He was simply a Virginia Democrat who happened to hate Jackson. The golden apple of victory turned to dross in their hands. In 1844, Clay himself by vacillation, due to a hunger to win, caused his own defeat. The Whigs opposed the war with Mexico but voted supplies. James Russell Lowell, the poet, called this "doughface" style: his "Biglow Papers" were the protest of Puritanism against policy.

In 1848, they elected Taylor, a slaveholder, President. It was one of the few good things they ever did.

COMPROMISE OF 1850.—In 1850, they put through the "Compromise Measures," which smashed their party. Most Northern Whigs would not stand for the Fugitive Slave law. The party had sold out to the South. Whether their victory in postponing the InterState War ten years was or was not worth while,—that is, whether or not Webster's "Seventh of March Speech" was patriotism,—is a discussion over which scholars and historians will sharpen their wits for decades and perhaps

[1] See p. 337, *infra*.

[2] See pp. 318, 319, *infra*.

for centuries. Had Taylor lived, the Compromise would have fallen through.[1]

In 1852, the Whigs fell upon that mighty warrior Winfield Scott and tried to elect him President; but the people did not desire him or his platform or his party. They chose outright Democracy and sincere proslavery. In a sense, Webster had perfectly convinced them that peace required surrender of abolition notions and sentiments as the price of economic prosperity. The people had children to rear and taxes to pay,—and were not far-sighted. Unlike Sam Adams, they did not prefer a wilderness with liberty to a multitude with servitude.[2] "The settlement [of 1850] in principle and in substance of the dangerous and exciting questions," to use Webster's plank in the party platform of 1852, lasted until 1854 when the Kansas-Nebraska bill[3] repealed the Missouri Compromise. The permanent "settlement" was but a delusion, a day-dream.

Clay, spendthrift of speech, of money, of morals, was dead; Webster, sombre yet glorious, paid advocate of the business classes, was dead; and Calhoun, mystic, seer and prophet, was dead. American politics woke to a new world.

Webster had shouted in Fanueil Hall, Boston, "If the Whig party dies, where will I be?" But the event came to pass that the world asked, "Since Webster is dead, where is the Whig party?" Dying, it had bequeathed the doctrine to the new Republicanism,—"Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever." Webster had in truth made possible the triumph of the old Constitution in melting in that fervent heat and then cooling and casting "the indestructible union of indestructible States,"—a proud vaunt for changeable men.

Incidentally, shifty Whiggism had taught one Whig the game of politics; and he had character enough to play it without sacrificing too many principles,—he would work seeming miracles. This Whig was Abraham Lincoln, originally a Clay man, out of which he grew to be his own man, bigger than capitalism or labor either, having the whole nature of humanity, not excepting its weaknesses.

Liberty

James G. Birney.—The first political party to oppose slav-

[1] See pp. 399, 402, *infra*. [2] See p. 132, *infra*. [3] See pp. 419, 420, *infra*.

ery was the Liberty party, which found room to sprout in the openings between the Jackson and the Clay Republicanism in the early 30's of the nineteenth century. James G. Birney, a neighbor of Henry Clay, began to argue that the abolitionists should go into politics. In 1839, a convention was held in New York State and in 1840 another, which launched the Liberty Party and nominated Birney for President. They desired abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and a constitutional amendment removing slavery from the protection of the National Government. But the eyes of men were blinded, and only 7000 voters could see.

The certain annexation of Texas and the threatened Mexican War opened more eyes. In 1844, 63,000 votes were cast, with fatal effect upon Henry Clay's candidacy.[1] High tide came but three years later. The party became involved in scandals about the ballot, election frauds and local deals. When in 1848 the Democrats nominated Lewis Cass, and the Whigs, Taylor, the Liberty men of whom John P. Hale was the vigorous leader, joined all the other anti-slavery factions in the Free Soil movement.

Free Soil

The Free Soilers began with a more definite program than the Liberty men; they proposed to keep slavery out of the Territories. They came together from three sources,—the Liberty party, the anti-slavery (anti-Webster) Whigs, and the Democratic Barnburners of New York State.[2] In 1848, they nominated Martin Van Buren. Though they cast but 292,000 votes, they elected two Senators and fourteen Representatives. In 1852, they nominated John P. Hale, and in their platform called slavery "a sin against God and a crime against man"; but the Barnburners and Van Buren had deserted. They had but 156,000 votes; and in 1556 went over *en bloc* to the Republican party.

John P. Hale.—Hale was the first abolition member of Congress. In running fights at home, he managed to keep a constituency behind him for House or Senate for some twenty years. A delightful speaker, with a voice of great carrying power, and an agreeable companion, he was the necessary

[1] See pp. 106, *supra*, and 383, *infra*.

[2] See p. 366, *infra*.

man to break the ice and yet not himself fall in and drown. J. Q. Adams with his war for the right of petition and J. P. Hale with his abolitionism were the bridge over which the future travelled from the complacent Missouri Compromise to the ardent days of the new Republicanism.

Know Nothingism

The Spread of Roman Catholicism.—The political scene, however, was troubled with still another party in the 50's and 60's. The Know Nothing or American party was an attempt to organize a national party out of various local city and town nativist parties. It was "America for the Americans: keep the Irish and the Germans out." With the new flooding immigration, Roman Catholicism came in, with its priesthood, confessional and ritual. This frightened many sincere persons who imagined that the Church had a definite political mission. The foreigners said many harsh but more foolish things about American institutions. In 1830-40, there were anti-Irish, anti-Catholic riots in some cities. Louisiana saw in 1841 the first State organization of the party. In 1844, the nativists carried the city elections in New York and in 1845 in Boston. In 1852, both Pierce and Scott had to say publicly that they were not anti-Catholic in sentiment.

By this time, two secret orders had sprung up,—the "Order of United Americans" and the "Order of the Star-Spangled Banner,"—and their members put new life into the movement for national organization. When asked what they were doing, they replied, "Don't know"; hence their name. They attacked naturalization frauds and ballot-box stuffing. They had a program to exclude the aliens from the ballot, and their descendants also, unless they had been at the public schools a certain number of years. They opposed secretly all Catholic candidates of whatever party and became an immense power thereby. But they straddled the slavery question. In 1854, "Know Nothingism" ran like wildfire through the South, which had but few foreigners. In truth, however, could all foreigners have been kept out from 1854 to 1860, the Union cause would have been lost in 1861-65 for want of soldiers!

William H. Seward.—At this epoch, the Democratic leader, Douglas, and the Republican leader, Seward, both de-

nounced Know Nothingism for evading publicity and the slavery issue. In 1856, the Know Nothings countered upon both Democrats and Republicans by naming former President Fillmore for the Presidency, but in vain. They had no strength save in the Border States, where they carried Maryland. In 1860, most of the Know Nothings turned "Do Nothings,"—became members of the Constitutional Union party. The Know Nothing hatred of Seward was potent in preventing his nomination by the Republicans. In that year, they lost control of their stronghold, Baltimore, where their rule had been corrupt and oppressive.

Free Public Education.—Know Nothingism left one good result,—it put an end to the movement to give public moneys of government to denominational schools whether Catholic, Episcopal or Lutheran. Its spirit survives in the argument that since we protect the American manufacturer and his merchandise by shutting out foreign goods at the customs house, so also we should protect the American mechanic and his family by shutting out the foreign-born workman. To this argument, there is no sufficient answer save to challenge the validity of the premise. Certain secret societies still cherish Know Nothing hopes.

A Triangle of Fates.—Shut in between the price-range, the wage-scale, and the standard of living, a bulwarked triangle of fates, the American laborer dreams of wages raised by excluding rivals for work. The dream is, of course, closely allied with the actual plans and methods of the trades unionists.

Republicanism

Its First Principles Achieved.—Three parties have borne the name "Republican." Jefferson founded the first, which became the Democratic party and still endures with much of its early vigor. The second was the National Republican, which soon became known as the Whig party, and died from swallowing the Fugitive Slave Act.

The present Republican party dates from 1854. It was founded to meet a temporary issue,—to prevent the extension of slavery into the territories. Its founders conceived "party" in a different spirit from prevalent political partisanship. According to Seward, Greeley, Hale, and Weed, party was

a temporary affair. They really hoped that the Republican party would soon be so successful as no longer to be necessary. By 1862, Lincoln thought that the Republican party had served its turn.[1] Yet the party, however, has outlived its first purposes, which it accomplished, and some even of its later purposes; but by adopting new principles and policies, while retaining its organization and machinery, has managed to last already through two entire generations and bids fair now to enter a third generation with a strength equal to that of its older rival, the Democratic.

Had the Democratic party remained true to its real principle,—decentralization and localization of government,[2]—if in the Dred Scott decision it had not invoked the power of the central government[3] and thereby legislated through the judiciary in violation of the Constitution,[4] there never would have been any Republican party. But it is the history of all parties that sooner or later they violate their fundamental principles. The usual cause is victory. A less frequent cause is hope of victory. Parties, of course, are as human as are the men who manage them. Success sometimes deprives the party of its true reason for existence. Sometimes, success develops an arrogant indifference to essential principle. Sometimes, under defeat, a party hopes, or persuades itself that it hopes, to use victory, however secured, for the final triumph of its principle.

Squatter Sovereignty. — The Kansas-Nebraska Act showed that the era of mutual concessions between the free-labor North and the slave-labor South was ended. "Squatter Sovereignty," fathered by Cass and reared by Douglas, denied to Congress the right to exclude slavery from the Territories. The North began to protest. The protests were loudest and most frequent in the West. Early in 1854, there was held at Ripon, Wisconsin, a mass-meeting that resolved that if the Kansas-Nebraska bill became law, "They would throw old party associations to the winds and organize a new party on the sole issue of the non-extension of slavery." There is no record as to the relative numbers of Whigs, Democrats and Free Soilers at this mass-meeting; but tradition reports that a majority were Whigs who perhaps saw that their party had

[1] See pp. 103, *infra*; 457, 458, *supra*.
[2] See p. 97, *supra*.
[3] See pp. 410, 416, 417, *infra*.
[4] See Article I, Section I. Also pp. 234, 302, *infra*

never represented living issues. Such Democrats as came must have done so from disagreement with the policies temporarily in control of the party organization. The Free Soilers saw in the new movement an opportunity to accomplish their purposes by abandoning their organization; they were few in numbers but influential.

When the Kansas-Nebraska bill became law, these dissatisfied citizens, greatly increased in numbers, held a convention, July 6, 1854, at Jackson, Michigan, when they formally organized the Republican party. In the same months, in other sections of the West, similar conventions were held, and the Republican party was widely established. These Republicans held two main doctrines,—slavery must not be allowed to widen its area, and government needs to be strong. The second doctrine was not the old Federalism, for this new Republicanism accepted fully the democratic method, including universal manhood suffrage and majority rule in party conventions. In 1854, it was far more democratic than Democracy itself. This Republicanism was in spirit and in method Jacksonism; but it was also to pursue the notions of Hamilton, of Clay, and of Webster in respect to specific propositions. It was like a new plant whose forerunners could be identified,—a hybrid and yet essentially individual in its characteristics.

Lyceums.—The leaders were John P. Hale, William H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley, Henry Ward Beecher, and Abraham Lincoln. It employed pulpit, platform, press and the lyceum for public agitation. Republicanism was a moral and an intellectual movement, using political means. Whiggism had been economic, like Federalism before it.

The Ostend Manifesto.—Events conspired for the rapid spread of Republicanism. In 1856, Charles Sumner, a disagreeable and in some respects corrupt politician, though an orator, was brutally assaulted and almost killed by Preston Brooks, a South Carolina Representative, who attacked him defenceless in his seat in the Senate Chamber and beat him with a heavy cane so that for years he was an invalid. The Ostend Manifesto[1] disclosed the purpose of the Southern slaveholders to take Cuba for a slave-labor domain, which would have saved her from the horrors of civil war, and ourselves from imperialism. The long quarrel between Douglas and the

[1]See p. 415, *infra*.

Presidents over squatter sovereignty helped. The Fugitive Slave Act helped. The Dred Scott decision helped.

It is a question whether the raid of John Brown at Harper's Ferry promoted or delayed the progress of Republicanism. It was a lurid beacon light in the black night. It warned all, but it frightened some and angered others. It frightened those who are always for peace,—who did not believe in the coming "irrepressible conflict." It angered those who believed that legislation would solve the problem before the conflict became one of arms and of bloodshed.

In 1856, when the party named John C. Fremont for the Presidency, it adopted a platform containing a plank of perfect explicitness,—it was "both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery." The association of those two evils, Mormonism, founded in ignorance, superstition and lust, and slavery, founded in greed, pride and oppression, was ominous.

The platform, however, did not end with moral issues. It asked for a Pacific railroad subsidy in order to connect California and Oregon with the East, and for improvement of rivers and harbors at national cost.

In 1860, the platform included a call for a national homestead act for the distribution of the public lands to actual settlers, and for a protective tariff. It assailed the Dred Scott decision and thereby rejected the dogma that the courts are sacrosanct, a dogma of cardinal importance in the creed of vested rights.

The Republicans did not defeat the Democrats in 1860; but the Democracy broke into parts, and the Republicans defeated each part.

Federal Coercion of States.—When, after the election of Abraham Lincoln, President Buchanan asserted that the National Government had no right to coerce a State, the Republican party, in order to save for itself a nation to govern, was forced to drop the issue of the slavery-in-the-Territories and also the issue of the Fugitive Slave Act and to assert that the paramount consideration was saving the Union,—the faith of Daniel Webster. From henceforth, it was to be more Federalist than old Republican, more Whig than Democrat, and to be distinctly Free Soil. Lincoln tried to solidify the

North against the South,—it was to him a painful situation. But with one section of States, he must defeat the other in order to restore the nation. He was never blind to the fact that an actual national government was established and in working order against his national government. The secessionists were more than rebels; they were patriots and nation-builders.

Abraham Lincoln.—"My paramount object," said Abraham Lincoln in his letter to Horace Greeley, "is to save the Union and not either to save or destroy slavery."[1] But in order to save the Union, he found it expedient to destroy slavery wherever the Union armies prevailed. In its third national convention early in June, 1864, the party said in the platform: "As slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, justice and national safety demand its utter extirpation from the soil of the republic." The exigencies of war had taught Northern politicians and people alike that the abolitionists were right.

Legal Tender Money.—To support the war, the Republican Congress adopted many measures. Among these was the Legal Tender Act, based upon the principle of fiat money. In sixty years, since then, we have not yet undone the mischief of that act, which inflated the currency, raised prices, and overstimulated business. Another was the establishment of National Banks, in all over 2000 in number, almost totally doing away with State banks.

The requirements for National Bank charters have fostered the growth of cities by centering money deposits in them,—a most unfortunate thing for a people.

Banks Founded on Debts, Not Assets.—Unfortunately, the system requires a national debt, and after we had reduced the debt from $3,000,000,000 to $1,000,000,000, the bankers became a bulwark against the progress to complete extinction of the indebtedness. To them, the debt became an asset. The sophistical argument of old Europe has reappeared that a national debt creates a class of creditors interested in the permanence of government and, therefore, tends to the peace and security of the existing social order. These creditors, being pensioned as it were with the interest upon their bonds and often being relieved from daily toil, give their leisure lives to the promotion of patriotism, art, philanthropy, the general

[1]See p. 456, *infra*.

welfare. On this theory, we are now paying out some $40,000,000 annually to maintain a class who perforce must support the government. The $156,000,000 that we pay to war and peace veterans of the army and navy may likewise be regarded as a bribe to patriotism. From another point of view, these annual expenditures may be regarded as discharging simple business obligations.

Draining Money from the South.—The whole land pays pensions; but the South receives back not one-tenth as much of the pension-money as it pays in. (Congressional Record, March 30, 1912.) The whole land pays interest on the national debt, which is owned almost exclusively in the North. Nearly all the alleged "benefits" of the tariff go into Northern pockets. South and West pay the great dividends of our railroads into Eastern banks.

City and Farm.—The political defence of the excessive Republican tariffs is that they have enabled manufacturers to employ labor and thereby have broadened the market for labor. This contention is true; and of necessity broadening the market tends to raise the price of labor, that is, wages. But the manufacturers cannot defeat the biologic law of cities which their workshops build. By this law, city populations fail to reproduce themselves. Through all history, the third and fourth generations tell the story. The average eight adults who live in cities do not have eight great-grandchildren. Many do not marry; and the city-born who do marry do not have large families. Therefore, the highly protected manufacturers have been compelled to draw upon the American rural districts and upon the European country-folk and villagers for laborers. Our great industrial and commercial cities have depleted our farms and raised the prices of farm products; and at the same time, their populations are mostly foreign-born or children of the foreign-born.

Still another measure was the Homestead Act, wholly useful. Another was the act providing for a Pacific Railroad. The last to be noted is the law for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, thereby curtailing personal liberty and strengthening the central Government. The railroad laws led to scandals, and the curtailment of personal liberty,—to abuse the government,—led to ferocious partisan outbreaks; but history has justified both of them.

Reconstruction.—By the act of July 4, 1864, Congress maliciously and unconstitutionally took out of the hands of the executive and lodged in the legislative the business of reconstructing the South. Both Lincoln and Johnson, his successor, intended to allow the former Secessionist leaders to return to Congress and to the control of their own States. These leaders set about establishing police regulations that came near to putting the freedmen back into bondage. This gave to the Republican radicals their argument for control. Charles Sumner, at length restored to a measure of health,[1] and Thaddeus Stevens, both attorneys for Northern capitalism, cared more for the Southern negroes than for the Southern whites, —the one was strong in the Senate, the other dominated the House. President Johnson vetoed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which guaranteed civil rights to the freedmen; but the Republican party, now led by the "Black Republicans," passed it over his veto, and the Legislatures ratified it. In 1868, by impeachment, they tried to reduce the Presidency to the rank of Congressional chief clerkship.

Republican reconstruction of the South by Congress set the freedmen over their former masters, developed corrupt, wasteful, oppressive and inefficient governments, caused the white reaction of the Ku Klux Klan and alienation of the whites and of the colored. It failed, because the whites got control of their States and now hold it. In short, Lincoln was right. The South by indirection and by violence had accomplished what he foresaw was inevitable and necessary and, therefore, expedient. And Republicanism had become known below Mason and Dixon's line as the party of the Northern "carpet-bagger" and "bluebelly" and of the Southern colored freedman and his companion, the white Southern "scalawag." Thereby, the reunion in sentiment of the North and of the South was delayed until the days of the Spanish War.

Liberal Republicans.—Moreover, the party and the government in the days of Johnson and of Grant fell into the hands of corruptionists and of spoilsmen, both dishonest and incompetent. There followed the split of the Liberal Republicans, led by Horace Greeley, whom the Democratic party endorsed for the Presidency.

In 1876, in 1884, and in 1892, the Republicans were defeated in their nominations for the Presidency; and the

[1] See p. 112, *supra*.

reasons were many. Among these were the rise of Greenbackism,[1] disgust over the criminal fiasco of reconstruction, dissatisfaction with the outcome of high protection in that while it seemed to make the manufacturers rich, prices rose and wages though rising did not rise correspondingly, but only one-third or one-quarter as much, and the development not only of several minor parties but also of a large number of independents, often styled "Mugwumps."

Factionalism.—The two great parties were not clearly set in opposition. Both professed to favor civil service reform. Both hedged upon the silver question. They refused to take issue on these matters and on the foreign policy of the nation. There was much talk of election frauds North and South, and the evidence seemed to support the charges. Internally, the Republican party was split with Stalwarts on one side and Halfbreeds upon the other. The split originated in New York State, but was felt everywhere.

A Difficult Rôle.—In 1892, the Republicans became the conservatives, the Democrats the radicals, thus reversing the positions taken in 1856. Republicanism became the gold standard party as well as the high protective tariff party. In 1898, it found itself forced into the position of supporting territorial expansion and imperialism. And it became the advocate of the conservation of the natural resources of coal, of timber, and of the metals. At the same time, it included many reformers, seeking to cleanse business and government of corruption. Thenceforth, it was to play a most difficult rôle.—advocating international greatness, economic development, and the moral improvement of politics and of business. In 1897, the highly protective Dingley tariff was enacted,—in 1909, the still higher Payne-Aldrich tariff. In 1911, it found itself illogically advocating reciprocity with the vast Dominion of Canada, which was defeated there.

Insurgency.—Beyond any other historical party, the Republicans have been efficient in government. But in politics their technical position has become extremely difficult, as evidenced by the rise of a group known as "Insurgents" or "Progressives." Their first leader, Senator J. P. Dolliver of Iowa, died suddenly in 1910, an event of major political importance in that it set back a movement that might have resulted in the rise of a new party with prospects of immediate success. Their

[1] See p. 118 *et seq.*

next leader, Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin, was less likely to split Republicanism; but in 1912, he was displaced by their present leader, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, President from 1901 to 1909, who brought the party into two divisions of almost equal size and prestige.

Greenbackism

Peter Cooper.—Fiat money came in with the needs of the nation in 1862. It was a paper currency printed upon one side in green, and consisted simply of a promise to pay. In other words, greenbacks are forced loans from the people to the Government. When on January 1, 1879, under John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, specie payment was resumed, there were outstanding $346,681,000 in these "greenback" notes. This amount has never been reduced. In truth, it constitutes an addition to the National Debt, an addition, however, that does not pay interest. It serves, however, perfectly to raise all American prices about 25 per cent. higher than prices in Europe where fiat money is considered criminal.

In 1876, a party appeared that advocated more fiat money. The gold and silver certificates require deposits of gold and silver. They constitute "intrinsic currency of ultimate redemption"; but they are costly. Paper fiat money requires only rags, type, printing press and ink. The Greenbackers asserted that the immense prosperity of the North was due to the inflation of the currency. They failed to see that the Confederacy, also issuing fiat money, did not have similar prosperity, and mistook "after" for "because of."

In that first year, no less a man that Peter Cooper of New York, inventor, financier and philanthropist, ran for President as the Greenback candidate, receiving 82,000 votes, mostly, however, from persons who thought that he was morally better than Hayes or Tilden. In 1878, the party cast 1,000,000 votes and elected 14 Congressmen. In 1880, it cast, for a fusion ticket of the Greenbackers and labor reformers, 309,000 votes, and elected 8 Congressmen. The Presidential candidate was J. B. Weaver of Iowa. In 1884, the candidate was General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts,—lawyer, army leader, cotton manufacturer, politician, gravely suspected of

cotton frauds at New Orleans,[1] and commonly considered a demagogue. He received 175,000 votes.

And then Greenbackism died. Its voters became mostly Free Silver Democrats or Socialists. But in American business men, enough of the spirit of Greenbackism lives after death to keep the Government from retiring the fiat legal tender money of the War period. The real essence of the movement consists in a desire to promote business ventures and to ease the life of the poor: it aims to make people rich by a government device.

Prohibitionism

To Make Men Good by Law.—Far more significant and extensive than any other of the present minor parties now is the Prohibition Party, which has taken a moral principle into politics.

The Prohibitonists aim to make men good by law, and to destroy poverty by doing away with the consumption of alcoholic liquors. They are the politicians of the American temperance movement. In the nation, they have not yet proven of importance; but in the States, they have, in many instances, won State-wide prohibition of liquor-making and of liquor-selling, and in yet more instances, secured county and city-option. They have forced the old parties to abolish the army-canteen and the public schools to give instruction as to the evil effects of alcohol and of tobacco. Socially, they have made drunkenness a crime and hard drinking "bad form."

A Two-Party Nation.—But though the Prohibition Party has adopted many planks in their platforms, they have not yet forced either of the great parties to issues. We have been characteristically a two-party nation, not a nation of three parties or of many factions. And it does not appear probable that the immediate future will see a change. The American people seem to consider temperance and prohibition among those ethical and educational movements which do not properly belong to national politics. Moreover, the large cities are pro-saloon and anti-temperance, while the towns and rural districts of the North are usually indifferent, while those of the South are pro-temperance and anti-saloon. Two powerful influences leading the South to Prohibition are a justifiable fear of the effects of cheap and easily accessible intoxicants

[1]See pp. 503, 504, *infra.*

upon negroes, and the absence of Republicans. Democracy and Prohibition in the South are not in conflict; but Prohibition is an interesting minor diversion from the complete dominance there of Democracy. In 1911, Socialism became another diversion.

Ethical Influences.—Prohibitionism elects no Congressmen, and has no reasonable hope of the Presidency; but at all times, it exerts potent influence upon State and local elections. So general is the support of prohibition by the clergy and by the churches of all denominations that pressing it to a political issue as a national scale seems un-American in that it unites government and religion, Church and State.

The Prohibitionists have now had greater or less State-wide success in nine States,—Maine, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Kansas, Oklohama, and North Dakota. Other States that tried prohibition only to give it up are Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, Nebraska, and South Dakota. It cannot be said, however, that it was very seriously tried in these six States. Nor can it be proven that State prohibition has markedly decreased poverty.

Populism

William Jennings Bryan.—The Greenback party rose solely upon a financial principle; the Prohibitionist upon an ethical. Similarly, the Populist party arose upon a single principle,—direct utilization of government to promote the general wealth and thereby the wealth of individuals, especially farmers. It was a sectional movement, beginning with the Grangers of the Middle West and spreading into the South. Populism was a great wave that placed one Senator from Kansas in Washington, and then subsided rapidly. In 1896, Populism endorsed the Democrat W. J. Bryan for the Presidency.

In the hope of catching as many voters as possible, the Populist party platforms soon had many planks; but this multifariousness of propositions drove away more voters than it won. Old parties may resort to such a device; but the strength of a new party consists in simplicity of issues.

Populism at its height was State Socialism, and as such pre-

pared the way in American politics for the first and only party in this country with international affiliations.

Socialism

Social Democratic Party.—There have been, in American history, several parties of Socialistic tendency,—the Social Democratic, the Social Labor, and the Populist,—all preparing the way for the Socialist party, which in 1910 by electing a Congressman (from Milwaukee, Wisconsin) fairly entered the national field.

Socialism aims at economic revolution and social reconstruction, employing political methods for these ends. It nominates candidates for National, State and municipal office. Some forty cities have elected Socialists mayors. But at present, Socialism is a party of propaganda rather than of achievement of national importance. It styles the existing social regime "capitalism and wage-slavery" and advocates class-consciousness on the part of all toilers for hire. It supports and is partly supported by trades unionism. The main Socialistic principle is, "Workingmen of the world, unite."

Socialism has two styles,—State socialism and collective socialism. The former is advocated for all public utilities and natural monopolies, the latter for everything else. It demands for each family a home with land. In a sense, Socialism is democratic; it aims to produce free men with equal political rights. In another sense, it is highly nationalistic beyond even Republicanism. It is, however, essentially municipal and local in its present activities. Owing to the appeal of Socialism, under various names and guises, to men and women of religious and esthetic natures, to its advocacy of woman suffrage, and to its zealous humanitarianism, it receives a degree and a measure of attention notably above and beyond its practical accomplishment.

Supersocialism known as "Syndicalism" aims to unite all workers, and with its principle "No arbitration" to expropriate all wealth from private ownership into the communistic possession of the present wage-earners.

Individual Freedom Through Politics

Individual Freedom.—We may perhaps successively rank these and allied movements as they exist to-day in the terms of individual freedom thus:

Philosophical Anarchy, with the largest freedom.
Constitutional Democracy.
Collective Socialism.
Progressive Democracy.
Insurgent Republicanism.
Social Democracy.
Standpat Republicanism.
Prohibitionism.
Populism.
State Socialism.
Communism, with the least freedom.

The problem involved is: "How far in order to promote the welfare of a nation or of a community may we interfere with individual freedom?" How much true liberty is due to law? How far do existing laws work for special privilege and class rule? The court party is now for enlarged government powers, the country party for less law and better law and for more freedom of the individual.

Only in the light of this principle has the progressive movement any historical and permanent importance.

Constitutional Freedom

Part and parcel of individual freedom is constitutional order, which is probably as near to justice as mankind will at least for a considerable time attain. Here, and not in mere political expediency, lies the question as to whether or not to recall legislators, executives and judges, and as to whether or not to make them ineligible to reëlection. In which connection, it is well to note that a man sometimes is indispensable. If Lincoln could not have been reëlected, either the InterState War would have resulted differently or in violation of the

Constitution the North would have found a way to make him dictator.

For in human society an individual may become the embodiment of the social will, the instrument of its adjustment of institutions to changing forces and needs.

PART TWO

PRESIDENTIAL POWERS

"He is to be President of all the People, not of the States."—JAMES MADISON, *Records of the Federal Convention,* August 26, 1787.

CHAPTER I

Origin of the Presidential Character

Some Forerunners of the Presidents: (1) Samuel Adams, (2) Patrick Henry, (3) John Hancock, (4) Benjamin Franklin.

Samuel Adams

The interregnum between King and President—master of Boston town-meeting—other prominent figures—early life—family vicissitudes—fortunate first marriage—Stamp Act—Governor Thomas Hutchinson—the Boston Tea Party—in Philadelphia, 1774—General Gage hunts Sam Adams at Lexington—second wife confesses poverty—personal peculiarities—services of Adams compared with those of others—Massachusetts State Constitution—a democrat and localist—loses his son—the Bill of Rights Amendments—State Governor in 1794—a King-maker—Patrick Henry compared with James Otis—early life—reads law—the Parsons' Cause—"Treason!"—"Give me liberty or give me death!" Governor of Virginia—opposes Federal Constitution—ill health—declines Chief Justiceship—compared with others—an American—John Hancock—early life—wealth—smuggling—the sloop "Liberty"—affairs with Sam and John Adams—an able business man and a good politician—President of Congress in 1776—compared with later rich men—Governor of Massachusetts—State's Rights—an aristocrat and a patriot—Benjamin Franklin—humble origin—early life—printer—goes from Boston to Philadelphia—very active—colonial postmaster in 1753—visits London—scientific discoveries—pamphleteer—colonial agent in England—diplomat in Canada—member of Congress and President Pennsylvania State Constitutional Convention—a genius with many faults—goes to Paris—a prodigious worker—peace commissioner—member Federal Constitutional Convention—ablest of all Americans to date—his singular and attractive yet effective personal appearance—a State's Rights democrat, yet favored a strong, limited, central government.

The Origin of the Public Idea of the President.—To four men we owe the Presidential character. The ideal President is a competent international diplomat, he is a masterful politician, he is a fascinating orator, and he is an industrious

and respectable public functionary. Four men fixed the type. A President is in character when he reminds us of Benjamin Franklin as an energetic yet tactful, honest and unselfish director of international affairs, of Samuel Adams as a frank and successful manipulator of us his fellow democrats, admiring and obedient, of Patrick Henry as an eloquent and patriotic orator, telling us dramatically, brilliantly, gloriously our needs, and of John Hancock, the suave, laborious, skillful yet not anxious presiding executive of our destiny. Were such a President to add in wartime, the bravery and fortitude of George Washington and his foresight, he would be more than ideal; he would be perfect, which no man ever is, or ever will be. The Presidents who fail, fail in some one or more of these several good qualities of their forerunners.

The Interregnum Between King and President.—Between the days when the British colonies in North America were loyal at heart to their hereditary Sovereign Lord, King George the Third, and the days when the new nation of the United States elected for themselves as President of the People one George Washington, there was an interregnum of a score or more of years. Then there was neither king nor judge in our Israel; and much of the time, most of our ancestors were severally doing each what was right in his own eyes. But in that interregnum between King and President several strong figures stood out, usually compelling obedience and even admiration from the aggressive and finally effective minority that set up this representative Republic,—conspicuously among them stood Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and John Hancock. By their policies, their characters and their conduct, they shaped the future Presidency.

Master of Boston Town-Meeting.—In 1774, the first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, the harvest of the sowing of Samuel Adams, "the Father of the Revolution." He had begun the Revolution with his ringing protests against the Stamp Act and pursued it with Committees of Correspondence; and now the Colonies, like independent tribes, were seeking that unity of mind whence independence and nationality in a common cause were to emerge.

In the year 1774, the most prominent politician in America was Sam Adams, master of Boston town-meeting, boldest of

all the rebels-in-making upon the western shores of the Atlantic.

Various Prominent Figures.—Colonial union for resistance did not stir in men's minds until 1773 when the Intercolonial or Continental Committees of Correspondence, whose prototype was the Massachusetts colony-system of intertown Committees of Correspondence, had become sufficiently organized under Dabney Carr, Patrick Henry his brother-in-law, and others of Virginia to press for a congress at Philadelphia, the largest city of America. From 1773 to 1789 is a period of sixteen years. During the first four of those years, Sam Adams, Patrick Henry, and John Hancock were the great political figures at home. The diplomatic triumphs of Benjamin Franklin in France made him the great figure after the French treaty in February, 1782.

Other great men than Sam Adams, Patrick Henry, John Hancock, and Ben Franklin, there were: among them, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, James Otis, George Mason, Richard Henry Lee, to mention a few. Against every other man than Adams, Henry, Hancock, and Franklin, something serious militated to their political disadvantage. Some came from colonies overrun with British soldiers, others from colonies that were hotbeds of Loyalism and Toryism, so that they had no opportunity to develop general views; some were too old for the fray, some still too young; destined later for high fame, one became, according to the medical knowledge of that day, insane, the brilliant Otis; some were killed in battle or otherwise disabled; others were too poor and friendless, in an age when no salaries were paid to public officers, to bear a hand long in politics; and some wavered.

These four men were the forerunners of the Presidents. They had wealth enough, health enough, friends enough, strength enough to endure.

Early Life.—Sturdy Samuel Adams, type of New England hardihood, was born in Boston, September 27, 1722.

On a memorable spring day, 1773, in Fanueil Hall, he rose and said: "This meeting can do no more to save the country,"—whereupon certain "Indian braves" adjourned to the wharf, and to save the business of smuggling tea, stole one hundred thousand dollars worth of almost tax-free tea and poured it into Boston harbor. Yet Parliament was charging

us but one-tenth as much tax as the English were paying. The smugglers wished America charged the full tax,—in order to make their profit, and by law-breaking to break the English monopoly. Mixed purposes of good and evil operate history.

To Sam Adams, fifty years of age, the generosity of King George was poorly disguised malice.

Family Vicissitudes.—Though a Harvard master of arts, winning the degree at the age of twenty years—a fact that indicates to the discerning that college degrees were easier come at in 1743 than now—he did not proceed into a profession but after reading a little law became a merchant's clerk, then a merchant on his own account and, last in business lines, a maltster. He came of a family already famous and living in a fine mansion; but those were troublous times, and the family knew many vicissitudes. Perhaps, the deaths of nine of the twelve children in his father's family should be considered significant of the storm-and-stress of those days of English war with France.

Fortunate First Marriage.—Samuel Adams married well. His bride was a daughter of the minister of New South Church. This was in an age when the ministers were the first men in Boston. The marriage took place in 1749; and it is significant of the young man in Boston politics that older men began to advise him to talk less about government and to write fewer letters to the newspapers and to attend to his none too prosperous malt-house. It appears that the elder Adams, dying, had left to this son not only a legacy of a few thousand dollars but another legacy,—a feud with no less a personage than Thomas Hutchinson, destined to be the first man on the King's side. Ten years after his father's death, the enemies of the Adams family tried to saddle a prodigious and legally problematical debt upon his son Samuel,—in order presumably to quiet his political activities. It is a trick played yet.

By 1753, young Adams was on the Boston School Committee; from this he rose,—as they say,—step by step until he became representative in the Assembly of the colony and tax-collector,—holding the latter office from 1756 to 1764. Massachusetts was in a constant row between the royal governors and their satellites and the free men of the town-meeting. Lying and scandal were in the air. Corruption was the custom of the time.

The Stamp Act brought the crisis.

The Stamp Act.—Adams was already gray and for all his sturdy frame, looked old. His wife was dead, two children surviving. His business was gone; and but little property remained. Yet his career had not begun!

Sam Adams was to become the tribune of the people. That flame of fire, Colonel James Otis, might pass, but Adams was to burn and glow for many and many a year to come. In 1764, seven years after his first wife passed away, Adams married again. It was a childless union, but his second wife survived him.

From 1765, Sam Adams held till his death some office that kept him in the Old State House of Massachusetts. The only considerable break was the period of his service in the Continental Congress. In the Assembly in 1766, he was joined by that rich young blood, John Hancock, then but twenty-nine years old. Massachusetts forced the repeal of the Stamp Act. The British Parliament could not yet answer the Adams argument,—We are too far away to be represented; and since there must be no taxation without representation, we must not be taxed save by ourselves.

Governor Thomas Hutchinson.—In 1768, Thomas Hutchinson, a brilliant lawyer, for years Chief Justice and now Lieutenant-Governor, became Acting Governor; and two years later Governor, at the age then of fifty-nine. His chief opponent was Sam Adams, clerk of the Assembly, whose sole means of support was the petty stipend of what he made a great office by his diligence and talent.

Bustling about the streets of Boston, with his wife and children virtually in poverty, Adams becomes in a sense an American Socrates, the wholly public man. He loved conversation in the streets.

Such was the man who, as officially appointed spokesman of Boston town-meeting after the "Boston Massacre," visited Hutchinson the Royal Governor and like a prophet of old ordered him to withdraw the regiments. "Fail not at your peril," he cried, his head and hands shaking with the nervous tremor that characterized him for the last forty years of his life, "to comply with this requisition. If the just expectations of the people are disappointed, you must be answerable to God and your country for the fatal consequences that must ensue."

After the Boston Tea Party.—After the Tea Party, Sam Adams must be got ready to go to Philadelphia: his friends and neighbors present him with a suit of clothes, a new wig and hat and six pairs of silk hose, six pairs of shoes, and a few gold coins. The man has no time to be looking out for himself. He must be about his country's business! And just enough friends and neighbors are at hand to get him ready for this business. So assisted, in company with certain others of larger means, Adams must travel to Philadelphia, in a coach and four, with two white servants on horseback armed and four negro slaves in attendance, for Boston still has slaves.

In Philadelphia in 1774.—In that Congress of fifty-three members, the Tories said that Sam Adams was the ablest manager of men. One of the conciliationists wrote of him: "He eats little, drinks little, sleeps little, thinks much, and is most decisive and indefatigable in the pursuit of his objects. Whatever these patriots wished to have done. . . . Mr. Adams advised and directed." It is the valuable testimony of an enemy. Adams declared that he was for the struggle for liberty though nine hundred and ninety-nine in a thousand perished. "One freeman must possess more virtue and enjoy more happiness than a thousand slaves; and let him propagate his like, and transmit to them what he hath so nobly preserved."

The Hunt for Sam Adams.—Small wonder that next spring Military Governor Gage sent through Lexington and Concord looking for those two arch-rebels to whom alone because of their "flagitious offences" amnesty could not be granted,—Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whom Paul Revere saved by his world-famous midnight ride.

The second Continental Congress met in June of the same year and upon the nomination of John Adams, seconded by Samuel Adams, chose Washington to command the Continental Army, thereby allying Massachusetts and Virginia indissolubly. At this period, an American in London wrote home: "I find many who consider your Mr. Samuel Adams the first politician in the world." He had escaped "the condign punishment" intended for him by Gage and Hutchinson, he had seen the hero of Massachusetts, General Joseph Warren, fall at Bunker Hill, and with intense seriousness he promptly

pushed forward the business of getting independence, which a majority of the people did not desire.

Having taken one of the richest Virginians for general-in-chief, the Adamses now took the richest New Englander for President of Congress. It was a shrewd move. It made England understand that the wealth of America was enlisted in the cause of liberty.

His Wife Confesses Poverty.—How poor he was In February, 1776, his wife wrote him: "I should be glad (my Dear), if you should n't come down soon, you would Write me Word Who to apply to for some Monney, for I am low in Cash and Everything is very dear.

"May I subscribe myself yours,

"Eliz'h Adams."

It was a forensic fight to get the Declaration through. Even Hancock was against him. The Quakers opposed him. Washington was lukewarm, as was Franklin. But Thomas Paine just over from England with "The Crisis" and "Common Sense" helped to stir up the common people; and the eloquent Richard Henry Lee of Virginia saved the day. At last, upon a pestilently hot afternoon,—mosquitoes and horse-flies biting the legs of the members,—the Declaration went through hurriedly but unanimously. From various sources, Thomas Jefferson put it together; and by various means, Samuel Adams put it through Congress.

Personal Peculiarities.—After all, Congress was a small affair, compared with town meeting! Often, two thousand voters were in attendance at Old South Church, where it now met instead of in the smaller Fanueil Hall. No beginner was this man of fifty-three years! In a day and land of class and caste, he could mix with one and all as friend and equal. In a quavering voice, he declared audacious things. His grip on facts was singularly logical. Greatly as he differed in many ways from Abraham Lincoln, he was, in his methods, devices and manners, quite like him,—deferential, dexterous, persevering. Samuel Adams was the caucus organizer of his times. Jefferson called him "the fountain of our important measures." In an interview in England, Hutchinson told King George that Sam Adams was "a man of the most inflexible natural temper" and "the Cromwell of New England."

His Services Compared with Others.—Historically, Samuel Adams antedates Washington; without him, the Revolutionary General would have had no united social and political mind to shape into a nation. Adams comes before Washington, and Washington before Franklin. The sequence of the crises is this: Adams shaped the colonies to the point of the Declaration. Washington held the army together until Franklin brought the French to help us smash the British at Yorktown. Each of the trio was essential. It is a drama of three acts,—The Declaration—Valley Forge—Yorktown. If independence by the sword was necessary, then every American owes gratitude to these three men,—the politician, the soldier, and the diplomat. No other one man was essential. Others might have written even the Declaration. Not one other could possibly have put it through unanimously or at all; not one other could have held the Continental Army together; not one other could have persuaded France to help us.

The Massachusetts State Constitution.—July 4, 1776, marked a crisis of American history. It was also the climax of the career of Samuel Adams but by no means its ending. He helped to frame the State Constitution of Massachusetts. Hitherto, we have so seriously overestimated the importance of the Federal Constitution as to have neglected the far more important State Constitutions, which touch us at twenty points to one for the Federal. The difference may be fifty compared with the relative importance of clothing and of food, we need both. The Federal Constitution is clothing; the State is food and drink.

Samuel Adams also helped to frame the Articles of Confederation for the new nation. He was always a localist, the town meeting democrat, no centralizationist.

A Democrat and a Socialist.—In Massachusetts, he did yeoman service not only in the Assembly but also in town-meeting. The higher civilization that he kept steadily in view was a society of free men and political equals, each doing as much for himself as possible and relying upon government as little as possible. In 1781, he became a member of the State Senate and was at once elected its President. He presided over the magnificent ceremonies that witnessed the departure of the French army and fleet from Boston in 1782. Later, he opposed the proposition to let the Tory refugees return to

Boston from Halifax and elsewhere, and won, which was unfortunate. He exerted the powers of the State Government vigorously in the troubled days of Shays's Rebellion, which also may have been unfortunate.

The Old Patriot Saves His Son.—In 1788, domestic affliction nearly crushed the old statesman. His son, who had been a surgeon during the Revolutionary War, died as the result of hardships encountered then. With this grief upon him, Samuel Adams persuaded the Massachusetts Legislature to insist upon certain amendments to the Federal Constitution; to him more than to any other one man, we owe the first amendments, often called our "American Bill of Rights." For all his age, he was still a keen workman in government. In this year, a local newspaper said of him: "He is the American Cato. Naked he went into her employ, and naked he came out of it." Running for Congress as an anti-Federalist, he was defeated by a marvellous young man of thirty-one years, Fisher Ames, as an orator the successor to Otis and Henry. But the next year, he was elected Lieutenant Governor, Hancock continuing as Governor. The tickets were printed in gold ink in token of the honor in which these two men were held.

State Governor in 1794.—When John Hancock died late in 1793, Adams succeeded him and was elected annually to the governorship in 1794, 1795, 1796, by large majorities. In 1797, fifteen electoral votes were cast for him against John Adams and Jefferson as President of the United States. But he had now retired and, paralyzed, was waiting the end of life. His wife and his daughter and her children cared for him. And Congress paid to him as heir some six thousand dollars of salary due his son for services as army surgeon. He failed slowly and gradually until the end came October 2, 1803.

So lived and died a mighty Puritan, who tried to prevent theatrical plays in Boston when he was State Governor. He saw the things of the future far off; and insisted that all the world should see through his eyes. Did he make mistakes? Many of them, but all relatively small. And the only reason why his fame is not vastly greater is that he always tried to put others forward; he was "a king-maker." He "made" politically both Washington and Hancock—even favored mak-

ing Washington a dictator. Bold as a lion for his measures, he was always modest respecting himself. He was the ideal of an effective type,—the New England folk-mote democrat.

In his old age, there were three great States,—Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. He was Governor of one of the trio. And all of them were still for State's rights in their political faith.

Patrick Henry

Patrick Henry Compared with James Otis.—As a cynosure of public interest, in the stormy days before the Revolution, the only man who equalled Samuel Adams of Massachusetts was Patrick Henry, who was often styled in the North "the young Sam Adams of Virginia." Later history will perhaps think of him as an abler, better poised, less well educated James Otis with an equal eloquence. These two were the first orators South and North of the new cause. To Henry was accorded long life; but Otis became insane early in the wartime as the outcome of an assault by ruffian political enemies in 1769, for which they were fined ten thousand dollars as compensation, an item indignantly refused by the soon to be insane victim. It was the irony of fate that Otis remained alive until 1783 when, as he often prayed to be, he was killed by a stroke of lightning. With modern medical care, how he might have changed all future history!

What Otis, who was born in 1725, was to Massachusetts, the inspirer of revolt in the souls even of the Adamses, Henry was to Virginia. Their words were,—to use the phrase of Homer,—"winged arrows" that flew home to the mark.

Early Life.—Most of the early life of Henry is obscure. All through his life, he had jealous and lying detractors,—among whom the over-imaginative Thomas Jefferson was the worst. He was born at Studley, Hanover County, Virginia, May 29, 1736. His father was a native Scotchman; his mother a native of North Carolina, and recently of Welsh descent. On both sides, his ancestry had famous names. His own opportunities for schooling were meagre, but his father, at such times as he could spare, taught him Greek and Latin indifferently well. His mother had musical talent, which may somewhat account for his own beautiful speaking voice. Of his own motion, Henry read diligently Greek and Roman his-

tory. He married at eighteen years of age and within a few years failed twice as a merchant and once as a farmer.

READS LAW.—In 1760, Henry suddenly resolved to try the law, read in it diligently for six weeks, in an irresponsible social age, was admitted to the bar upon his promise to keep on studying, and at once set about getting a practice to support himself and family. Very soon, it appeared that he had found his vocation, and clients came in steadily increasing numbers. He was attractive in speech and conversation and unsparingly diligent in their interests. In 1763, at twenty-seven years of age, his opportunity came. It was a complicated and ugly case that has passed into history as "the Parsons' Cause." His own father was judge of the court,—a situation scarcely agreeable to the ethics of modern minds.

THE PARSONS' CAUSE.—The church was established by charter in Virginia and the rectors were paid out of taxes,—each sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco annually, about six months after harvest. In the middle of the eighteenth century, tobacco rose and rose in price until that salary amounted to the prodigious sum of two thousand dollars value. The Legislature, without permit of the King but with the approval of the acting Governor, commuted these salaries to about one-third, which was, however, more than the clergy usually had received. The King objected. And the clergy sued for the payment according to the charter.

The social situation becomes significant. The common people are against the clergy and the establishment of the church. The gentry are for the clergy and establishment. Henry is made counsel for the defendant vestrymen of the parish who will not pay the salary according to the King's orders; and the case now is upon their appeal from a lower court where the vestrymen have lost.

The jury is stacked for the defendants; no gentlemen sit there, the sheriff has seen to that. A great multitude have gathered from the countryside to hear the case. What they heard was not a legal argument but an assertion that the "King was degenerating into a tyrant" and that the clergy were desiring not a verdict of heavy damages but a rebuke of "signal severity" for trying to oppose the will of the people of Virginia and their patriotic governor. It was an eloquent speech. It won. The stacked jury, guided by the judge, a fond ad-

mirer of his son, within fifteen minutes asserted the damages at one penny. And the fame of Patrick Henry, the victor, passed to the Carolinas and Georgia and to New Jersey and Massachusetts.

"Treason."—In 1765, he became a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and offered the resolutions against the Stamp Act. The speech is famous for a single passage quoted everywhere:

"'Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third,'—here he was interrupted by loud cries of 'Treason!' from all parts of the house,—"may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it.'"

This speech confirmed the reputation of Henry as the most eloquent man in a colony that already admired eloquence above all other powers and graces of men. It made for him violent partisans and equally bitter enemies. The resolutions passed by the closest of votes,—one majority. The next day, the House expunged two of the worst of the resolutions when Henry had gone home, thinking that his work was done.

North, South and beyond the seas went that terrible speech.

In 1774, Henry met Samuel Adams at the First Congress, and then and in 1775 gave to him some support, though he himself favored waiting to pass the Declaration until after getting friendly assurances from those ancient enemies of Great Britain, Spain, and France.

"Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death."—In 1775, before the Declaration, he had made the most famous of his speeches, and the most famous speech ever made upon American soil. The occasion was his own resolution in favor of raising a troop of soldiers for the oncoming war. The place was the now historic church in Richmond, where the Revolutionary Convention was in session.

The summary of the speech is all that we have of it; but eye-witnesses describe it as intensely dramatic, even as violently sensational, in its presentation. The summary of scarcely twelve hundred words is familiar to all Americans; this last paragraph may serve to bring the whole to remembrance:

"It is in vain to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our

ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of claims and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"[1]

Thereafter, Patrick Henry was as much hated and feared by the King's party in America and in England as Sam Adams himself; as much as Benjamin Franklin, and even more than George Washington, the field commander, and John Hancock, the rich rebel smuggler.

Governor of Virginia.—They made Henry Governor of the State of Virginia after the Declaration of Independence; and frequently recalled him at intervals to the office. He it was who sent George Rogers Clark on the amazing expedition that saved the Ohio valley to our nation.

In 1775, his wife, the mother of all his six children, died; he married again in 1777; but his health had been irrecovably damaged by his labors and anxieties. He was yet to do many good things, but to make also serious mistakes.

The war had moved over into the South from the North; and Virginia was the scene of raids and battles. It was to be the scene of the final overwhelming defeat of the British at Yorktown. Heavy cares came upon the Governor and patriot leader.

The Federal Constitution.—He opposed the Federal Constitution, and declined four offers of Washington to high office, including the Supreme Court Chief Justiceship. That this was unfortunate for our country, many believe. John Jay, a strong Federalist, was chosen instead. Shortly after his election as a member of the Legislature,—where he hoped to support the policy of George Washington, then also in retirement, and so near his end,—Patrick Henry died June 6, 1799. And when we read of the medical treatment, we know why: he was bled to death. Now we add blood by transfusion in such cases.

Like Franklin, early in life Patrick Henry acquired a competence,—from his profession, for clients poured into his offices from 1763 till 1773, when he practically withdrew from the bar, already financially endowed for life. Like Franklin

[1] According to the text of William Wirt. *Life of P. Henry* (1817).

also, he had the gift of the necessary and ever memorable word. Like John Hancock, he saw some military service. And like all three,—Adams, Hancock, and Franklin,—he had more offers of office than he could fill. He was the idol of all Virginia, save the elite, arousing a far more passionate devotion to himself than Washington, perhaps with good reason.

"An American."—Such was the man who in the Provincial Congress of 1774 declared: "I am not a Virginian; I am an American!," thereby setting the keynote for hundreds of thousands of compatriots. Until 1860, most Virginians heartily agreed.

John Hancock

Early Life.—John Hancock of Massachusetts was ever present, ever prominent, but influential not for his ideas or his labors but for his ever-ready purse. He was born in Quincy, Massachusetts, January 23, 1737, in a family of wealth and birth and breeding. Perforce, he was sent to Harvard College, receiving the degree of bachelor of arts at the early age of seventeen. Immediately, he went into the commercial house of his rich uncle Thomas Hancock, who, dying in 1764, bequeathed him not only his estate but the most profitable business in America.

Smuggling.—At twenty-seven years of age, John Hancock was now a marked man, subject to all the temptations and flatteries that have attended rich young heirs in all ages and lands. Sam Adams soon gathered him into the company of the disaffected; helped, of course, by the fact that much of the revenue of the Hancock business was derived from enterprises that were, legally considered, smuggling. His ships and cargoes evaded the King's taxes, to his profit and the King's loss. Most of his neighbors and rivals likewise were smugglers,—in the same outlaw sense that most of them later became rebels.

The Sloop "Liberty."—Adams saw that Hancock would make a good selectman of the town of Boston; and in 1765 town-meeting as usual followed the advice of its manager. Next year, Adams saw that Hancock would make a good representative for Boston in the Massachusetts General Court, the colonial legislature; and town-meeting elected him. Two years later, in 1768, the customs officers of the King seized

Hancock's sloop "Liberty"—ominous name—for discharging, without payment of duties, a cargo of Madeiro wine,—in other words, for smuggling. They brought so many suits against him that if they had won and enforced the claims, Hancock would have been driven out of business. Adams was under the same kind of attack; it was indeed the familiar course of tyrants in all ages, to ruin their enemies by legal process. That cargo of Madeiro wine shows many things to the discerning. For one, it shows the prosperous market in Boston, since good wine is a luxury of the rich. For another, it is one more instance in history of wealth derived from alcoholic stimulants. Perhaps, it helps explain the gout that Hancock suffered from during most of his adult life. And more than anything else, it brought the Hancock signature down upon the Declaration of Independence,—his name went first upon what was white paper before the hour when some fifty-six men made their bid for immortal fame. Perhaps, good wine explains the lethargy of John Hancock in many hours of crisis and likewise his prompt action in others. At any rate, his oversea trade to the West Indies and to remoter lands gave to Hancock those funds by which, beyond even Washington, he made patriotism fashionable even in the eyes of the mean and of the hostile. For another item, his confiscated cargo of Madeiro made him immensely popular among the Whigs of Massachusetts Bay Colony. For still another item, a good fee to young John Adams, for defending Hancock, helped that young man on in life. Dorothy Quincy, Hancock's beautiful wife, was a cousin of Abigail Smith, wife of Samuel Adams, which explains much, for the Quincys knew and practiced kinship. And for a last item, a few years later, Governor Gage would seek John Hancock at Lexington, fugitive in a criminal case in which the royal government planned to mulct him of $500,000. Hancock would pay others to fight for him rather than meekly surrender half his fortune for doing what every one else did!

Affairs with Sam and John Adams.—In 1770, Hancock went with Sam Adams upon that memorable demand, after the "Boston Massacre," that Governor Hutchinson remove the King's regiments. And when, in 1774, the matter of clothes and of a purse for Adams came up, Hancock was quick to

go into his pocket for what was to him small change but to the agitator the means of life.

With the fame of the Hancock patriotic resistance and of the Hancock annual income, with the presence of a man handsomely dressed and of a slender, graceful figure and charming manners, Sam Adams had no difficulty in making the Massachusetts man President of the Provincial Congress. Political log-rolling helped; Virginia had Washington for commander-in-chief, let the other honor go to the great Colony of the North!

The Presidency.—If instead of the Presidency of that single-chamber legislature, Adams had before him the Presidency of a nation to fill, he would have selected John Hancock just the same. For this reason, the bold merchant seeking larger freedom to trade, belongs in this record of the immortal Presidents.

For a hundred and fifty years, we have allowed ourselves to belittle John Hancock because he was—as the Loyalists said—"Adams' ape" or "Adams' dupe"; and we have allowed ourselves to belittle Samuel Adams because he was a rundown specimen of a noble colonial family, a town-meeting busybody, an agitator and politician who used John Hancock as his stalking-horse. It is high time that we cast off these puerilities of a jealous, anxious, quarrelsome time whose issues were far more weighty than most of the people even dreamed. It may be said of Hancock that he generated no new ideas; but he was certainly a faithful seconder of more brilliant public men.

For the truth is that Hancock was an able, clear-headed, patriotic, well-poised, usually energetic man,—of the type that we should often choose for presiding and executive offices. He was dignified, urbane, impartial upon trivial matters, partisan only upon the main issue.

Compared with Other Rich Men.—Hancock was the first merchant of his times; and the first in resistance to the settled government. Imagine the first merchant of our times, our own rich and foremost man, in such rebellion! Enlarge the picture: Here are Washington and Nelson and Carroll, the landowners; Hancock, merchant prince; and Ben Franklin, rich man, famous author, scientist, colonial chief of the postoffice,—in rebellion. By the side of this picture, place

John Jacob Astor, John D. Rockefeller, J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas A. Edison, and Andrew Carnegie, relatively to-day in the same rank as men of wealth; and imagine their risking life, property and reputation in open treason against existing government.

Governor of Massachusetts.—In 1778, John Hancock became major-general in command of the militia of Massachusetts, and saw service in Rhode Island. When Massachusetts made its constitution, there was he in the convention. In 1780 the State made him its first governor. A constant primacy of this character does not fall to an ordinary man. He was governor of his State until 1785 and again from 1787 until his death in 1793. He was president of the State Convention that in 1788 ratified the Federal Constitution.

An Able Business Man.—And while John Hancock was attending to all the multifarious duties of these political offices, during all these troublous years, he was running—in an age of social discontent, in an age also without railroad mail or telegraph service or typewriters—not only the greatest business in America but also a steadily growing business. Battles might rage on sea and land; the ships and cargoes of John Hancock were borne hither and yon on the high seas, and his merchandise was sold at home and abroad. He was, of necessity, a keen judge of men and of social conditions. Of course, he bought and sold, along with other merchandise, negroes. It takes a shrewd man to be at once a trader and a good enough politician to be elected annually as governor in a State of town-meeting-men, any of whom is, or thinks he is, quite fit for "most any office."

Aristocrat and Patriot.—Popular, amiable, shrewd, bold enough in a crisis, persistent, ostentatious,—such was the Boston man whose alliance with Sam Adams during most of his life—with but one serious break between them, which did not last many years—caused even Lord North to fear from the first that the rebels might win. Husband of a daughter of that noble Bay State family,—the Quincys,—generous patron and benefactor of his Alma Mater, Harvard College, like Washington, fond of society, John Hancock, seen in the clear retrospect of history, is the aristocrat who amply justifies his class. Had we drawn more of our material in times past from less levelling and democratic sources, for the writing of his-

tory, Americans would have given to John Hancock the more honorable place to which, upon consideration, he is certainly entitled. Perhaps, the fact that he was generous almost to profligacy, giving lavishly of his vast profits to all and sundry, a natural philanthropist, prejudiced thrifty Yankee writers subconsciously against him as evidence of weakmindedness.

State's Rights.—John Hancock may have had a slightly exaggerated idea of State's rights and of his own rights; but if he had not felt these ideas strongly, American history would have been different from what it was. He may have been eager for profits; but without his money, which, as a business man, he got by taking things as they were and making the best of them, neither Adams would have been heard of beyond Massachusetts. And without the Adamses, we should not have had an independent American history. Hancock may not have been a great man, but he was a gentleman and absolutely necessary for the great political enterprise then on hand.

Benjamin Franklin

Humble Origin.—The fourth of the forerunners of the nation's Presidents to be considered herein is another Boston man, born in a house opposite Old South Church, January 17, 1706, and destined to enter the world's pantheon of immortals, —Benjamin Franklin. He came of no old family and had his only education in his father's business of tallow-chandler and soap-boiler. The youngest son in a large family, he was taken at twelve years of age by a half-brother to be apprentice in his printing business. His father was English by birth, and in the custom of the English of a certain class had married early, after his first wife's death immediately married again, and as fast as his children became large enough to do anything, set them to work.

Early Life.—Early in life, little Benjamin displayed a talent for writing doggerel verse, and his big brother printed it in leaflets that the child hawked in the streets of Boston. When his brother was forbidden to issue his paper because it offended the authorities in that sensitive age before free speech and press were established, in 1722, the boy found himself ostensibly editor-proprietor of a Boston newspaper, for which he wrote articles much admired by the discontented. But next

year, he found that for his safety and freedom he must leave the city and go elsewhere. There was trouble between himself and his much older half-brother James; and between himself and the public officials. In 1723, he became a resident and printer in Philadelphia.

A Wanderer.—A year later Franklin is practicing his trade of printing and learning yet more of the good and evil ways of the world in London, England. In 1726, at the mature age of twenty, he is back again in Philadelphia; and the year 1729 sees him in possession of a weekly newspaper, and beginning a public career. In 1736, he becomes clerk of the Pennsylvania General Assembly, serving there for fifteen years. In 1737, he is the Philadelphia postmaster also; and organizes a police force and a fire company. In 1751, he founds the academy out of which has grown the University of Pennsylvania; also is elected a member of the General Assembly; and establishes the city hospital.

Colonial Postmaster in 1753.—The points of contact between Franklin and the world about him were many. He became colonial postmaster in 1753 and continued as such until 1774, visiting every one of the twenty-eight postoffices in the colonies, many of which he personally established. In 1754, he submitted at Albany his famous plan for colonial union, anticipating even Samuel Adams therein. He personally financed the famous expedition of General Braddock against Fort Duquesne in 1755, and next year built forts in western Pennsylvania. A year passed, and he was again in London, this time as agent for the Colony of Pennsylvania,—to stay five years.

Scientific Discoveries.—In the meantime, he had already won such fame for his scientific discoveries that in 1757 the Scottish University of St. Andrews made him doctor of laws, one of several such honors received at this period. Returning in 1762 to America, Franklin set himself to research work in experimental physics; but was soon drawn into the civil discords of the Quaker colony, which in 1764 sent him to London again.

Pamphleteer.—He styled the proposed Stamp Act as "the mother of mischief," but this pamphlet, unlike others from his skillful and indefatigable pen, failed of its purpose. In 1766, he appeared before all Parliament in an inquiry as to

the effect of the Act, and forced its repeal. He had become almost an ambassador for the colonies, for New Jersey, Georgia, and Massachusetts had all made him their agent as well as Pennsylvania's.

In 1773, Benjamin Franklin worked off upon Parliament one of his cleverest hoaxes, "An edict of the King of Prussia," purporting to be an assertion that England was a colony since its settlement by the Angles and Saxons, and declaring a tax-levy! Next year, the British Ministry removed Franklin from his position as chief of the colonial post service.

An old man now, in 1775, Doctor Franklin sailed home,—to rest, so he thought. He arrived in the slow sailing-vessels of the time, to hear of Lexington and Concord. His great career was about to begin! Opportunity was before him.

Many Enterprises.—At once, without much election formality, Franklin became a member of the Continental Congress, serving on ten different committees. In April, 1776, for all his years, he set off to Canada with a few others on the official business of trying to persuade that colony to unite with the rebels. He was back just in time to vote,—after some personal hesitation,—for the Declaration of Independence. A few days later, he was made president of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention, while remaining a member of Congress. No labors were too great for the versatile man. Before the Convention adjourned, he was already appointed Commissioner to France; sold some of his property, for incidentally he had made a deal of money, loaned Congress twenty thousand dollars; and was in Paris before Christmas.

A Genius.—Already, Franklin was a member of every important learned society in Europe. His books and pamphlets were known everywhere. His picture was in every printshop and in many houses. He was the powerful enemy of Great Britain, the man of letters, the scientist, the diplomat, the inventor, the philosopher, *le grand Franklin*. It hurt him none in the court and salons of that fashionable and loose city that he had two illegitimate children and could not legally marry his acknowledged wife, the mother of two children more because she was not legally divorced from her husband. It hurt him none that he was reputed to be capable of sharp practices in politics. It hurt him none that he was known to lie a-bed often until noon and sometimes all day. They took

him for what he was—a sheer genius, with all his faults and sins and foibles upon him. The gold in the coin carried the base metal.

In Paris.—The winter of Valley Forge followed the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga in October, 1777; and in February, 1778, Franklin put through the treaty of alliance between France and the United States. It was the greatest event of all that busy, triumphant life; and turned Washington's heart from grim, invincible endurance to hope of victory. By loan and by gift, in support of her soldiers and sailors in America, France turned over to the patriots in all some sixty million dollars,—a vast sum for the independence of three millions of people from a nation whose treasury was bankrupt.

A Prodigious Worker.—The amount of work actually done by Doctor Franklin during these terrible years of war, with the clerical assistance of but one man, his natural grandson William Temple Franklin,—work at court, raising of money for privateersmen, sales of cargoes pledged on loans, correspondence not only with America but also with American diplomats and agents in Spain, Holland, and elsewhere, discussions with England over the exchange of prisoners, social, literary, and scientific undertaking,—passes credibility. All that we who follow him can do is to accept him, as the French did, as *sui generis*. His was a polyphase mind.

Peace Commissioner.—In November, 1782, came the preliminary treaty of peace with Great Britain; and in September, 1783, the final treaty, in both of which Franklin was one of the American commissioners. But this did not conclude his European service;—there were treaties to be negotiated with Sweden and with Prussia. At last, however, the old, old man in September, 1785, arrived home—to be at once elected chairman of the city council of Philadelphia and president of the council (virtually State governor) of Pennsylvania. In 1787, he became a member of the Federal Constitutional Convention and was first vice-president, being therefore second only to Washington.

The Oldest Member of the Federal Convention.—It is told of him that he came to the Convention every day but often fell asleep. He was, however, very wide awake when he resolved all the doubts of the hesitating and won almost unanimous support for the proposed constitution by suggesting

a characteristically ingenious device that the members certify the adoption of the constitution by the convention and not necessarily their own agreement with it. A subtle, complex mind like his often achieves much in politics.

All the world remembers the speech of Franklin there on the last day,—how he knew at last that he was looking upon a rising, not a setting, sun. All the world remembers his remark at the time of the signing of the Declaration,—about hanging together lest they hang separately.

On February 12, 1790, Doctor Franklin, president of the Pennsylvania Society against slavery, signed and forwarded a petition to Congress for its immediate abolition; but Congress did nothing, could not see as far ahead as Franklin, and the war of slavery had to come. Two months later, he died at his own home in Philadelphia.

Only the heavy burden of his years kept him from the Presidency.

His Personal Appearance.—Benjamin Franklin was in physique a large man, not quite six feet tall, and in youth a deal of an athlete, especially as a swimmer. He even contemplated at one time becoming a teacher of swimming in London. He had many physiological notions that seemed like vagaries to men of the time,—among them daily cold baths, sunning himself naked in his room, vegetarianism, which he did not too closely follow, and fresh air. He was full of all manner of moral theories on which he was much given to discourse. He never obeyed moral maxims rigidly.

He was a skillful printer and a most enterprising publisher. At one period in the 30's, he had a chain of printing-shops in some ten different places in America, including the West Indies. "Poor Richard's Almanack" (annual) was his most successful publishing venture, and sold at the rate of ten thousand or more each year, at a good profit. His "Autobiography" is yet more famous in this era; it is simple, sincere, practical, utilitarian, and to the young and poor inspiring. He wrote much upon the theory and practice of economics. For one matter, he was an ardent free-trader.

His inventions are many: the lightning rod; the "Franklin" stove, which is an iron fireplace out in the room; an anti-smoke device for chimneys, and another for lamps; several devices for eye-glasses; non-upsettable dishes for ships at sea; water-

tight compartments for ships; fertilizers; a clock-machinery; a ship's anchor for storms.

He urged the use of oil on the waters during storms; wrote on earthquakes, the Gulf-Stream, the sun's heat; and discovered the positive and negative powers of electricity.

Ablest of All Americans.—At once bold even to audacity, yet circumspect; clear-headed, calm, patient; immensely laborious yet fond of company and of companions; grave, yet humorous and at times witty; full of animal passions; seeing things afar off yet willing to take up the pettiest details; never hurried and not long in doubt about any matters, Benjamin Franklin, taken by-and-large, maybe, indeed is, considerably lower than perhaps three or four other Americans in total worth but fully entitled to all the place so freely accorded to him by his European contemporaries as a man great enough to belong to humanity of all ages and lands. At any rate, of most of his public work, Americans may well be proud and for all of it intensely grateful.

Limited, Strong, Central Government.—In politics, he was an ardent democrat and individualist, and yet he saw the necessity of a strong but limited central government. This is the only possible position for a philosopher and philanthropist; and Benjamin Franklin was both.

Like Washington, Franklin made the name American not merely respectable in Europe but honorable. No other man coming to the French Court would have had his prestige and few others his dignified, attractive bearing. In those grey eyes, in that confident, easy, paternal bearing as of a man aloof from the ordinary struggle, in those lucid sentences, whether written or spoken, France and through France all Continental Europe felt the rise of a new and equal nation upon earth; and responded accordingly.

CHAPTER II

Constitutional and Customary Powers

Office originated on paper—changing powers—general powers—messages summoning Congress—appointments to office—senatorial courtesy—treaties—commander-in-chief—limitations of his power—impeach-

ment—signatures to countless documents—two kinds of vetoes—recess appointments—pardons—international social courtesies—later career of J. Q. Adams—growth of nation—the five revolutions upon our soil—government *versus* big business—review of various Presidents as affecting the office—contrasts of weak and strong men—peace and war—the Presidency and the average man—what shall we do with "former Presidents"?—the dangerous interregnum—conventions will pass—a gerrymandered nation—public office not a personal reward—government in impasse—needlessly early deaths.

An Office Created on Paper.—Few other subjects so engrossed the attention of the Federal Convention as that of the nature and tenure of the executive. The members themselves were filled with "the dread and fear of kings" and knew that nearly all other Americans felt likewise. But they had seen the weakness of the Continental Congress upon the administrative side, and meant to make the head of the new government strong. They had no complete historical models by which to go. Because the States had governors, they must avoid that term. "President" was mild. Pennsylvania had a President of its Council. They would make their President strong but subject him to a short term and to the control of the Senate for all appointments.

The American Presidency was, therefore, virtually an office created on paper, without adequate historical precedent, and a unique feature of a generally unique experiment in government. Perhaps, no other important feature of the Constitution has worked better and provoked less criticism, reasonable or unreasonable, than the short term, strong-powered, single executive.

Certainly, here in America we have nothing of kingship,—no naming of heirs, no free calling out of soldiers, no coercion of citizens, in respect to property or to liberty, no dictation to judges or to juries, no immense and permanent prestige.

The President now has so many laws to enforce in general, so many to carry out in detail, that he exercises discretion of a judicial nature in respect to them all. He can create consternation or confidence by his course. He seldom follows the letter of a statute that is not vigorously backed by public opinion. This, more than anything else, explains why the Sherman anti-trust law, which is a criminal statute, was not

enforced at all for ten years until the time of Roosevelt, and only in civil actions by Taft. As soon as public opinion gives force to the statute, the President will proceed criminally against the millionaire offenders. At first, it was said to apply only to railroads, but now,—because of public opinion,—it applies to all enterprises.

To understand the powers of the President fully, we must first clear from our minds the notion that he is the head solely of the executive branch. He is not solely the agent of Congress and the instrument of the courts for the enforcement of laws. He is part and parcel of the legislative and judicial processes. By his messages, he initiates legislation and by his vetoes ends, delays or modifies legislation. He names the judges; nor is he in contempt when he refuses to execute their writs. The courts have no remedy against him. Impeachment can be only by Congress. I have talked with one President as to his right to remove a judge, even a Supreme Court Justice. He probably can do this, when he thinks it wise. No President ever has done it. Impeachment of Justices usually fails. But removal for cause to be determined by the President is probably within the Constitution and the statutes. At any rate, suspension from duty from failure of "good behavior" is.[1] Power, honor and salary cease for a time.

And it must be clearly understood that the Secretaries of the Cabinet of the President are in no sense responsible ministers. The Secretary of State appoints and removes no diplomats. The Department of Justice appoints no judges. The Treasury decides very little. The President is the sun of the executive universe, and all light radiates from him.

The powers of the Presidency may be classified as general and as specific; as for use always; and as for use all the time and as for use only in war-time.

General Powers.—The first general power of the President is to address messages to Congress. No other power is so important as this. The message has two values,—direct with reference to Congress, indirect through public opinion. A well-constructed message backfires upon the law-making body, and since judges are human, upon the courts. When a message from the President is announced, in either House, all other business is suspended. Whatever be its nature, it must be read aloud from beginning to end, in regular session,—though,

[1]See Article III of the Constitution.

of course, members of Congress are not required to sit and to listen; a quorum, however, may be demanded.

Messages to Congress.—The President may send one annual message; and he may send as many more messages as he sees fit. These messages may be as long as the President chooses. In fact, some Presidents have written a thousand in a single term; several considerably exceeded this number.

Special Sessions.—Scarcely less important is the power of the President to call Congress in special session. Many Presidents have done this. A President can in truth keep Congress in constant session, convoking it immediately after adjournment. Congress meets annually in December. In alternate (odd) years, the terms of Senators and Representatives run out in March. Two-thirds of the Senators hold over, but all the Representatives are subject to change every two years. In consequence, we have come to speak of Congress as new each biennium. Each Presidential administration covers two Congresses, and at least four sessions of Congress. The first regular session of Congress, meeting in December and adjourning as it sees fit in March or May or July, is called the "long session," while the second regular session of the Congress going out of office March 3d is called the "short session." The latter always contains members who have failed of re-election or who have voluntarily retired. In an epoch of political change, the short session usually accomplishes but little, for Congress then has many "lame ducks." When a President calls a special session, it is usually for the season immediately following the short session. Therefore, Congress contains a larger or smaller number of new members, anxious to get a record for their constituencies at least in respect to their votes but ignorant of the ways of this great two-graded club of the agents of the governing classes of the American people. These new members usually entertain the highest respect for the President and take his recommendations at least seriously if not favorably. But the session is usually in summer when Washington is damp and torrid so that climate prevents large accomplishment.

Appointments to Office.—Another power of the President is to name new men for office and to promote, demote and transfer by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. In a sense, either the Senate or the President may veto an

appointment. This power of the President covers thousands of officers, including all the Federal judiciary, the Cabinet, the heads of the bureaus, and the Army and Navy. But "Senatorial courtesy," which assumes many rights not specifically named in the Constitution, uses to the full the perfectly clear rights both to advise, which means to initiate appointments, and to consent, which means to veto nominations, so that in fact Presidents seldom name men for office until they are sure that the nominations will be confirmed and usually name men who were first suggested to them by Senators.

Because the House fixes appropriations and salaries, men are seldom named for new offices until the President knows that they will be satisfactory to the House leaders and majority party.

Senatorial Courtesy.—So vast is the population, so large is the number of offices to be filled that a President must rely upon the Senators of each State, upon the Representatives of each District, and upon the experienced officers of the Departments for nearly all his information respecting nominees. This system of appointment works fairly well in respect to the perfunctory honesty of the officers whom the Presidents name, but it does not work so well in respect to their peculiar fitness for office. The Government experiences but little peculation by its officeholders; it still suffers for want of high efficiency in its officers. Because of this lack of efficiency, there is some corruption due far more often to the hoodwinking of inefficient men than to their connivance with dishonest contractors, dealers and others. It is an interesting fact that the opinion of politicians may be taken more safely in respect to the honesty of their candidates for appointment than in respect to the ability and fitness of the men. Unquestionably, the salaries of the officers of the executive branch are too low to secure an average of men of sufficiently high ability.

Treaty Negotiations.—A fourth power of the President is to negotiate treaties with foreign nations. This he does through the Secretary of State and the foreign ambassadors whom he and the Senate appoint. The President is the titular head of the nation. He ranks with emperors and kings and above princes. The United States is a first class power, in the grade with Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and Japan, and above France, Austria, Italy, Spain, Turkey, China and

all other nations. But the President has no such official authority and prestige as King, Kaiser, Emperor, and Mikado, all the patriotic outpourings of American orators, rhetoricians, political scientists to the contrary notwithstanding. The child of his loins is not his heir. Death is not the term of his authority. He has no crown lands, no wellsprings of gold. He cannot make lords and nobles and knights. For him, there is no *lese majeste*. Legally, he cannot set armies and navies in motion; actually, he does. He serves for four years; he never rules, and he never reigns. Even during the four years, he may be impeached and removed. Only by violating the Constitution and getting away before the people wake up, can he of himself alone do anything.

A treaty negotiated by the President is not complete until ratified by the Senate. If it involves any appropriation, it does not become effective until the entire Congress has passed the appropriation. Upon the President, therefore, devolves all the immense burden of international relations with Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, and Central America. This burden concerns commerce, finance, politics, migrations of peoples, crimes.

Commander-in-Chief of Army and Navy.—A fifth power of the President is to act as commander-in-chief of the army and navy. In time of peace, this is relatively not important; but in time of war, it is supreme. Though the Senate must confirm army and navy promotions as well as appointments and though Congress must appropriate the money to carry out campaigns, and build battleships to fight on the seas, still the sudden emergencies of war make the executive chief actually the director and dictator.

Presidential Limitations.—Court Review.—The limitations of the powers of the President are many. Whatever he does is subject to review by the courts, for he derives his powers from the Constitution and the laws which the courts interpret. In consequence, he submits many of the things that he proposes to do to the consideration of the Attorney General. Courts do not construe moot questions but only accomplished deeds; and yet by the study of their decisions, learned lawyers can frequently, perhaps usually, predict what the courts will do in given hypothetical cases. The officers of the executive branch of the government are often acquaintances

and sometimes friends of the judges and know what their personal views of the legality of various courses of conduct are. This is inevitable. They read the minds of the judges and foresee their decisions. Sometimes, they are fully informed in advance, as in the Dred Scott case.[1]

Impeachment.—A second limitation of the Presidency consists in the power of impeachment vested in the House of Representatives to be tried in the Senate.[2] Presidents know that they may do things that are constitutional and yet lose office. What they do that is unconstitutional, the courts can annul so far as it is possible to annul accomplished things and to correct the past.

But one President has actually been impeached. Threats, however, have often been made to impeach and that by important Senators and Congressmen. They were made against Jackson, Polk, Lincoln, Grant, and Roosevelt with great vehemence not once only but often. The threat to impeach is itself a check upon action.

Signatures Railroaded Fast.—A third limitation upon the power of the President is the human fact that he has but twenty-four hours a day to live. No Presidents have been young men, and but two of them were in the middle life of the forties. Not many of them when in this highest office possessed great physical working powers. In consequence, nearly all the things that Presidents do or refuse to do are done or refused upon advice without any personal investigation or consideration by themselves. Hundreds of documents are signed daily or otherwise authorized that the President in office has never read and could not possibly get time to read. More than one President has made himself sick from overwork trying to pass intelligently upon too much of the business before him.

Two Kinds of Vetoes.—Of the specific powers of the Presidents, the most important is to veto bills passed by Congress. There are two kinds of vetoes,—the direct and the indirect or "pocket" veto. To become law, a bill must be passed in the identical words, first, by one House of Congress,

[1] See p. 417, *infra*.

[2] The legal process is not stated in Constitution, Art. II, Sect. 4. See pp. 492-493, *infra*.

and, then, by the other, and must be signed by the President. To pass a bill on third reading requires a majority of the members present. No vote can be taken without a quorum, which is a majority, when a quorum is demanded by any member. A majority of the quorum (the legal body) or a majority of the majority (which may be a real minority) can pass a bill. A veto can be overruled only by two-thirds of the quorum. The Senate has now 96 members; 49 make a quorum. Twenty-five members can pass a bill in such a quorum; but at least 34 are required to overcome a veto. The President, therefore, offsets at least 6 Senators. Usually, 60 Senators are present upon ordinary votes; and 75 on veto votes. In a general way, therefore, the veto of the President equals a dozen Senatorial votes. His power in the House is at least 27 votes and averages 40 votes in value. The maximum power of the veto is 15 Senators and 71 Representatives (1913 and thereafter). The Supreme Court has ruled that even for the submission of a Constitutional Amendment to the State legislatures two-thirds of Congress means two-thirds of a quorum of each House.

The veto is a great power for another reason. There are always some members who will vote for a bill upon its first passage but who will not vote for it against the President's veto. A bill passes the Senate with a vote of 37 to 15 in its favor, and the House by a similar vote; but is vetoed. Of the 37 Senators and perhaps 250 Representatives who have voted for it, some will now certainly vote against it. Among them will be personal friends of the President, politicians unwilling to go before their constituents as opponents of the President, good-natured men who don't like quarrels, and others who on principle consider the Presidency an office greatly to be respected and strongly to be supported. The bill may still get 37 votes in the Senate or 250 in the House, but it will be fortunate if it does not lose ten or twenty per cent. of its original supporters. When vetoed bills are up for passage, the attendance is usually large; but the absentees at the time of the former vote mostly support the vetoes. After a Senate vote of 37 to 15 on first passage with 52 voting, there would probably be a vote of 48 to 27 on attempt to pass again, with 75 voting.

A pocket veto takes place only when, after passing a bill,

Congress adjourns, and the President fails to sign the bill within ten days of adjournment. A bill passed during a session becomes law without the signature of the President, provided that he does not veto it within ten days. Presidents sometimes are indifferent to bills and allow them to pass in this fashion—shuffling aside all direct responsibility.

Recess Appointments.—Another specific power of the President is that of making recess appointments without the advice and consent of the Senate. Many such appointments are necessarily made, because Congress is usually in session only six or seven months in its long term and always in session only three months in its short term. Special sessions may last two or three months. About one Congress in three or four has a special session. A President has Congress at his doors scarcely half the time of his administration but is meeting changes in office every day in the year. A recess or interim appointment until Congress meets holds until Congress actually rejects the nomination. Official courtesy between President and Senate requires that he shall submit his recess appointments to the consideration of the Senate early in December. In actual practice, the Senate rejects but few recess appointments.

Pardons and Reprieves.—The President may pardon or reprieve criminals sentenced for offences against the laws of the United States. Though seldom exercised, it is a necessary power. Judges themselves sometimes find that they have erred in sending men to prison or have sent them for too long terms, and ask the President to intervene. Newly discovered facts sometimes greatly change the complexion of a case. The search for strict justice shows the constant fallibility of men.

The President receives foreign ambassadors and ministers both upon official business and socially.

Social Prestige.—Because of his high and vast authority, of his residence in an official mansion provided at national cost, and because of his usual personal prestige and influence, the President is the social arbiter of Washington. The White House is the center of society. Here he, and upon some occasions his family, receives every manner of guest and visitor. There are great banquets of state and official dinners, lunches, even breakfasts,—there are public receptions to some of which the uninvited may come; there are afternoon teas and other

private social affairs. Here, he meets ambassadors, senators, governors, millionaires, foreign visitors of distinction, and others entitled or claiming to be entitled to meet on equal terms the first citizen of the land. To be a White House invited guest is a social honor. Frequently, it leads to or follows political honor and influence.

With the Presidential authority, the successful candidate acquires social prestige; but both are brief.

The Changing Powers of the President.—Laws Interpreted.—It has been a common opinion of students of political science and history that to-day the President has the same authority as in 1789. It is asserted that because his powers have not been changed in amendments to the Federal Constitution since they were first defined, they are the same. But for four reasons, this is not true. The first is perfectly simple and should be obvious even to professed historical students and certainly to observant and well-informed citizens. The powers of the President have been interpreted many, many times by the courts. This large body of judge-made laws greatly affects the Constitutional powers. The judicial definition sometimes extends and sometimes limits the Constitutional powers.

Growth of Nation.—A second reason is also simple but not so obvious. An authority over 4,000,000 people in thirteen States, eight of them small, is a very different authority from that over 103,000,000 people in forty-eight States, and many colonies, most of them large.

The ascertainable wealth of all Americans in 1789 did not exceed $600,000,000; to-day, it is $120,000,000,000. Such changes in quantity of population and of resources under control makes changes in the quality of the control. It becomes more extensive and more superficial.

The Operation of Political Authority.—A third reason is that the steam railroad with its mails, the printing press with its newspapers, the telegraph and the telephone and the transmarine cable have completely revolutionized, reconstituted the conditions in which political authority operates. San Francisco is nearer Washington now than Philadelphia was in 1830. The Presidency is nearer each one of us. In losing remoteness, it loses prestige but gains efficiency.

Definite Duties.—The fourth reason is that statutes have

been enacted giving the President definite duties in immense variety. The Presidency is a central telephone exchange with 93,000,000 domestic subscribers and 10,000,000 more under the flag. And it connects with the telephone exchanges of every capital of the world. Federal acts and international treaties have done things beyond recounting to make the Presidency of to-day what it is.

The human factors must not be neglected. Some Presidents made the office respectable, even honorable; others belittled it. An axe weighing seven pounds is one thing in the hands of a strong and skillful woodchopper weighing one hundred and ninety pounds, and a different thing in the hands of a frail amateur, who can perhaps scarcely lift it. Some men have swung the Presidency; but most men—to change the figure—have swung in it. Let us trace the record and note a few main points.

The Five Revolutions Upon Our Soil.—1776. First of all, we must see that the country has had five revolutions since 1774 and three since 1789; beside several other crises. The first revolution was frankly called by the men of the times "the Revolutionary War." An age that spoke softly and walked tenderly rechristened it "war of independence." The people of the times split into two factions,—for the existing social order, and against. Those for it enlisted the British Crown, Parliament, army, navy and Hessian and Indian allies upon their side. Those against it enlisted France and her throne, army and navy; and from all Europe military adventurers flocked to the rebel standard. The standpatters and loyalists lost; the insurgents and rebels won, exiled their enemies and appropriated their estates. This civil war or revolution was a large part of the life-experiences of five Presidents, and involved slightly two others, the last to be named,—Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Monroe, and Jackson and J. Q. Adams, then boys. The social war uncovered these men to fame. They were leaders and beneficiaries of discontent.

The Constitution.—The second revolution saw the Federal Constitution adopted. This was a device of the commercial classes to strengthen themselves. For six years, after Yorktown, they clamored that the central government was too weak,—meaning too weak to help them. The predatory rich

desired to get on faster than the federation of sovereign States permitted; and their new Constitution put them in the saddle to ride the poor.[1] This second revolution involved Washington and Madison directly. It was the opportunity of the strong to cinch the gains of the first revolution: in a sense, it was a counter-revolution.

The election of Jefferson as President was a mild protest against the extreme views and against the extremists of the second revolution; against Hamilton the monarchist and John Adams the centralist.

The Invasion of the Democratic West.—The third revolution came in with "Old Hero," the man on horseback. By the ballot, the poor of the frontiers and of the cities took possession of government, and enthroned "Old Hickory" as "boss," "idol," President. The new official bureaucracy went out as the old had gone out in 1776.

"The panic of 1837" was the natural result. Society was seething,—dregs, body of good liquor, scum and froth all a-working.

The War of Secession.—The fourth revolution was the Rebellion as the North styled it, the Secession, as the South declared. Northern historians are now trying to fasten upon it the name "Civil War," while Southern historians more properly style it "War between the States." From end to end of the land, it turned and overturned men, families, communities and classes. All values changed. The Federal Government became a National Government. The States became subordinate governments, contributory to the Central Government. The bankers who had gone down in 1837 became the supreme commercial class. The National Debt arose as an institution sacred to banking needs. Interest drained from labor by government in direct tax, in itself fraud, became the river of life to government-dependent banks,—the whole system in any view of universal, exact and uniform justice constituted the crime of law-made inequality among citizens and special privilege to a few at the cost of the many.

Government Versus Big Business.—The fifth revolution came with Roosevelt when at last retreating from the goads

[1]This aim of theirs was in part frustrated by the Bill of Rights Amendments. See pp. 68 *et seq.*

of the poor and of the declining middle classes, the National Government undertook "to bust the trusts" and to let the people rule. It has been a poor, ineffective, abortive, windbirth revolution; but it rumbles yet.

Government *versus* big business is a case before the bar of public opinion that raises more questions than one; and will be decisive of more issues than one.

How Various Presidents Affected the Office.—Washington was greatly embarrassed throughout his Presidency because so generally the men invited to take high office declined it. His "boy," as he called Hamilton, was his most useful man. One high officer defaulted for a few hundred thousand, and Washington condoned the offence, letting him quietly disappear. His action was, of course, a crime according to the common law. But he believed that government is a good in itself whose prestige is weakened by revelations of the vices and errors of human nature. A hundred years later an ardent Republican Senator, George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, said that the failure of Congress then to impeach Washington was good warrant why President Grant should not be impeached for condoning the much less serious offences of Secretary Belknap. Verily,

> "They enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin."

Washington has passed into history as an efficient President. At least, he caused the doubtful machinery of government to work. For his assistance, he had his Capital during most of his administrations in Philadelphia; and Pennsylvania was the first colony to ratify the Constitution and the most harmonious in its support. Philadelphia was still the largest city in America; and its merchants were the richest.

In this Presidency, the office won the power to remove subordinates without reference to the Senate.

John Adams made the Presidency powerful but hateful.

Jefferson showed how the Presidency, relying upon public opinion, has latent powers that lift it above the Constitution. He made it a great influence against war and against the aggrandizement of the commercial classes and for the liberty of individual citizens. Virtually, he made the Presidency the government save for the Supreme Court; and by refusing to

obey a summons of that Court, he made it in a measure independent.

Madison scarcely wielded the powers of the Presidency; but Monroe showed how a Presidential message may be of vast import to this nation and to the human race. The power of the Monroe Doctrine is Presidential, not personal. The office is usually much bigger than the man.

J. Q. Adams restored the Presidency to its prestige in Federalist days before the Jeffersonian dynasty democratized it. He exerted its higher powers of educating and exhorting the people and of centralizing the government; he did not teach and persuade as Jefferson did. Yet he avoided the extreme moves of his father.

Jackson ignored direct orders of the Supreme Court, saying: "Let John Marshall enforce his own decisions." In a sense, he vulgarized but he did not weaken the Presidency. In a contest with Congress, he showed that his Cabinet was not composed of Congressional servants. In striking down the Bank, with its shareholders among Senators and Congressmen, he made the Presidency terrible to the predacious rich but helpful to little banks everywhere and beautiful to the poor. "Old Hero" did indeed wear two aspects. But his handling of the office was inconsistent though powerful.

Van Buren showed how strong the Presidency can be when carefully handled for a few purposes only. His defeat by Harrison showed how risky it is for a President to offend a class that controls newspapers and is willing to spend money to defeat him,—the speculative business class.

Tyler engineered the taking of Texas; engineered it under orders, office-manager style. His administration is peculiarly worth studying because it reveals the skeleton of the Presidential powers not clothed with the virile flesh of a real Chief Magistrate. For the same reason, the administrations of Buchanan, of Johnson, and of Grant are worth studying; but not equally so, for the times were sadly out of joint, whereas the social conditions in the days of Tyler were fairly normal.

Polk showed the President as an unconstitutional war-lord and as a land-getter. But he worked with violence and with haste, and not in the spirit of Jefferson and of Madison. A Polk instead of a Taft in 1911 would probably have taken

upper Mexico when Diaz fell; and instead of a Buchanan, a Polk in 1860 would either have marched out with South Carolina or struck her down at once.

Taylor and Fillmore by their contrast showed how much personality does count in the Presidency. Fillmore signed what Taylor would have vetoed, and even threatened not to execute. Taylor stood above and against Congress, Fillmore below and yet with it. Possibly, a President should be an errand-boy for the people; but certainly he should not be a clerk of Congress.

Pierce showed how an agreeable gentleman, not too steadily or greatly intoxicated with strong drink, may live pleasantly in the White House while perdition is afoot. And Buchanan showed how a man competent to do highly important work well may fail in a crisis. Tact is delightful; but force is sometimes necessary. Having previous knowledge of the Dred Scott decision, he should have forced its reduction to straight and necessary law. He made other errors. The Presidency itself became a cause of public worriment. And the interregnum proved fatal.

Contrasts of Weak and Strong Men.—The value of personalities in the Presidency can be quickly realized upon the supposition that instead of this succession in 1851-1861:

Fillmore	Pierce	Buchanan
we had men like		
J. Q. Adams	Jackson	Taylor
or		
Washington	Monroe	Polk

Lincoln showed the President for a time acting as commander-in-chief of army and navy above the Constitution. Virtually, for years he was dictator, but not *in forma et in modo* but only by persuasion and many a device. To say that he excelled in tact and in persistence is to contrast him at once with Buchanan, who had tact but not persistence, and with J. Q. Adams, who had no tact but did have persistence.

It is useless to say that Winfield Scott was right and that we should have let the "wayward sisters" depart in peace. They wanted Maryland and Kentucky and Missouri to depart with

them. They meant to have the historic Capital. They departed in arms. Among them were many who boasted that, after establishing the Confederacy, they would take the rest of the States for provinces. In short, the war-lust was alive in the hearts of men. The assassination of Lincoln is ample evidence of the fury.

To call him a "Constitutional President" is absurd. The Constitution was repeatedly and constantly violated. To call him a failure is equally absurd. His side won. But to call all his actions and all the statutes of Congress from 1861 to 1865 wise and right, to make them sacred, is a crime against twentieth century Americanism. Not even he himself thought so. It was not the worst of his qualities that he had no pride to make him deny error. He was shifty and often weak and often ignorant; but for all that, it is unpleasant to think how much worse any man like J. Q. Adams, who was not shifty or weak or ignorant, would have been. In his case, the end crowned the work and the workman. He supplied the need of the times. We cannot wholly regret that he "made a monkey of Taney" by ignoring his *habeas corpus* papers. Taney deserved worse.

Johnson resisted wholly unhistorical and probably unconstitutional encroachment by Congress upon the Presidency. It was heroic even though it was temperamental. And it saved the South just enough to let local resistance develop. The offences of Congress were many and essentially criminal in things both small and great.

Folly and weakness had led to crime on crime; and then came Grant, whose motto was "To me and to my family and to my friends belong the offices, the revenues, the profits and the privileges and the glory. I saved the government and the nation. My price is to do as I please." Never before or since, did the Presidency fall so low or seem so mean and base. The predatory rich, who had stayed at home during the War and grown richer and had taught disciples, came into the own of many others. Not yet has the National Government been cleansed of Grantism. He was the last of the Presidents who could nominate all executive officers. Grantism led to civil service reform, which limits as well as relieves the Presidency greatly.

Hayes showed the Presidency as a bone of contention, a

prize of frauds and of legal quibbles. For all his nice ways, he could never redeem his title. Because of the Tilden-Hayes contest, the way to reach the Presidency was defined anew. He was the merely political rich man elevated to a comfortable and honorable first magistracy.

Garfield showed the prize-of-struggle feature of the Presidency. The struggle cost him and ourselves his life. It is not only tragic but also richly suggestive. His murder gave greater energy to civil service reform. "Dark horses," compromise candidates, seldom make good and successful Presidents. The nation is working out a more rigid way to choose candidates than the hurrah, log-rolling convention.[1]

Arthur was the fine gentleman on show at the public cost. Certain of his vetoes made Congress give that second thought which is usually of higher wisdom.

Cleveland was President. In part, fortunately, and in part, unfortunately, bankers had his ear and the commercial classes all his sympathies. He made the veto-power a flail for the Congressional threshing-floor. Likewise, unfortunately, his intelligence was inferior to his resistance of will. But, all told, with his financial measures good and bad and civil service reform he ranks wide, if not high. Assume a choice for a domestic war period and after Lincoln, surely Cleveland would be the man for the times. Just as Lincoln would have no international war, unless attacked under conditions permitting resistance only, so Cleveland was no Polk to pick a war, and no Madison or McKinley to let it come. The Venezuela message put silence upon the British hint of war.

Benjamin Harrison was a Presidential functionary like others who count but little.

Under McKinley, things happened to him. He made the Presidency also the Governorship of Colonies and Dependencies over seas. He was unwilling emperor and the scarcely willing servant of the commercial classes, who being always on the move are prominent like ramblers in the woods. Many things count against him. What counts in his favor is that he did what the democracy of this country really wished at the time. He represented popular feeling rather than higher intelligence.

Using the Presidency like a noisy, powerful steam-mowing machine, Roosevelt reaped the harvest. Corruption that

[1] See p. 169, *infra*.

started under Lincoln and rioted under Grant had renewed growth under McKinley. The people murmured that there were too many tares in the wheat. As meddlesome as J. Q. Adams, as mettlesome as Jackson, as anxious to please the people as Lincoln and McKinley, more of a preacher even than Jefferson and book-read beyond Hayes, intending to be honest, yet not willing to offend the plutocracy, which is the power within Republicanism, he failed partly from want of clarity of vision, partly from want of concentration of activities, partly from insufficient strength of moral character, and partly from inner misconceptions of the Presidential office and of true governmental functions; but it was a failure with many a useful lesson. It was in fact not so much failure as defeat, self-admitted but not with whole-souled frankness.

And Taft, who is a judge rather than a legislator, gleans after Roosevelt. And the whirlwind is upon them and us.

Peace and War.—Of our twenty-six Presidents, four have been War-Presidents, not to count the many minor Indian and other wars upon their hands. These four were Madison, Polk, Lincoln, and McKinley. Only the last War was wholly external in its causes; but the middle two were internal. In popular history, even in history as reflected in these pages, such large space is devoted to war as to give an impression that a battle is more important than any other event in history. Yet in truth the terrific battle of Gettysburg was no more important than the Dred Scott decision, which upon its merits as a crisis is not less important than the entire War between the States.

In consequence of this interest in battle, which as a spectacle appeals to the inferior sensational qualities of man, we have failed to see what service has been rendered to us by peace-Presidents, and especially by such as have kept us out of war. Upon the record, it is entirely clear that the disposition of the President has been a vital factor in the issues of peace and of war. The most striking instances are in the contrast that Polk made a war with Mexico and Taft kept out of war.

Not that life in itself is all-precious. On the contrary, most Presidents have held their own lives cheap, as their war records show, but that war should be obsolete as blood-letting in medicine and duelling upon the field of honor to settle

quarrels. There are better ways to spend life, and to risk it, than in seeking the lives of others, for might is not right; and wrong thrives upon physical force and brute anger.

THE PRESIDENCY AND THE AVERAGE MAN.—The Presidency is the most influential office in America, and the man who is President may easily be the most influential man. And yet in speaking of the most famous, useful and able Americans, we seldom mention more than two of the Presidents. Few men would agree as to who have been the ten or a dozen most famous, useful and valuable Americans, and none could agree as to a hundred. In the smaller list, we might place Franklin, Emerson, Irving, Longfellow, Poe, Lincoln, Edison, Morse, Webster, Horace Mann, Washington, Calhoun, and Beecher. But two Presidents are in the list, though one more might have been President but for his age. Compared with such as these, how slight has been the contribution of most of the Presidents to American culture and civilization! And yet when other Presidents are compared with Lincoln, how clear it is that we are not yet utilizing the values of this high office!

The real service of Lincoln was not executive but his revelation of the meaning and nature of common humanity, his own deep and true concern in the welfare of the average man. He was essentially such a man. It is for this average man, for the father and the mother, for the youth and the maiden and the child that the government exists. And when we ask what the average President has really done to make life better and richer for this average man, we see some things more clearly than we otherwise do.

It is when we so regard the matter that the services of Van Buren as Governor and as President become so admirable to the view.

For a President is a main part of this nation's fate.

Had we elected Bryan instead of Taft in 1908, there would have been by 1912 an end to the high protective tariff system, with its robbed consumers, its barracked wage-slaves, its legislative attorneys, its factory-lords with guaranteed reasonable profits.

A President is a mover of this nation's life.

Had not McKinley hearkened to Colonel John Jacob Astor and made Theodore Roosevelt Assistant Secretary of the

Navy because he "needed the salary," which was false, though, of course, even a Roosevelt must seem poor to an Astor, Dewey would not have gone to Manila; and the Filipinos would not be American near-citizens.

In which case, our kith and kin would not be soldiers, clerks and school teachers in the Far Pacific.

A Test of Greatness.—The measure of a man as compared with his office may be taken after he has left office. His private life is a fair test of his real character and calibre. So measured, Jefferson, Madison, J. Q. Adams, Jackson, Van Buren, Benjamin Harrison, and Cleveland were great men; but John Adams, Monroe, Tyler, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, and Johnson were mediocrities or less,—in old age, at any rate. Hayes was good, if not great. Whether Roosevelt will or will not make "the fair ending" required by Plato before the man is finally measured is hid in the future.

What Shall We Do with Former Presidents?—A candid review of all these Presidents raises all the old questions. Should a President be eligible for reëlection? Should the term be lengthened to six years? Shall the two-term tradition be abandoned? And shall the former President be given an office or a pension? If an office, what one? If a pension, how much?

Not every President can be a J. Q. Adams, though probably almost any President could find some Congressional District that would welcome him. The lives herein are rich in suggestions of what to do and what to avoid.

The Dangerous Interregnum.—Constitutional amendments are not matters to be lightly considered; they are almost impossible to secure.

To the long interregnum between election and inauguration, we owe at least one calamity. Without it, the War between the States would have been a different affair. But the interregnum is always unfavorable for business.

Presidential nominations should be prior to June 30.

The elections should be upon the second Tuesday in September.

The inauguration should take place upon the second Tuesday in October; and

Congress should convene upon the third Tuesday of the same month.

Conventions Will Follow "King Caucus" into Oblivion.—We shall hold in June, 1912, among the last of the conventions for the nominations of Presidential candidates. "King Caucus" was strangled to death by the rise of the Jacksonian democracy and of the Liberty Party. "Mob-Convention" is being strangled now by the rise of Insurgency. Whether we like it or not, we are to have more democracy, not less. Time is doing the work,—time and trouble, and their child, thought. The Presidential primary or its equivalent will come within this second decade of the twentieth century. Indeed, it has already come in Nebraska, in Oregon, in New Jersey. Presidents selected by primaries may revive the traditions of the first seven Presidents.

The Fad of Residence in Certain States.—While there will always be a tendency to take men who live near the center of population and in politically doubtful States, the fad of favoring the already "favorite sons" of New York or Ohio will pass away. The politicians of these States have learned the ropes. In certain other States, "*Nil admirari*" is written upon the foreheads of every citizen. Such States will never name Presidential candidates. A State full of carping critics and devoid of friendly neighbors cannot develop great men, for the great man is simply the leader of his group,—as Van Buren led the Albany Regency and Lincoln the Illinois Whigs and later Republicans. The great man in politics and in statesmanship rises with his group. The Ishmaelites are no nation.

One reason why Ohio and New York politicians are a superior class is because they do work together.

"Right" Men Not Needed.—Those with axes to grind will continue to assert that the all-important requirement is being "right,"—right upon the tariff or upon sound money or upon some other ephemeral issue or for his "friends." But when we look over the men of the past, we discover that what we esteem the best Presidents for is not their specific deeds and policies but their competence, dignity and honesty. Few men can tell definitely what any of these men did or believed; but many know their public characters and general performance. It is a fair test as to what one thinks of these various Presidents, to ask,—Would I really like to see So-and-so President

again? On this test, how few would now be recalled from—let us hope—their pleasant sphere!

It is highly important that we should choose men with no disposition to involve the nation in struggles over matters not yet in issue. The Presidency is a magistracy, not a moot court, not a pulpit. It adjudicates issues and executes decisions. As Solon said: "The man who in office transcends or would transcend the laws is or would be a tyrant," So also he who translates personal opinion into "public welfare."

Only laws and living issues concern the Presidency.

The Gerrymandered Nation.—The nation is gerrymandered in the interest of the North Atlantic States. As the Southerners, before the War, with such hateful clearness in Northern eyes, amply showed, the tariff is a device for populating the North Atlantic States, and as we now know, with inferior races. The Electoral College counts, in addition to the Senatorial allowance, about four votes for every million voters. From Chicago eastward, above Washington, the average State has 25,000 square miles of land, while the average of all the other States is 70,000 square miles. The eleven North Atlantic States would make normally about four States. This gives to them an artificial advantage in the Senate and in the Electoral College of 14 votes. Their population is mostly foreign-born, and not half their voters know anything worth while about American institutions. This is not true of the situation in the West and in the South.

Public Office Not to be a Private Opportunity or a Personal Reward.—Was not the Presidency itself in truth anti-climax for the General who won Vicksburg and Richmond? He must have known that it was. Some day, we Americans may learn not only that "a public office is a public trust" but also that, before one another and posterity, a political office is solely for the general welfare. Public office must not be a private opportunity of any kind whatsoever. We have no right to use a public office either to help a poor man or even to honor a great one. An office is not charity but a service; it is not even an honor but a labor. Some day, we may see these truths. When we do, we will not nominate a Harrison in order to win a political campaign, nor will we elect a Grant in order to honor him to his own at least partial

dishonor. Perhaps in true charity, we may say in excuse that he did not understand the issues involved; nor did we.

Government in Impasse.—We have created, and we are now operating, a wonderful contrivance of checks and balances and limited powers. In consequence, responsibility is dissipated, being everywhere and therefore nowhere. Of course, we have had progress in several ways,—in area, in wealth, in numbers, in the arts. We have also had wreckage under Jackson, under Lincoln, and under Roosevelt. But by the time that we have had trouble enough, we shall see that government with us is in *impasse,* save when the Constitution is overridden. And then often we break the *impasse* and go worse wrong than before. As for the Presidency itself, if we wish to improve it, there is only one way,—that is, to become enlightened regarding its powers and limitations and its incumbents, and then with a resolute public will, displayed by courageous individuals, to proceed to change it. And this is the one final and sufficient defence of democracy that it makes many citizens intelligent and efficient and strong of will because the sovereignty is in the people,—that is, in ourselves as individuals. Society is composed of and consists in men. A social duty is simply a convenient term. Responsibility is personal.

The Friendly Support of the President.—But perhaps what most needs to be said regarding the President is that as citizens, we should always give his actions and official opinions the benefit of any doubt. There are but few instances in which a citizen is absolved from his allegiance to the President because of some "higher law." And in most matters, indeed in nearly all matters great and small, we may be sure that the President has at least as much information as we have and as much good will to do right.

Party spirit and individual self-reliance should not proceed so far as to prevent all of us Americans from looking upon each President as entitled to our loyal support in conduct and even in opinion and, after that, deserving of respect as one whom a majority of us have delighted to honor in government above all others.

Needlessly Early Deaths.—At fifty-six years of age, the average expectation of life is fourteen years. The average President in constitution has been far above the average man;

but since Jackson, this mythical average President has survived his first inauguration only ten years. Since Taylor, only four men have survived over ten years after their first inauguration, —Pierce sixteen years, Grant and Hayes the same, and Cleveland twenty-five. The Presidency certainly shortened the lives of W. H. Harrison, of Polk, of Taylor, and of Arthur. With its enormous powers and duties, it is too arduous an office even for physical giants. Both Lincoln and McKinley were in wretched health when assassinated after four years' service. One feature of the remedy is decentralization. Civil service reform has helped. Since 1789, no man ever left the Presidency in better health than at his first inauguration. Yet the laborer is worthy of his health as well as of his hire.

A Closer View of the Presidency.—The remedy, then, is consideration of the facts as they are,—of the facts as they seem to the relatives and intimate friends of nearly every President. We have no more right to overwork a President than to overwork a day-laborer; and no more right to imperil his life in time of peace (or needlessly in war) than that of any other citizen.

Reduce the duties, not the authority. Double the Cabinet. Enhance the prestige so that the person of the President be as sacred as that of every other citizen. Cease the strife over what, properly considered, are passing details of government. Make the Presidency a symbol not of victory but of magistracy. Keep on choosing men whose untimely end increases our sorrow. And surround the alien and the foreigner with forces that will compel him to live in the free air of an equal Americanism. Most of all, devise laws that will encourage native births and country homes.

The ballot is not a lie. It counts to-day as never before. The Presidency is indeed the sword of our liberties; the courts the shield; and Congress a linked court of mail.

The institutions are right. Whatever faults there may be in the working, are the faults of ourselves. They are built for freedom and secure it in self-government.

> "For He that worketh high and wise,
> Nor pauses in His plan,
> Will take the sun out of the skies
> Ere freedom out of man."
>
> —Emerson, *Concord Ode.*

CHAPTER III

The Cabinet

Constitutional basis—tripartite government system—a new kind of Cabinet—the rights of Cabinet Secretaries—Secretaries and Congress—the Cabinet in session—styles of Cabinets—prestige of secretaryships—their prominence—official rank of Secretaries—costs of the various departments—their functions—principles of Cabinet selection—geographical distribution of Cabinet memberships—an unrecognized and unutilized region—whence come the Secretaries?—geographical distribution of Supreme Court membership—politics—difficulty of the several departments—experts as Secretaries—requisite qualifications—resignations and replacements—qualities of various Cabinets—long service in office Presidents and their Secretaries—the men of to-day—makers of great Cabinets—Cabinet enlargement as proposed in several quarters.

Constitutional Basis.—In the Constitutional Convention of 1787, there was much discussion as to provisions for a council to the President. The adoption of the principle of a tripartite government,—of separation of the legislative, the judicial and the executive functions,—greatly changed the relations, both theoretical and practical, of the titular head of the sovereignty with all others, including the executive councillors. In the colonies, the governors had been assisted by councils, who, however, usually possessed both judicial and legislative attributes and considered these superior to their executive attributes. The governors were subject to Crown and Parliament and sometimes also to proprietors so that in fact the correspondence of governorship with the new Presidency was but slight. In a way, many of the framers of the government supposed that the Presidency would be subordinate to the Senate.

The results of the discussion as to council and heads of executive departments are to be found in the text of the instrument as finally adopted. Article I, section 6, paragraph 2, recites that "No senator or representative, shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have

been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office." Article II, section 2, contains the provisions that the President "may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer of each of the executive departments, upon any subject relative to the duties of their respective offices"; and that "he shall nominate and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, . . . and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for and shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments."

Tripartite Government System.—By these provisions, the Cabinet system of England was made impossible. No man might be at once Secretary of State and Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the Senate, or Treasurer of the United States and Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations in the House of Representatives, or Chief Justice and a member of the House or Senate. The provisions in the first sentences of the first three articles of the Constitution, "All legislative powers shall be granted"; "The executive power shall be vested"; and "The judicial power of the United States shall be vested" were made effective by this cutting of Representatives and Senators away from all executive and judicial service. Fearing the anarchy of a plural executive, the Constitution put the heads of departments under the President by authorizing him to require written opinions of his "principal officers," and by making his naming and consent essential to their appointment. True, the Congressmen might advise the nominations and veto the proposed appointments, but the President was rather better than coördinate, for he could name one man after another, or even keep sending in the same name.

A New Kind of Cabinet.—There had been a strong minority in favor of creating a Council of State for the President. One plan was to make it consist of "the Chief Justice and the heads of the domestic and foreign departments of war, finance and marine." The fact that such a Council was

not created in the Constitution was cited by George Mason of Virginia as one reason why he could not sign and support it. He imagined that the President would be an autocrat, and did not foresee the coming of a Cabinet plural for deliberation, single for action, democratic yet efficient.

An executive of a different kind from any that history had known was established by the Constitution; and was put into successful operation by President Washington, supported by John Adams, Vice-President, and as he thought thereby "Senator-at-Large." They used these three definite, though incomplete, Constitutional provisions.

The Rights of Cabinet Secretaries.—Step by step, stage by stage, through a century and a quarter, what with statutes and with court decisions, with mutual understandings, with all manner of experiments and with hard political fighting, a place has been located and delimited for the Secretary of Department in his triangular space between his Department, his President and Congress.

The first difficulty is to determine how much a Secretary can really know of his Department and do within it. The high example is that of Abraham Lincoln who said that he signed most of the documents handed to him by Secretaries and others without examination because he had no time to examine them. But even a Secretary cannot personally know much regarding more than a few of the affairs whose course he directs and determines. The solution of the problem is that a Secretary of Department should do what he can as well as he can and gracefully depart either when his President does or when his President desires or when he himself no longer cares to hold office. No Secretary really directs his Department, though he may direct some of its business and even control most of it. The direction, so far as the vast and often overwhelming business of a Department is really directed, is done by the permanent Committees of Congress.

The situation is this: A Secretary may not volunteer advice either to President or to Congress, but when asked, may counsel with President, and with Senators and Representatives. At least once a year, he is called before the Committees to give information as to his budget for the next year. Usually, some of his assistants and division chiefs accompany him.

Secretaries and Congress.—But Senators and Repre-

sentatives do not hesitate to call upon a Secretary at his executive office or even at his home whenever they see fit. They call also upon his division and bureau chiefs, asking questions and giving advice freely. Congress represents the will of democracy; and its members act accordingly.

Especially with reference to the Treasury Department, there has been a running fight to determine whether or not a Secretary may submit, even under Congressional orders, a report direct to Congress without its passing through the hands of the President for addition, for subtraction, and for other editorial revision. The House of Representatives with its Constitutional right to originate revenue measures has even tried to get the Treasury Department out from the supervision of the President; and both Houses, seeing the political opportunities of the Postoffice and of the Interior Department, have cast longing eyes upon these also. But to-day the President is in easy control, thanks mainly to Andrew Jackson and to Andrew Johnson.

A Secretary may do but few things without responsibility to the President. Even where a statute specifically designates that a Secretary act, the Supreme Court has held that in so doing he is responsible to the President whose orders he must follow. The only exception is where the Secretary acts in a ministerial duty without discretion in accordance with statute.

The Cabinet in Session.—The collegiate character of these Secretaryships, by which they are converted into a Cabinet, has resulted as much from the pressure of public opinion as from Presidential choice. For his first two years, Jackson held no Cabinet meetings. But in recent times, the Cabinet meeting, weekly and even semi-weekly, has been the regular custom. How much of the business of each separate Department has been discussed at the general meeting has depended upon the state of the public business, the qualities of the Cabinet members, and the character and the temporary mood of the President himself. This Cabinet session, taking two or three hours at least out of the working week of each Secretary, is one of the several valid reasons for not taking specialists as heads of departments. Since always the times change fast, since often health breaks down from politics and work and from the Washington winter and summer varieties of weather (spring and fall being favorable), and since some-

times the pocketbook needs replenishment, for the social demands upon Secretaries are great, resignations from the Cabinet have seldom been of more than passing moment. Secretaries resign sometimes to accept European or other foreign missions, sometimes to become Senators, sometimes to enter actively into business or law practice, sometimes to prosecute campaigns for the Presidency, and sometimes to retire quietly in order to recover their health. Their health record, like that of Presidents and of Senators and unlike that of Justices, has been bad. A Secretaryship of State finished Daniel Webster.

Styles of Cabinets.—Our Presidents have chosen originally or made over by reconstruction four several styles of Cabinets, viz.:

The all-star Cabinet.
The half-star Cabinet.
The one-star Cabinet.
The no-star Cabinet.

The terms must not be construed too strictly and literally. Washington meant to have an all-star Cabinet, and almost succeeded. But the small salaries ($3000 a year and that much to but two of the four positions) could not overcome State affection, distrust of the new government, and jealousy and dislike of himself. Polk nearly succeeded. Lincoln did succeed; Hayes also.

It takes a very able President to choose such a Cabinet; to get such men to accept; and then to manage them. The qualities of a Cabinet tend to lower with every change, for the obvious reason that to be a first choice of a President for an office is an honor, but to be a second or third is otherwise. And yet several reconstructed Cabinets were better than the original ones,—including those of John Adams, Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Buchanan, Cleveland (second term), and McKinley.

The half-star Cabinet has been the style most in evidence.

The one-star or Cabinet-with-a-Premier style has had several examples,—the Cabinets of John Quincy Adams with Henry Clay as Secretary of State, of William Henry Harrison with Daniel Webster in the same office, of Fillmore, also with Webster until his last illness and death, and of Garfield with James G. Blaine.

The no-star Cabinet has a dozen examples and at least one strong argument in its favor; its members are selected to work and to work together.

An all-star Cabinet might perhaps fail and become a no-star Cabinet and a no-star Cabinet might succeed and become an all-star Cabinet; but American history has yet to see an illustration of either course of events.

The happiest of all Cabinets, that of Pierce, had no stars of first magnitude; but it had one Secretary of second magnitude, Jefferson Davis, and another Secretary of the third magnitude, William L. Marcy, the other five Secretaries being invisible to the non-official, non-telescopic eye. It was a two-star Cabinet.

So many Cabinets were unhappy that it is perhaps unsafe to call that of Johnson the unhappiest of all. Of its seventeen various members, in seven Secretaryships, one was a star of the second magnitude, Seward, another was of fourth magnitude, Evarts, and two more were of sixth magnitude, McCulloch and Stanton, the rest being invisible. It was viciously interfered with by Congress and unskilfully handled by the President; otherwise, it might have made as good a record as the average Cabinet. In quality, it was distinctly superior to the Cabinet of Grant, among whose thirty-three different members just one may be remembered as entirely honorable and highly competent, Ebenezer R. Hoar of Massachusetts, who served as Attorney-General just sixty-four weeks; even he, however, was not a star even of sixth magnitude. The only star, in a popular and political sense, a real star of second magnitude, was William Tecumseh Sherman who held office five weeks as Secretary of War, a position for which he was in no real sense competent, as he himself knew and said. Other Cabinets may have had as pitiful scoundrels as General William W. Belknap, but no other such scoundrel was ever so thoroughly exposed.

Prestige of Secretaryships.—The standing of the various Departments differs greatly. A statesman under sixty years of age would probably resign a United States Senatorship to be Secretary of State in a new Cabinet; and might resign to be Secretary of the Treasury. If he came from a small State not in the Northeast, he might resign even to become Secretary of War. But any Secretary over sixty years

of age would probably resign any portfolio and any Secretary of whatever age would probably resign any fortfolio save that of State in order to be a United States Senator. A minor portfolio is about equal in grade with a State governorship save in the great States of the Northeast.

The prominence of the Departments is not synonymous with the prestige of the Secretaryships. The Attorney-General figures much in the news, but his Cabinet standing is of only middle grade. The Postmaster General also figures in the news, but his portfolio is without prestige. Agriculture is prominent, but the Secretaryship is one of the lowest in public esteem.

The rank is:

State, Treasury, War, Navy, Justice, Interior, Postoffice, Agriculture, Commerce-and-Labor.

In times of peace, because of public interest in certain Bureaus, the prominence is now usually:

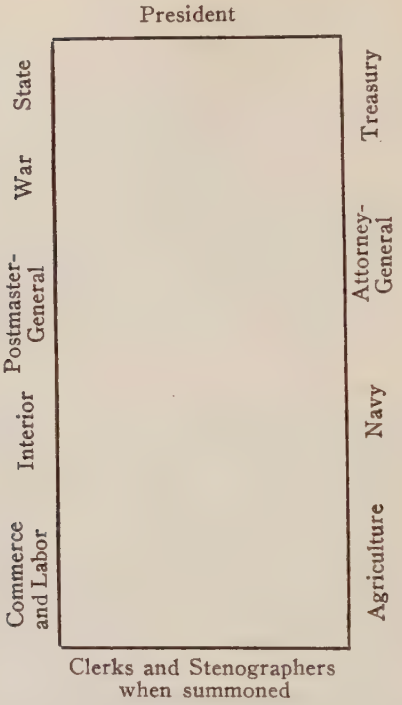
Justice, Postoffice, Interior, Commerce-and-Labor, Treasury, War, Navy, Agriculture, State.

This, of course, differs from day to day and with the interests of individuals and of localities. Rural districts would advance Agriculture four steps, perhaps five; commercial cities would advance Treasury two. International merchants and bankers would place State and Treasury far to the front.

But to-day among all intelligent citizens Justice and Postoffice are secure near the head in prominence.

Official Rank of Secretaries.—The nine Departments are of very unequal costs and expenditures and of numbers of employees; but their official rank is unconcerned with these facts and depends solely upon the historical order of their establishment.

This rank determines the seating of the Secretaries at the Cabinet table in the meeting room of the executive ell in the White House. The table is seated in this fashion:



Thus the seats of honor on the right and left of the President fall to the Secretaries of State and of the Treasury. The dates of the first appointments of these heads of departments are as follows, viz.:

1. State
2. Treasury
3. War
4. Attorney-General

} 1789

(without a department, however,) in the first administration of George Washington.

5. Navy 1798

in the administration of John Adams.

Hitherto, the interests of the navy had been cared for by the Department of War, but the threatened foreign war with France led to this separation of interests.

6. Postmaster-General 1829
in the first administration of Andrew Jackson.

Hitherto, this had been a part of the Treasury Department.

7. Interior 1849
in the administration of Zachary Taylor. The name never pleased any one. "Home Department" or "Domestic Affairs" might have served better.

This Department also had hitherto been a part of the Treasury.

8. Agriculture 1888
in the first administration of Grover Cleveland.

This grew out of the Department of the Interior but immediately upon the elevation to Cabinet rank was many times increased in size.

9. Commerce-and-Labor 1903
in the first administration of Theodore Roosevelt.

Hitherto, this had been mainly a part of the Department of the Interior. It came as a compromise between the demands of organized capital and of union labor.

For a year,—1867,—in the Cabinet of Andrew Johnson, there was a Secretary of Education. James A. Garfield, Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens were powerful in Congress, and all three of them were enthusiasts for general education. Since that time, there has been a Bureau of Education in the Department of the Interior, maintained at a trifling annual cost,—under a hundred thousand dollars.

Costs of the Various Departments.—The lowest annual expenditure is that of the Department of State. The Treasury has a large net income so far as its own operations are concerned. The War Department takes about one hundred millions a year, or over $1 per citizen. The Interior has a large net income. In the Department of Justice, as in that of State, there are almost no revenues. The Navy takes one-third more than the War (Army) Department. The Postoffice meets its own costs of a quarter of a billion dollars annually. Agriculture spends $15,000,000; the Department of Commerce-and-Labor still less. The total is slightly over a billion dollars a year, of which seventy per cent. is for war and for past wars, —army, navy, pensions, and national debt. Twenty-five per cent. comes back in the Postoffice. Five per cent. represents simon-pure peaceful present government costs.

Functions of the Several Departments.—In some instances, the names of the Departments convey but little meaning, and suggest but little of their functions.

The Department of State deals with foreign affairs, issues all commissions to office, and preserves the original copies of all acts of Congress. It might be styled more accurately "Official Relations." Though requiring but $4,000,000 annually for maintenance, it ranks equally with and perhaps higher than the Treasury and War Departments, and certainly outranks all other Departments. This Department, not Commerce-and-Labor, deals with our national foreign marine service and commerce. It represents us before the nations of all the world, and receives their ambassadors, ministers and other accredited official agents.

The Treasury Department deals with all financial matters and also with the collection of the customs duties at the ports. Logically, we need a Department of Finance without this other duty. The present Treasury Department also builds all the public buildings everywhere, controls the coast-survey, manages light-houses and the coast life-saving service, and makes both paper and metal moneys.

The War Department has charge of the army and of engineering matters. It has built the Panama Canal, which will cost about $400,000,000 in all. And it oversees and protects all our dependencies.

The Attorney-General represents the United States in all actions brought by it and against it in the courts; and helps enforce all statutes and regulations.

The Postmaster-General takes charge of the mails.

The Navy Department, logically a part of the War Department, looks after our battleships and cruisers. It manages forts, arsenals and navy-yards. (The revenue-cutters, however, to be seen in our harbors and along our coasts, belong to the Treasury Department.)

The Department of the Interior collects the revenues from alcoholic liquors and from tobacco. It has a large police force. It manages public lands, Indian affairs, the Territories, pensions, patents, copyrights, census and education. Pensions alone take three-twentieths of all our revenues, but these include the pensions to officers and soldiers retiring in times of peace as well as war-veterans.

The Department of Agriculture endeavors to promote the welfare of American fields, farms and forests. It has also an eye for the public health.

The Department of Commerce and Labor deals with industrial wealth,—with manufacturing, mining, trade, shipping, and fisheries, and has many miscellaneous duties.

Of the hundreds of divisions and bureaus, large and small, that make up these departments, the assignments to this or that department are almost entirely traditional and unscientific. Like the English but unlike the French and the Germans, we do things first and then think about and perhaps some day in part correct them. We proceed empirically, not *a priori*, and seldom *a posteriori*. Theory would give us a totally different organization of the executive; and any systematic induction from our experience would shift a third at least of the bureaus. But we are neither theorists nor generalizers; we do, and like Nature, pass on.

There is trouble always within the Interior Department. Even the greatest of its Secretaries, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, could not set it wholly right. And there is always trouble about the operations of the Treasury because we have the worst currency customs (not system) of any large civilized nation. But there is no remedy anywhere within the horizon.

The main purposes in creating new departments have been two,—first, to provide the President with a group of competent and responsible advisers respecting "the state of the Union," and second, to relieve overworked Secretaries as from time to time the enterprises of the Federal Government have grown in number and in importance.

Principles of Cabinet Selections.—In our history, certain principles of Cabinet-making have generally obtained.

First, the Secretaries shall all be of the same party with the President. In only a few instances has this principle been ignored. In one of these instances, the Secretary soon changed his party,—Edwin M. Stanton.

Second, the membership of the Cabinet shall be widely distributed geographically. It is a rule even that no two Departments shall have Secretaries from the same State. It has been carried even further,—Secretaries shall not come from the same States as the Ambassadors. But the recent tendency shows many exceptions to the severer forms of the principle.

Third, all the leading factions of the party shall be conciliated by representation in the Cabinet.

Fourth, the Secretaries of the next preceding administration are not to be taken. Try new men.

Fifth, in the consideration of possible Secretaries, long and loyal party service is to be highly influential.

Sixth, some of the Secretaries should be taken out of Congress not only for the foregoing reason but also in order to keep wide open avenues by which through friendships to influence that body favorably to the Presidential plans.

Seventh, represent the several economic classes. A good Cabinet is not composed solely of lawyers or of merchants or of bankers or of habitual office-holders. Of the latter, United States Senators and former State governors have been the preferred classes.

Eighth, usually in the Cabinet, there is at least one defeated aspirant for the Presidential nomination, or one Secretary whom the President hopes to make his successor,—after his second term.

There are various other and minor rules. Among them are the rules that no wholesaling merchant shall be Secretary of the Treasury lest there be trouble over import duties in which he may be directly or indirectly concerned; that the Postmaster-General shall be a political manager for the President; that no partner or intimate friend of the President shall be made and kept a Secretary; and that pivotal States shall be held, if possible, for the party by receiving important portfolios. These minor rules have been frequently violated; and yet they lie in the back of the mind of every Cabinet-maker. It is also a rule not to nominate a man whom the Senate will surely refuse to confirm. The Senate is always "sounded out" with the lead line before the President subjects his nominee to that current. And yet a Republican Senate will, of course, confirm the Democratic nominees of a Democratic President. No personally offensive nominee was ever presented in such a situation. Religion counts nothing,—Roosevelt had both a Catholic (Bonaparte) and a Jew (Straus) in his later Cabinet, and all approved.

It is interesting to note that the possession of wealth is not a bar to a Secretaryship as it is not to a Senatorship, though it is to Presidency, to the Speakership, and to Justiceships.

Many Secretaries have been wealthy, some of them have been millionaires, even multimillionaires. The public is right in this discrimination between President and Secretaries, but it should extend its rule from President, Speaker and Justices to include Vice-President and Senators; and it should find a way to bar the rich even from the Cabinet unless obviously and consistently modest, genuinely honest and not merely law-honest, and by disposition and habit philanthropic.

Unfortunately, to do this, the public must frown upon the custom of rewarding with Cabinet honors the millionaire politician who has given largely to a successful candidate's campaign fund. And yet more unfortunately, our Presidential primaries are proving enormously costly in political promotion expenses. More democracy seems to enlarge the political opportunities of plutocracy.

Geographical Distribution of Cabinet Memberships.—It is a recognized principle that Presidents should distribute their Cabinet memberships widely. The actual record of three hundred and fifty-one appointments is as follows, viz.:

Rank of State in Population	*Name*	*Date of Admission*	*Number of Appointments*
1	New York	Original State	43
6	Massachusetts	Original State	38
2	Pennsylvania	Original State	32
4	Ohio	1802	29
20	Virginia	Original State	24
14	Maryland	Original State	19
27	Kentucky	1792	18
10	Georgia	Original State	13
31	Connecticut	Original State	12
9	Indiana	1816	12
3	Illinois	1818	12
17	Tennessee	1796	11
7	Missouri	1821	8
15	Iowa	1846	8
11	New Jersey	Original State	7
26	South Carolina	Original State	8
34	Maine	1820	6
8	Michigan	1837	6
13	Wisconsin	1848	6
16	North Carolina	Original State	5
46	Delaware	Original State	5
39	New Hampshire	Original State	4
24	Louisiana	1812	4
21	Mississippi	1817	4
12	California	1851	3
19	Minnesota	1858	3
28	West Virginia	1863	3
42	Vermont	Original State	2
18	Alabama	1819	1
25	Arkansas	1826	1
35	Oregon	1859	1
29	Nebraska	1867	1
32	Colorado	1876	1
30	Washington	1889	1
38	Rhode Island	Original State	

Some Comparisons.—There are some truly astonishing things in this record.

Texas, the fifth State in population and the twenty-eighth to be admitted, has never had a Cabinet member in all the sixty-

seven years that she has been in the Union. She is our largest State in area.

Kansas, the twenty-second State in population and the thirty-fourth to be admitted, has never had a member in all her fifty-three years of Statehood.

Florida, though comparatively but a small State in population, came into the Union in 1845, the twenty-seventh State. She has never had a Cabinet Secretary.

Rhode Island, an Original State, a New England State, lying in the angle between Massachusetts with thirty-eight members and Connecticut with twelve, has never had a Cabinet Secretaryship. She is the smallest of all the States and thirty-eighth in population.

The States not yet recognized in the Cabinet are:

Rank of State in Population	*Name*	*Date of Admission*
5	Texas	1845
33	Florida	1845
22	Kansas	1861
48	Nevada	1864
37	North Dakota	1889
40	Montana	1889
44	Idaho	1890
47	Wyoming	1890
36	South Dakota	1890
41	Utah	1896
23	Oklahoma	1907
43	New Mexico	1912
45	Arizona	1912

An Unrecognized and Unutilized Region.—The total population of twelve of these States,—Texas, Kansas, Nevada, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, North and South Dakota, New Mexico, and Arizona,—is now over twelve millions. They have twenty-four Senators. New York with nine millions of people has two Senators. These States occupy a vast continuous region from the Rio Grande to the headwaters of the Missouri, one-quarter of all the land under the flag. Yet no high service in the executive branch has ever come to them, while the Pacific Coast, yet more remote from Washington, has had five Cabinet officers for four million population.

Whence Come the Secretaries.—There are also inter-

esting things not unsatisfactory but notable. We are now getting nearly all of our Secretaries of State from Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and contiguous States. Since Tyler's time we have had all our foreign affairs administered from these States and Delaware, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, and Maine.

For the Treasury, we travel more widely, but since the time of Grant have taken no New England man, and since the time of Taylor no Pennsylvanian. New York, Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois are the favorite States.

The War Department gets men from all regions in the triangle from New Orleans to Minneapolis and to Boston. Attorney-Generals come from all quarters,—Oregon, Arkansas, Georgia, and Massachusetts.

The Postoffice ranges from Massachusetts to Maryland, to Tennessee and Wisconsin.

The Navy ranges like Justice.

The Interior looks for men in the region from New York and from Georgia to Colorado and to Washington.

Agriculture centers upon Iowa,—its men have come from there and from Missouri, Nebraska, and Wisconsin, near neighbors. It needs next a man from Louisiana or Texas.

Commerce and Labor ranges literally from New York to California.

It is of historical interest that, until 1861, just one Secretary came from west of the Mississippi river; and Key came from Louisiana in the Southwest and lived very near the river.

Geographical Distribution of Supreme Court Memberships.—The Supreme Court does not come within the executive branch and hence, save as it is named by the President, is not within our survey; but it is interesting in this connection to note that the geographical distribution is extremely irregular. The record is:

New York	8	Tennessee	3	New Hampshire	1
Massachusetts	6	New Jersey	2	Connecticut	1
Ohio	6	North Carolina	2	Maine	1
Pennsylvania	5	Georgia	2	Mississippi	1
Virginia	5	Illinois	2	Michigan	1
Maryland	5	Alabama	2	Iowa	1
South Carolina	3	California	2	Kansas	1
Kentucky	3	Louisiana	1		

Of sixty-four appointments, not one has gone to Texas, the fifth State in population, to Missouri the seventh, to Indiana the ninth, to Wisconsin the thirteenth, to North Carolina the sixteenth, to Minnesota the nineteenth; or to the following original States: Vermont, Rhode Island, Delaware, North Carolina; or to the following States early admitted into the Union: Vermont, Indiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, Texas, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas. A vast region has been totally unrepresented,—Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas.

The Answer to the Enigma is Politics.—As in the case of the Cabinet, politics have been played; and are being played. Massachusetts with three and a third million population, mostly foreigners, does not merit six Supreme Court appointments while Texas with four million, almost all Americans native born for many generations, has had none.

It is not enough to answer that New York and Massachusetts have famous law schools. There are plenty of Westerners and of Southerners who have studied law at excellent law schools in their youth and who by direct contact with level-eyed Americans know more about justice and sound ethics than those Americans who bow the knee to privilege. Let us have the law, the wise and ancient common law; but let us have it as various men see it.

The Difficulty of the Several Departments.—The quality of the work to be done by the Secretary of State is as nearly perfect as man can make his output. Bad as an error of judgment is anywhere, an error in diplomacy or in international commerce is like setting a spark to quick combustibles.

The fathers of the Republic expected the twenty-six Senators to transact foreign affairs and to negotiate treaties; but time and circumstance have given at least the initiative and the negotiations into the hands of the executive.

To-day, the most difficult Departments to manage are Justice, Interior, War, and Treasury, and the less difficult are State, Navy, Postoffice, Commerce-and-Labor and Agriculture, with the above qualification that the State Department requires perfection of output. In truth, no Department is easy to manage. The Postoffice requires management far more energetic, com-

petent and responsible than even our billion-and-a-half dollar United States Steel Corporation: it affects more persons many times and far more vitally.

The British Cabinet pays in annual salaries from one thousand to six thousand pounds. Our Secretaries receive twelve thousand dollars each. But their ministers must appear in Parliament as well as in their executive offices. The purchasing power of money in London is one-third greater than in Washington.

The Experts are Not Desirable.—There are three good reasons why Presidents do not seek men who are "expert in the business of a Department." Of these, the first is that so incongruous are the Departments that the idea itself is an *ignis fatuus*. The Attorney-General is always a lawyer, and the Secretary of Agriculture is a farmer. Closer specialization than this would defeat its own end. Shall the Secretary of State be a foreign diplomat or an international importer or an expert documentarian? His Department has these three lines.[1]

The second reason is that the only available "experts" are the assistant secretaries of the Department, who are seldom expert in anything but a clerical and ministerial sense. They have not been accustomed to exercise independent judgment. Lincoln said that the most important quality in a Secretary is to know what to decide without reference to the President, when the statutes so permit. He frequently mildly admonished even his very able Secretaries for not settling matters themselves.

The third reason for not seeking "experts" is that men of large experience, of sound judgment, of personal and political influence, and accustomed to give orders can be secured only from the rough-and-tumble of life in the States. They do not grow in the Departments; and they cannot be prepared in universities. A British Cabinet minister is simply a party leader of good sense assigned to his department but not expected to direct it in any business sense. The same principle has always demanded attention in this country. Hamilton was not a financier, yet Washington made him Secretary of the Treasury; nor was Chase a financier, yet Lincoln gave the same office to him. Both Hamilton and Chase became very successful Secretaries. But Albert Gallatin was a financier; he improved upon the plans of Hamilton. The Presidents

[1] See p. 182, *supra*.

have usually chosen politicians for Postmaster-General and have seldom chosen sailors or naval engineers as Secretaries of the Navy, or soldiers for the War Department. The few so chosen were failures.

The Qualifications Requisite.—Recently, public opinion has begun to assert that "qualified" men should be given charge of these Departments. The proposition is obviously impossible unless we abandon party government. The only man "qualified" for Postmaster-General would be one of the assistants; the only qualified Secretary of State an assistant. Logically carried out, the Cabinets would be broken only by death and resignation, and Secretaries would last longer than Presidents.

The true solution of the problem seems to be for Presidents to choose men of large experience and of many talents who can fit themselves quickly and comfortably to almost any task and who are at the same time of such personal dispositions as are agreeable to their chiefs and to their associates.

It has been a recent tendency to begin with a strong Cabinet of men of broad experience and gradually to change to younger men as the President himself has acquired familiarity with the main duty of decision. Jackson, Polk, and Lincoln made no such changes; but they worked fairly well with others, including Roosevelt and Taft.

A Certain Effect of Resignations and Replacements. Though in all routine matters, which are far in excess of others, the trained and long-experienced clerks, bureau and division-chiefs, and assistant secretaries do in fact run the Departments, yet few Secretaries serve four years. Indeed the mythical "average" clerk serves but five years. Most Secretaries resign from "ill-health," which means over-work in a strange climate or for "private business," which may mean anything, including distaste for the unfamiliar and recognized uncongenial duties. All Secretaries—and all division chiefs—are held by the public, including Congress, responsible far beyond their legal and customary authority, and likewise far beyond information.

The Secretaries must be ready to report to all the Committees of Congress that have bills relating to their respective departments. These Committees are numerous and often exacting. The system throws the new Secretaries helplessly into the

hands of their subordinates, most of whom have tenure superior to their own. The War Department is notoriously ruled by the Army Staff. A Secretaryship cannot be esteemed as desirable for long holding; it is often taken for a year or two for the honor and for the record and for the sake of a period in Washington for social and political reasons. It gives prestige at home. Hence, many Cabinets have been kaleidoscopic.

A Congressman was severely reprimanding a division-chief for failure to get legislation to rectify an unfortunate situation. Each supposed that the other had been long in office. They laughed cheerfully when it developed that one had been in Congress just four weeks and the other in the Executive Department only four months! It was a characteristic incident. Equally characteristic are the cases where one has had long experience, the other none; but these are not so common. It is a regulation since the early days of Roosevelt that no department man shall volunteer any information to a Congressman; or if he can not avoid it, give such only as he feels certain will be duly accepted by and agreeable to his official superiors. He is a clerk who has renounced personal opinions.

Qualities of Various Cabinets.—As Secretary of State, William H. Seward served both Lincoln and Johnson, and by forcing through Congress, against the opinions of most of the prominent members, the purchase of Alaska, which they called "Seward's Folly," performed an achievement notable not only as constructive statesmanship in the work of peaceful territorial expansion but also as violation of the political tradition that Secretaries are not to force legislation.

Nearly every famous American statesman or politician has served at least a year or two in the Cabinet of some President. Eight of the Presidents have been Secretaries of some one of their predecessors. Yet six of these Presidents were among the poorest; were they naturally subordinate or did their training make them so? Does it require a certain subservience and indirectness to serve another's will in high office as in menial life? Does a Secretaryship spoil a man for first class achievement?

It seems to be true that legislative service better fits one for the Presidency than does subordinate executive service: perhaps the State governorship is the best training. As for the judicial experience, only one judge of high rank has become

President; and he only after intermediate executive service. Generalizations are scarcely trustworthy; but a few hypotheses force themselves upon the attention.[1]

Long Service in Office.—The fame of some men is due in part to long Cabinet service. It is reasonable to suppose that usually the long service was due to its excellent quality. Sometimes, the service has been in one Department, sometimes in several.

Gallatin served thirteen years. James Wilson, now of the Department of Agriculture, has already served fourteen years. William Wirt served nearly twelve years.

Those serving from eight to eleven years have been Madison, J. Q. Adams, Dearborn, Calhoun, Meigs, Cass, Marcy, Granger, Stanton, Seward, Welles, and E. A. Hitchcock.

Several others served five, six or seven years,—Pickering, Randolph, Monroe, Toucey, Barry, Evarts, Windom.

Nearly every Cabinet has had at least one man who was the equal of his chief, and several Cabinets have had men abler than their leaders. It is safe to put the proposition yet more broadly. Nearly every Cabinet had at least one man who in sheer competence outranked his chief, and in nearly every such Cabinet, the man was perfectly loyal to his President.

That is the cause of the success of the executive branch of the American Government. It is the essence of democracy to ignore hierarchy and to be glad to serve. Moreover, it is perfectly true that the executive branch has done its work more democratically and more progressively than either the judicial or the legislative. It is a question that we must leave to later ages when archives are unlocked and private desks are opened which of the three branches has been the most honest or the least dishonest. We hear the least of the achievements of the judiciary and the most of those of the legislators: in modern civilization, speech is the key to fame.

Presidents and Their Secretaries.—A comparison of the Presidents with their Secretaries results in interesting measurements of the Presidents with one another.

Of Chase, Lincoln said: "Chase is one-and-a-half times bigger than any other man I know." He resigned in part because he could not manage his chief. He complained that he was kept busy "trying to fill Uncle Abe's bar'l."

[1]See pp. 56-60, *supra*.

In a similar mood, Jefferson, who easily managed Madison, his Secretary of State, resigned from the Cabinet of Washington.

Lincoln had managed Stanton, but Johnson failed to do so. Lincoln convinced Stanton of his superiority. We can perhaps forgive Stanton for his many grievous faults. When he saw Lincoln die, he who had borne the brunt of the night's anxiety and labor, dictating despatches and orders, while most of the others were too stricken for speech or action, turned to the watchers and spoke the final sentence,—"Now he belongs to the ages."

Taylor, who tried to get a great Cabinet together, had to notify Daniel Webster in writing that he, not Webster, was President and as such accountable to the people. Taylor and Webster were incommensurate because diverse in abilities; but the superiority of Webster to Fillmore is obvious.

John Marshall was an abler man than John Adams; J. Q. Adams and Calhoun were abler men than Monroe; and perhaps William Wirt also was abler than his chief. Clay was abler than J. Q. Adams. In sheer leadership and mastery, Jackson surpassed all his Secretaries; it was a moral primacy; but in what is ordinarily styled "statesmanlike ability," he was overmatched by Van Buren, Cass, Butler, and Taney and in political *finesse* by Kendall. It made a powerful combination and a peculiar situation. W. H. Harrison was unequal to Webster. Tyler had several superiors in his own shifting Cabinet,—Webster, Calhoun, and Mason. Polk was surrounded by superiors,—Buchanan, Walker, Marcy, Mason, Johnson, and Bancroft,—but he overmastered them, as did Jackson, by force and by insight. Pierce was distinctly inferior to Marcy and Davis. Nearly every one of his Secretaries was an abler man than Buchanan, though not abler than Buchanan had been. Cass, though seven years older than Buchanan, was his superior; and Black and Cobb were far stronger and keener. Even Floyd surpassed him. Surrounding himself with the ablest public men, Lincoln clearly overmastered them, —not by intellect,—but by those reliances of even weak men, patience, persistence, tact and art.

Imagine Lincoln in the Cabinet of Fillmore, of Buchanan, of Johnson or of Grant! Or in his own Cabinet, with Seward, Stanton, Chase, or Fessenden as President! It is by such re-

versed relations that we distinguish his qualities. Like every other of the world's really great men, he had peculiar ways, was queer, different, unique, *sui generis* and as such isolated. Even as a Secretary, he would have become famous for unravelling mysteries, for pursuing policies, for managing men, and for getting toward his goal, with an almost absurd passion for details that he might do justice with a touch of mercy.

Men said then and men still say that Johnson was inferior to and somewhat controlled by Seward. In his Cabinet, Seward, Stanton, Evarts, Harlan, and perhaps Dennison and Welles were abler than he. As for Grant, in Presidential character, he was so naïve and personal that comment is unnecessary; almost any one of his Secretaries surpassed him in statesmanship. Hayes was overmatched by Evarts, Morrill, Sherman, Devens, Chandler, and Schurz; but he was one of those persons of judgment who know good advice and take it, gratefully and promptly. Garfield was surpassed by Blaine. Arthur had nearly half a dozen superiors in his Cabinet,—Gresham, R. T. Lincoln, MacVeagh, Chandler, McCulloch. Yet there was not a star among them, certainly not a star above fifth magnitude.

The world, no doubt, ranks John Wanamaker and William C. Whitney, perhaps even Elkins and Vilas and Tracy, above Benjamin Harrison in ability.

Regarding the Men of To-Day.—For the rest, it is too early to judge. We are too near; and some of the rivals and associates are still alive. The Secretaries may yet become Presidents, as Taft succeeded Roosevelt. The Cabinets of Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft are not to be lightly judged. They numbered Olney, Carlisle, Harmon, J. S. Morton, John Sherman, Hay, Root, Long, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, James Wilson, as well as others too "new" for naming here. Time may yet give their deeds strange emphasis as it will seem to us their contemporaries. Our own views of J. Q. Adams and Van Buren and Lincoln are by no means those of most men of their times; our views of Charles Lee, Crawford, Calhoun, Wirt, Clay, Webster, Cass, Taney, McLane, Butler (of New York), Kendall, Paulding, Bell, Crittenden, would seem strange alike to their friends and to their opponents. The perspective changes rapidly. Only a few great or otherwise notable figures remain; and even these are seen upon remoter

backgrounds. They were judged then by their political proficiency, their executive efficiency, their favor with the great, their popularity with the many, their personal powers and graces and interests. Not so now. We ask what they did for the extension of democracy, for the development of governmental theory and practice, for the final ending of slavery, for or against a protective tariff, for or against internal improvements at national cost, for or against scientific and industrial and other social progress, for the spread of population and the utilization of national resources, for the enhancement of the national prestige, for the emancipation of labor, for the organization of business, for justice and for freedom: in short, for posterity, for ourselves. We shear the reputation of Hamilton here and add to it there; we knock out the padding of Webster here, and convert a dead man's words into the solid white marble of immortal fame there. Perhaps, the spots on the sun are part and parcel of its power to give heat. Indubitably, if Calhoun had not defended slavery, which is wrong now, he could not have been heard in the Senate and thence throughout the land, proclaiming the necessity of local sovereignty, which is eternally right.

So it may be that something scarcely seen now in the record of some Cabinet Secretary may lift him yet into the universal light of history.

Makers of Great Cabinets.—Their Cabinets have helped make Presidents successful or unsuccessful. Ability to judge men is perhaps the most necessary of all qualifications in a President. Yet the greater of the Presidents have not always chosen good Cabinets. Changes in Cabinets during administrations have usually resulted in getting inferior men. The reasons are perhaps two,—the fame of entering the Cabinet with a President is far greater than that of succeeding some other man; and as a President grows familiar with his duties, he places more emphasis upon the services of a Secretary in his Department than upon his prominence before the country. Therefore, clerks replace statesmen. And, nevertheless, the willingness to associate with great men and the ability to discern them are major qualities in the equipment of a President.

It may be added that as the American people continue in their practice of choosing Presidents, they are likely to improve in skill and in courage in so doing. They will learn that we

need as Presidents men who look upon all the people and no individuals or groups of individuals as master; and who will have no other aims or duties than the general welfare.

Cabinet Enlargement.—In 1800, our executive branch at Philadelphia had one hundred and forty officers and clerks to be transferred to the new Capital. In 1910, it had at Washington thirty-seven thousand officers and clerks. In the eleven decades, the total executive service had grown from a thousand to five hundred thousand, including army and navy. And yet the Cabinet had grown but from four to nine members.

Or to put the matter in relation with population: In 1800 we had 5,000,000 under the flag, and four Cabinet officers; in 1910, over 100,000,000 and but nine Cabinet officers.

The American Cabinet is not likely to be standardized permanently in size and in functions as it stands now.

The democratic movement tends always to large "colleges" of deliberation,—courts, legislatures, councils. It tends also to magnifying the power of the head officer. The House of Representatives grows; and with here and there only an occasional backset, the power of the Speaker grows. The Supreme Court grows; and the power of the Chief Justice grows. The Cabinet grows; and the power of the President over it. In the multitude of councillors, there is wisdom; but decision and action proceed best from one man.

Several new departments are now in course of differentiation from the present departments and of integration into separate existence. These are health, education, transportation, dependencies, manufacture and labor. There is talk also of a special department of government industries. Opportunism always has controlled, and yet it is by no means certain that it always will control.

The forces that prevent the establishment of new departments now are:

First, fear of increasing government expenditures.

Second, fear of disturbing the *status quo* in respect to tariff, to currency, to internal revenues and to other matters in which special interests have special stakes.

Third, the unwillingness of Presidents to burden themselves with too many advisers, and

Fourth, tradition, especially the tradition that the central

government must not be too wise and too strong lest individual liberty and initiative decline.

But all these forces together will not stay the present movements. Several departments are cumbrous and incongruous, notably Interior and War. Nine men are too few to operate safely and efficiently a government spending annually over one billion dollars. The present departments are too unequal. Democracy itself, logic, science and common sense are all at work to force change and progress.

At any rate, the larger the Cabinet the less each Secretary would play the politician, and the more would he be expected to work at his department business.

Proposed Cabinet.—The additions and changes proposed, if all should be carried out, would make a Cabinet of eighteen or twenty members, none too many as judged by contemporary nations.

1. State
2. Treasury
3. Army
4. Justice
5. Navy
6. Postoffice
7. Interior
8. Agriculture
9. Commerce
10. Labor
11. Transportation
12. Public Health
13. Education
14. Manufacturers
15. Mining
16. Colonies and Dependencies.
17. Government Industries
18. Engineering and Construction.
19. Records and Statistics
20. Ocean and Waterways.

The functions of these are perhaps sufficiently indicated by their titles or known from history save in respect to 18 and 19. The proposed Engineering Department would construct all new buildings, roads, etc. The Department of Records and Statistics would record and preserve all statutes, take the census, and issue patents and copyrights.

The more familiar one becomes with actual government and with the movements to better it, the more desirable and the more probable Cabinet expansion appears.

CHAPTER IV

The President as Mayor

The Capital City—District of Columbia—its history—negro population and local government—vast jurisdiction of nominally local courts—costs and expenses—relation of local government to Cabinet departments.

The Capital City.—In an important sense, the President of the United States is Mayor of the Capital City. In this sense, he performs two kinds of offices,—first, he signs or vetoes all legislation for the Capital, and second, he appoints all the heads of government, including the three Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the three Justices of the Court of Appeals, the six Justices of the Supreme Court (inferior to the Court of Appeals), and the Judges of the Criminal Court. At present, the powers of the President are greater than at most earlier periods because of the existing form of government.

A District of Columbia Anomalous.—The conception of a District of Columbia to be independent of the jurisdiction of any State was due to a belief that the new government of the United States would, in a sense, be a referee between the several sovereign States, for which purpose the Capital must needs be upon neutral ground. That the central government was to be paramount some feared and some confusedly believed. The outcome has been that there is in fact little more need that the Capital of the Nation should be neutral ground as between the States than that the Capital of New York should be a District of Knickerbocker within the State but neutral as between the counties. The present justification of the District proceeds upon a new doctrine,—that its reason for existence is to have a beautiful model city for the people of all the States and of all the nations to admire. For the creation of such a model city, all the people of the nation are to be taxed whether they ever see Washington or not. Of course, this is not Federalism, it certainly is not Jeffersonian Republican Democracy; but it is Nationalism, and as such must stand or fall.

History of the City.—The city of Washington,—for-

merly but a part of the District of Columbia,—was planned by Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant under the direction of President George Washington and of his Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson. Andrew Ellicott, who later became professor of civil engineering in the United States Military Academy at West Point, did the actual surveying. One hundred and ten years later, in 1901, President Roosevelt, by Senate authorization (not that of Congress), appointed a commission consisting of two architects, one sculptor-artist, and a landscape engineer, to develop the L'Enfant plan for a much larger section of the region than the original city of Washington.

The city was chartered in 1802, with a mayor appointed by the President and a council of two chambers, elected by the people. Then under the Democrat, Thomas Jefferson, the controversy began with a compromise. According to the Constitution, Article I, section 8, "The Congress shall have power . . . to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States." This section was adopted on Wednesday, September 5, 1787, by the Constitutional Convention without debate. No one knows who first proposed it in the Committee of Eleven on Detail. There is no scintilla of evidence as to what "exclusive legislation" meant to the "Fathers." Two parties at once developed, the one asserting that it meant exclusive of the States, the other exclusive of the States and also of its own inhabitants. In 1812, the residents of the District succeeded in doing away with the appointment of the Mayor by the President and persuaded Congress to pass and Madison to sign a bill making the Mayor an appointee of the local Council. In 1820, Monroe signed a bill making the Mayor the choice of the inhabitants by vote. This system of free self-government prevailed until 1871.

The original District consisted of 70 square miles of land and water ceded by Maryland and of 30 square miles ceded by Virginia. (Originally, Maryland owned all the Potomac river, not merely to mid-stream but to the edge of the water upon the Virginia side. She granted 10 square miles of this water to the United States.) But in 1846, when Polk was President,

the United States retroceded the Virginia section, thinking that the north side of the Potomac plus the river itself afforded ample room for development.

The Negro Population.—In 1862 slavery was abolished in the District, and the United States Government paid $900,000 as damages to the owners of the 3000 slaves thereby emancipated, an average of $300 each, a low price, but a year later throughout America slaves were no longer property.[1] The Emancipation Proclamation and the surrender at Appomattox, together with the deaths of thousands of slaveholders, sent many freedmen homeless into the world. The tremendous operations of the InterState War had multiplied the governmental employees. And the colored people flocked into Washington to work for the whites there for wages. Washington also was the home office of the Freedmen's Bureau.

The story is told in the Census figures:

	White.	*Colored.*	*Total.*
1800.....	5,672	2,472	8,144
1840.....	23,926	9,819	33,745
1850.....	37,941	13,746	51,687
1860.....	60,763	14,316	75,079
1870.....	88,278	43,404	131,682

Suffrage Abolished.—Even the Mexican War caused a great gain in population; but the 29,000 colored population gain in the InterState War decade swamped the District. In 1871 a great change in government was made. A Board of Public Works was created to introduce better street-making, sewers, water-supply, etc. By 1874, it became apparent that the freedmen held control. To offset these new voters, hordes of whites were run in from Maryland and voted by the bosses. Then by the urgency of President Grant, reconstruction was undertaken by force. The ballot was abolished. The white men of the District of Columbia were reduced with the freedmen to bring the proteges of government like the Indians on reservations. In 1878, President Hayes made the new system, with some even more rigid features "permanent." And now the District of Columbia is politically nothing less than Congress

[1]Many slaveholders of the District made no attempt to recover payment for their slaves.

and the President operating for the government of the Capital. Congress attends fortnightly to the District business, acting as a City Council. Four Committees attend to the affairs of the District,—a Senate District Committee, a House District Committee, and two corresponding District sub-committees of the Committees on Appropriation. The three District of Columbia Commissioners have scarcely any legislative powers. Congress prescribes minute details, fearing lest advantage be taken of it during its usual summer recesses.

Vast Jurisdiction of Nominally Local Courts.—It is anomalous that the term "District of Columbia" in respect to the Courts of the District should not be confined to the 60 square miles of its land surface, but in fact the District Supreme Court has been given by Congress special jurisdiction over the territories and other lands and the seacoasts,—in general, territorial and admiralty powers of a highly technical nature.

Under President Roosevelt, the city of Washington was made coterminous with the District of Columbia, and its sole present usefulness as a term is as a postal station,—Washington designating the most thickly settled part of the District.

Costs and Expenditures.—The total costs of all public buildings, parks, bridges and other public improvements are unknown. These have been charged to several different Departments, in general and special appropriation bills, with the intent to conceal the facts. A fair estimate is $125,000,000. The annual cost of the District Government is about $15,000,000, all items included that are properly chargeable to it; but the United States Government in addition pays out annually in the District to its 37,000 employees there and in the maintenance and extension of its many buildings $60,000,000 more. The policy of Republicanism has been to build up a tremendous body of people and of machinery for use in defence of its system.

Local assessments and taxes are lower than anywhere else in the United States, for the Government pays one-half of all District expenses. This is a hedp to the Congressmen and Senators and governmental officials who have funds for real estate investment and speculation. Few houses are owned by their occupants; the low taxes invite absentee landlordism also. The clerks are rent-payers.

The present population is 335,000 persons, of whom one-third are colored, making Washington the largest negro community on earth. The whites and blacks are all educated in one system of public schools, but of the one hundred and sixty public school buildings, ninety-seven are exclusively for whites. The schools are controlled by a board of education, of whom one-third are negroes; this board is appointed by the judges of the District Supreme Court, none of whom, however, is a permanent resident of the District. The population of the District is transient; one-fifth of its number on the average change every year.

Relation of Local Government to Cabinet Departments.—Over this city, the seventeenth in population in the United States, the President rules by no choice of their own and with far more power than any elective mayor wields. But in point of fact, he is so busy with vastly greater concerns that Washington receives but little of his personal attention. Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Taft gave considerable thought and attention to the District for its advantage; Grant, Hayes, and McKinley encouraged the forces of evil. But Jefferson and Madison were the only Presidents who dealt with its anomalous character honorably and wisely.

Washington was a heavy speculative investor in its city lots. To Grant must be debited many of the sources of such governmental inefficiency, extravagance and corruption as still stain "the American City Beautiful" whose slums and 268 alleys are not surpassed for degradation within our borders.[1]

Usually, the President assigns the duties of oversight of the District to two Secretaries,—of War for the engineering problems, and of the Treasury for the financial.

The glamour of the moonlight upon the glorious Capitol blinds many eyes to the facts and results of the un-American political system of helotage in Washington.

Perhaps in some wise and honest administration, Congress and the President and the Courts may restore Americanism in the American Capital. It would save money. It would cleanse us of hypocrisy. And it would, thereby, restore our honor at home and beyond seas.

[1]See pp. 507, 508.

CHAPTER V

The White House, Official Home of the Presidents

Why required and why so called—size and location—daily life of a President—the summer capital—costs—salary of the President.

Why Required and Why So Called.—The business of the President is so exacting that (as in the case of the States and their Governors) the nation provides for him a building that is at once his residence and his office,—to save his time. This official residence is the scene of the Cabinet meetings, of the dinners and receptions of state, of the labors of all the President's clerks, and of his home-life. It has been given individuality by being termed "The White House," from the name of the family home of Mrs. Washington upon the Pamunky river, Virginia. When the British burned the President's freestone mansion, in 1814, they left the walls standing, and to cover the smoke-stains, it was painted white, making the name peculiarly appropriate.

Size and Location.—The mansion is 170 feet long by 86 feet deep, and has two stories, each very high; as also is the basement opening from the lower level in the rear. Upon the front is the Ionic portico that gives it the true colonial style. The architect was James Hoban, who modeled his plan upon the county seat of the Duke of Leinster, near Dublin, Ireland. He began its construction in 1792, and President George Washington closely supervised the work, though it was not completed until 1799, under John Adams. It was rebuilt under James Madison, during which time he lived in a private house called by its owners "The Octagon" because of its shape.

In 1902-03, under Roosevelt, the White House was extended by a wing to include a new Cabinet room and a set of executive offices, so arranged in conformity with a fortunately varying ground level of the site as not to modify the original design of the main structure.

The White House stands at an elevation of forty feet above the Potomac river, which is over half a mile away; but be-

tween it and the river is an open view unobstructed by any building save the mighty monolith of the Washington Monument. There is but one serious objection to the local site,—it lies below the evening-morning Potomac valley fog-line. The deaths of Harrison, of Taylor and of Polk have been ascribed by many to the local malaria.

The Two Floors.—The first floor of the White House is devoted entirely to the public uses of the building. Even the library is upon the second floor. Some of its rooms, notably the great audience-hall, the East Room, have been the scene of many famous gatherings. The second floor constitutes the home of the President and of his family. Both the basement and the third or attic floor serve important uses.

Some Incidents Recalled.—What an interesting history the now old building has had! That East Room was used by Mrs. Abigail Adams in the fall of 1800 when the first President moved into the mansion for clothes' drying, for it was unfinished. The building stood in a thicket of alder bush, with a swamp between it and the Potomac. In the East Room the sons of Garfield rode bicycle races with the perilous high front wheel now to be seen only in pictures. There the Prince of Wales and the Crown Prince of Germany have been fêted. Out upon that lawn Tad Lincoln drove daily his pair of goats. In that second story, the children of Grover Cleveland first saw the light of day. There the first wives of Tyler and of Benjamin Harrison died. And there died William Henry Harrison and Zachary Taylor. To it Garfield was carried after being shot, to die later at Elberon.

There Madison and Polk and Lincoln and McKinley planned their military and naval campaigns. And it is pleasant to recall that not one of the attempted or completed murders of a President has ever taken place in it. Jackson was assaulted at the Capitol, Lincoln at Ford's Theatre. Even Guiteau, who called upon Garfield the morning of that dreadful July day, waited to catch him two hours later upon less historic ground. McKinley was slain at Buffalo. Every manner of human being has visited that building, including an Emperor.

Historical Events.—The White House saw first Mrs. John Adams and what her husband styled the family of "five amiable children," though surely J. Q. was never amiable. She

gave the first public reception there January 1, 1801. Then forests surrounded it; and an alder-swamp lay between the Executive Mansion and the Capitol.

It saw Thomas Jefferson, his daughters and sons-in-law, and his grandchildren. His friends, his acquaintances, the friends and acquaintances of his friends and acquaintances, and prominent men of every degree of prominence dined there as at a plantation home in hospitable Virginia. He kept open house for nearly everyone for 2922 days.

The White House saw fascinating Dolley Madison; and felt British fire and vandal-hands. Thereafter it wore a coat of white paint.

It saw James Monroe and his two daughters and sons-in-law.

Then it saw John Quincy Adams again, being twenty-five years older; and already nearly sixty. Until his death in 1848, it often looked upon him. It saw another fine Adams family. The Adamses of Massachusetts never were Boston Brahmins, never quite attained the highest caste, never became rich enough, or dull enough, mixed too much in politics and with the vulgar, and had too large families. They almost attained: they became Presidents, Ministers to England, even railroad presidents and prodigious scholars. But the sacred ark of the covenant of being strictly first class has not yet felt their—let us say it plainly—common hands, common and laborious and always ambitious and distinctly serviceable.[1]

In that big castle,—so Mrs. Abigail styled it,—when he felt tired and irritable with consumption already upon him, "Old Hero" smoked his clay pipe and dreamed that his wife was alive again to sit peacefully and to smoke with him. Thence Thor-like, he issued his fulminations against Nullification and the National Bank, and blasted each with his lightnings.

There Van Buren dined with gold spoons; and gave us the best financial management this nation ever saw. There he smiled and smiled and played the political game of the first master of politics of his day, to rank almost with Jefferson and Lincoln and McKinley, and to miss renomination only because of a foolish two-thirds rule.

There Harrison with his fine family of children and grandchildren battled with the hordes of office-seekers brought in

[1]See pp. 251, 309.

by the new railroads and with the dampness of the Potomac valley to die so soon.

There Tyler sat at one wife's bier and stood with her successor in marriage.

There Polk schemed and won empires south and north. There he paid out all his energy,—to die two months after leaving the building. There his beautiful wife held her stately receptions. If the White House has feelings, how it must have felt for the devoted, earnest, childless pair!

Taylor came next,—big, happy, rich, with good wife, children and grandchildren. They must have cheered the old home. The days of Jefferson were come again,—of the Adamses, of Harrison. There was plenty of money and plenty of fun. Typhoid ended this joy.

Fillmore graced the fine old building. And Pierce likewise.

Buchanan came with his niece. Life now was very courtly and elegant and scrupulously honest and economical. There were whispered conferences. There was almost consternation. The White House was on quicksand. The Republic was slipping down, down.

There entered a strange, tall figure, taller than he who had planned the building, or Jefferson who made it and all America democratic and welcomed men with their cronies to his dinners, or Fillmore who signed the Compromise bills. Abraham Lincoln, —Father Abraham, Honest Abe,—the railsplitter,—who had said, "A house divided cannot stand,"—entered with his eager little wife and the three boys. He prayed there at midnight and read his Bible and buried little Willie from its doors. And somehow with blood for mortar the quicksand was metamorphosed into adamant. The house was not divided. But in it lay dead the master of us all.

Another big family arrived, the Johnsons of Tennessee. Another little woman was there, an old, old lady, mother and grandmother, frail with "old fashioned consumption." One glad day, the messenger rushed up to her sitting-room and cried, "He's acquitted. They've acquitted the President." It was a very important day to the little lady who as a bride of sixteen had taught a future President how to write his letters. But it was also a very important day to millions and millions of people. A President impeached for politics and removed

would have placed the Presidency and this nation beneath contempt and beyond saving as a republic.

The Grants were another big family within the friendly walls. The White House became the rendezvous for the war-made millionaires. Once more as in the days of "Old Hickory," tobacco-smoke pervaded the air; but it was from good cigars, not clay-pipes. Things got dim and confused. There was more talk of impeachment. Yet the President himself talked but little.

Hayes came and banished wine and cigars. He brought in again the Bible and prayers. He brought in also the cares of great and growing wealth and yet philanthropy. And he had a fine family with him.

Garfield and his boys romped there. Oh! how bright the outlook was for that cheerful, vigorous man! One pistol-shot, and the night slowly settled down.

In the White House, Arthur forgot the dull days when he had worked his way through college, the dark days when his wife died, and smiled over the disgraceful removal from the collectorship of the port of New York. He now gave to himself a perfectly good time, with horses, and parties, and friends, and good meals with wine. Incidentally, he did his work, and ruined his health.

Cleveland came a bachelor. Soon a very lovely young bride arrived. The man underwent transformation. Likewise, the White House, for it remembered another beautiful bride, the second wife of Tyler. A baby arrived also, the only President's child ever born in the wonderful building.

Benjamin Harrison was there, methodical, competent. It was a gloomy time, for his wife died within those walls.

An astonishing thing happened! Cleveland came back. Harrison had feared this, yet it had never happened before. No one-termer had ever been resurrected. Perhaps Mrs. Cleveland was the cause. Those who know the true inwardness of New York finance say so.

McKinley came. The White House must be quiet as in the days of Jackson, the widower; of Tyler, the bereaved; of Pierce bereft of every child and worried over an invalid wife; of Buchanan, the bachelor; of Lincoln, the war-grieved; of Johnson, with the dear invalid old wife; and of Harrison, likewise

troubled. For Mrs. McKinley was frail and sad. Black cigars again filled the house with smoke as in the days of Grant. But McKinley was a mighty toiler, like the Adamses and Lincoln and Cleveland. His health was wearing away, when, crash! out of the sky, death smote. No longer can the White House say "Farewell," when a President steps out for an airing but only "Adieu"—"May you go to God!" and "Good-bye"—"May God be with you!"

A transformation followed. It was as though both Adamses, Jackson, Grant and several more were all back again. Roosevelt with wife and six children has the key and pass-word. The White House must have wings for the increasing business. Social life is restored,—finer and larger than ever before.

With a fifty per cent. increase of salary, and with a travelling allowance, William H. Taft arrived, a vast person, cheerful, industrious, frequently at home.

Daily Life.—The daily routine of a President usually begins with a late rising,—at eight o'clock perhaps. After breakfast and exercise indoors or out, and reading of newspapers, edited for him by clerks, about ten o'clock he steps over to the Executive offices, recently built, and reads the mail and signs or at least approves important letters from the day before. The day's new mail may include 300 or 1300 or even 3300 first class letters, for in times of excitement, there is no sparing of the President by his constituency of 95,000,000 Americans. Of these communications, he may see twenty or thirty and hear something of a hundred or so, all in an hour, for at eleven o'clock comes the time of official callers by appointment,—including judges, senators, representatives, governors, politicians, journalists, business men, whomever he has arranged to see that day. Their number may be fifty, and it may be that a single delegation comes two hundred strong. At twelve o'clock, the President sees the officers of the executive branch of government,—secretaries, consuls, army and navy officers, bureau chiefs. Twice a week, at this hour, he holds his Cabinet meeting, which may last several hours. On other days, at one or one-thirty o'clock, he has lunch, usually in his private office. About two or two-thirty he takes up his real work,—bills from Congress awaiting his consideration, and

messages, annual or special, to Congress,—orders to the Departments, plans for the future. At four, he goes out for recreation or exercise, usually returning at six o'clock. The usual dining-hour is seven-thirty o'clock. After dinner, the President sees by appointment such persons as he may desire to see,—these evening appointments indicate business of great importance. At nine or ten o'clock, he may make or receive calls or go for an hour or so to the theatre or to some public function. At eleven o'clock, he has an hour or two by himself for such business or study as he may have reserved for special attention. When Congress is in session, the President seldom retires before twelve or one o'clock.

The Summer Capital.—Theodore Roosevelt set up "a summer Capital" at Oyster Bay, Long Island, his country home, where he could at once escape the heat of Washington, get better outdoor recreation than in the Potomac valley, and do more work. William H. Taft has followed the custom, but as in 1909 and 1911 he called special spring and summer sessions of Congress, his vacations at Beverly, Massachusetts, have been little more than week-ends, entailing two nights each week spent on railroad trains. Of course, the term "summer capital" is purely humorous. The Constitution recognizes only the District of Columbia. The "summer capital" plan does not greatly change the President's hours, for he must still spend most of his time every day upon the public business; and he must always be ready for great emergencies.

President McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft have all been great travellers, making tours throughout the country for various purposes.

Costs of the White House.—The home of the President is maintained in respect to its public functions at national cost. What should be a personal expense and what a national, has always been a vexatious question. In the Office of the Comptroller of the Treasury, who follows the appropriation acts with minute literalness, disallowance of a White House voucher is by no means uncommon. The automobiles and carriages and carriage-horses are paid for and maintained at public cost; but the riding-horses he must buy and care for himself. In addition, he has $25,000 to pay travelling expenses for himself, secretaries and guests. The Government

allows him a barber—at $1600 a year—for himself and his guests, and provides cooks and other servants for his family since in fact his household is never without official guests. But his family buys its own postage stamps and theoretically a private letter from the President is not "franked" but stamped. As head of the army, he is attended by the Surgeon-General or other physician who looks out for his health and often visits him or travels with him. The annual cost of the White House is about $285,000 a year, but this includes all the dozen or score of salaries to the President's official clerks. This allowance antedates a salary to the President, for Washington would accept no salary but did accept the refund of his actual expenses. It is a curious feature of these costs, taken comparatively that Jefferson spent six or seven thousand dollars a year on wines for his guests, out of his own pocket, Hayes refused to allow wines and liquors to be served in the White House, while Roosevelt, himself virtually a non-user, sent in annual bills of from fourteen to seventeen thousand dollars for wines for his state dinners. Jefferson died insolvent. The fifty thousand dollars worth of wine drunk in his eight years of social necessity told the story. Had he been President one hundred years later,—the Roosevelt time,—he might have retired with a snug competence.

Salary of the President.—Lincoln was paid $103,000 to fight the Civil War through for us. Though he had a family, he managed to save a few thousand dollars each year out of his $25,000 salary. Grant drew $50,000 a year. The salary was raised for Taft to $75,000. For the direction of an expenditure of $1,100,000,000, it is little enough compared with salaries in business. Probably for a long, long time to come, no man will be elected President whose friends cannot raise for his nomination and election at least five or six millions of dollars.

Buchanan and his Comptroller of the Treasury construed White House costs so severely against himself that though he was a bachelor whose niece presided over his home for him, he came out of his term poorer than when he went in. But with the present salary, it is as likely as it is desirable that a solvent man becoming President may anticipate that a single term will leave him to enjoy his later old age in reasonable

financial comfort, from returns upon the investment of savings from his salary.

Hard Work in the Greatest Comfort.—The Presidency is hard work and responsibility not easily measureable under relatively luxurious conditions. After it is over, the former President has earned, if he so desires, leisure with dignity.[1] But he will no longer be able to spend money upon the White House scale. Its annual cost of a quarter of a million dollars would require the income of a five-millionaire.

[1]But see p. 62, *supra*.

PART THREE

LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS

"Show me the men, and I shall show you the laws."
—*Scottish Proverb of the Fifteenth Century.*

CHAPTER I

George Washington

1789-1797
1732-1799

13-16 States. 1790—Population 3,929,214

Thirteen original States: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia. Admitted: Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee.

The sifting of the civil war—a social revolution as well as a war of independence—new elements in population—why not king?—ancestry—wealth—the Fairfax family—woodcraft—visits Barbadoes—inherits fortune of brother—visits Ohio country—Indian fighter—Fort Necessity—Braddock's Defeat—in anger visits Boston—ill health—helps at Fort Duquesne—scandals—marriage—copious in letter-writing—silent of tongue——his slaves—Mount Vernon—fox-hunter—member of House of Burgesses—dines with Governor Dunmore—but supports rebel cause—delegate to Congress in 1774 and in 1775—Commander-in-chief—immense physical strength—campaigns from Cambridge to Yorktown reviewed—brilliant Benedict Arnold—military friendships—hard work—severe critic of speculators—courage—resigns and asks Congress for money due—Mount Vernon again—land-purchases in the West—Annapolis Convention—President of Federal Constitutional Convention—first signer—the verdict of history—unanimously elected President—rise of two parties, Federalists and anti-Federalists—reads his messages to Congress—appointments in the executive branch—a little incident in which John Hancock figured—Indian wars—the State debts—the National Capital—Alexander Hamilton—Thomas Jefferson—the Whiskey Rebellion—the so-called "Scotch-Irish"—the foreign policy—Citizen Genêt—the Farewell Address—threatened war with France—causes of his death—the great fortune left by Washington—he helped to change the history of the world—a strong centraliza-

tionist—"first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Sifted Out by the Civil Revolution.—"Formed to control men, not amaze,"—such is the phrase that James Russell Lowell in the *Commemoration Ode* used in that final critical judgment which is commonly accorded alone to poets. To control means to draw together. It is a beautiful word, and it does indeed fitly estimate the character of the first President, after he had learned no longer to amaze men.

It was a happy event that when in 1788 the people voted and in 1789 the Electoral College met to record their will, all had voted for one man. Had he been a lesser man, it would still have been a happy event, portentous to thrones everywhere, significant of the dawn of a new day, announcing the *nova ordo saeclorum* as the great seal of the United States declares.

The Changed Population.—Four million men and women and children, almost the very babies themselves, believed that they knew the worth of George Washington. It was a selected population. Many heroes had died during the long grinding of the Revolution, some in battle, some in prison-ships, some of hardship, disease, poverty; a few had perhaps died of a normal old age. From the old colonial population of perhaps two and a half million in 1770,—not more,—a hundred thousand who preferred King George had been exiled, most of them by force, a few by their own choice. Among them were men of subordinate disposition who love masters,—helots, bureaucrats, easy-going traditionalists who will not really think for themselves, gentlemen of birth and breeding; and they called themselves "loyalists." "Sent to Halifax" was the popular phrase that covered the cases of them all. In fact, Massachusetts did ship tens of thousands to Halifax, and Sam Adams said "nay" to their plea to be allowed to come back. He meant not to have their breed represented in the new nation. In that epoch, "go to Halifax" was not a meaningless objurgation. His action as government probably caused the failure of President Taft, a century later, to win Canada for reciprocity in trade. Their children remembered and reciprocated in sentiment.

Into the vacuums created here and there by the fortunes of

changing war, after 1775, a new element poured. For all the battling and other quarreling, America became a seductive word. The migration from Europe that had ceased after the founding of Philadelphia,—to be revived but briefly when Georgia was founded,—began again after 1776; and grew and grew after the French treaty of 1778. New families came from England itself, from Ireland and Scotland, from France, from Holland and Germany, from Canada. Thousands of King George's Hessian hirelings either stayed or went to Germany and then returned,—they liked the land and the people against whom they had been hired as war-slaves. Thousands of the free soldiers of King Louis of France stayed; or going back dutifully, when released from service, returned with wives, sometimes with children. This new element totalled in all likelihood,—we have no accurate statistics,—six hundred thousand, perhaps three-quarters of a million. And a million and more little new children were born in an age still of prolific births. It was a prosperous time,—though men "talked poor."

Why Not King.—The Whigs of 1770 had become the Patriots of 1776 and the Americans of 1788. Legally childless leaders do not favor royal dynasties. Everyone who knew Washington,—and in 1788 he was by far the best known man in the United States,—knew that he had outgrown the idea of an American empire. He regarded no man as fit to be a king.

Ancestry.—George Washington was born February 22, 1732, at Bridges Creek on the south side of the Potomac, half a hundred miles below what is now the city that bears his name. His great-grandfather had come over from England in 1657, after the overthrow of King Charles the First, and it is abundantly established that he was a Cavalier and King's supporter. The Washingtons were plantation-owners and among the wealthiest of the colonials in America, where they bore themselves with something of the stiff pride and all of the rude vigor of their English ancestors, who were knights and gentlemen and yeomen of indisputable Norman stock. George was the first child of his father's second wife, Mary Ball, and was one of ten children. The father died in 1743 at the age of forty-nine years; and much of his property descended by primogeniture to his oldest son Lawrence, half-brother of George. But even so, the widow's resources were

ample, and all the children were good friends. Lawrence married a daughter of William Fairfax, landed proprietor and owner or agent of the vast Fairfax family estates mainly beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains.

The Fairfax Family.—In 1747 George went to visit his brother Lawrence at a time when Thomas Lord Fairfax of England was living in Virginia. Lord Fairfax was a man of the world, a bachelor of sixty years, who immediately fancied the fifteen-year-old lad for a friend. Next year he sent the youth out to survey his properties.

In this period, George Washington was already nearly six feet tall, with light blue eyes and light brown hair, and with a square and heavy jaw. They called him "big, fair and florid."

Woodcraft.—With the lad upon this adventure into the wilderness went George Fairfax, brother of Mrs. Lawrence Washington. They surveyed the Shenandoah valley and the Potomac in the vicinity,—sleeping in tents or under the stars, meeting with Indians and a few stray settlers, and learning woodcraft. In work of this adventurous character as a public surveyor, Washington spent his time for three years. In it he acquired yet more robust muscular strength, physical hardihood and industrious habits. At this business he earned from a "doubloon to six pistoles a day," as the young man proudly wrote to a friend.

Such was the foundation of George Washington; but he saw also during this period the lighter and brighter and darker sides of life,—fox-hunting, dancing at Greenaway Court, the Fairfax manor-house, roystering in the backwoods nights and book-reading in bad weather.

Visits Barbadoes.—In 1751 George went with his half-brother Lawrence to Barbadoes in the West Indies, where he took smallpox, being ill for a month. A year later Lawrence died of consumption, leaving his daughter to George as guardian and protector of her estates. George was now a major of militia, well taught in the manual of arms and also in fencing and sword-play.

In 1753, when but twenty-one years of age, Washington was sent to the Ohio river country by Governor Dinwiddie to discover the plans of the French and the bearing of the Indians. On this expedition, he and his sole companion, a famous frontiersman, Christopher Gist, once tried to cross a river on a

raft; Washington fell into the water amid floating ice, and in his frozen clothes passed the night afterward on an island.

Fort Necessity.—May 27, 1754 saw Washington in his first fight with the French and Indians. His company slew ten of them and took twenty-one prisoners, and official France was soon in an uproar over the battle at Great Meadows. After this fight, Washington, now become a colonel through the death of the commander of the expedition, built Fort Necessity. And there at Great Meadows, July 4, 1754, surrounded by a force four times as great as his own, in a drenching rain that made his muskets useless, he surrendered,—upon a parole not to fight for a year,—and with his arms returned to the Capital of Virginia, Williamsburg. Let us not praise the young man too highly. The Seneca chief, Half-King, Thanacarishon, said of the Fort Necessity affair, that "The French acted like cowards, the English like fools."

Indian Fighter.—Like a Norseman of old, the young man loved fierce fighting and great danger. He had to learn discretion. And we never, never get great men the other way about. No heroic great man begins by being discreet and proceeds to have courage, none.

Fretted by the insolence of the King's orders and officers, and in bad health, Washington then withdrew from military affairs for a brief season of agricultural direction upon his mother's and his own lands.

Braddock's Defeat.—The year 1755 brings us to Colonel Washington as the right-hand man of General Edward Braddock. All the world knows of that affair of July 8th, of the ambush, the death of Braddock, the saving of a remnant of the army by the unflinching courage and brilliant leadership of Washington in the battle and in the retreat; he was but twenty-three years old even now! Two horses were shot under him. Four bullets went through his coat. It was an extraordinary affair beyond melodrama and other fiction. Four days later, they laid in his grave the body of the British regular who could not take advice either from the mature Franklin or the youthful Washington; who solemnly read the funeral services for the dead, there in the primitive wild.

It was a lesson to him,—the British disciplined troops could be beaten even by Indians.

Visits Boston.—George Washington was now the first

military man in Virginia, the only man who could save its towns and plantations from ravage and ruin by the French and Indians. Year after year, ill-supplied with money, ill-supported by soldiery, in a world of panic and fear, upon the farthest edges of the frontier, Washington, now a general but almost without an army, kept back the invaders along a line of three hundred and fifty miles.

At one time, he must go in rather braggadocio style on fine horses all the way to Boston to see Governor Shirley and get a matter righted; a captain with the King's commission had set himself up to rule over the Virginia general of volunteers. In this epoch, Washington wrote scathing letters and altogether conducted himself precisely as we should expect such a young soldier, rich, healthy and brave, to conduct himself when betrayed by scoundrels, insulted by pompous nobodies, and baffled by circumstance. Early in 1758, the health even of Washington again broke down, and he went home to Mount Vernon to get well. Later in the year, he led the vanguard for the invalid General Forbes, sent out by William Pitt. They took Fort Duquesne and named the new defences Fort Pitt.

Marriage.—Of the early love and other affairs of Washington, there are many traditions and some documents, apparently of his own writing. The latter, if true, should be believed; if spurious, should be bought by decent patriots of means and burned. He was notoriously susceptible to feminine charms; and yet several excellent young ladies rejected his ardent wooing. One brave and gallant claimant upon his paternity was an aide upon his own military staff. But posterity has chosen to ignore—for awhile—even the question about Washington, and to accept the truth about Franklin.

Though fair young well-born maidens turned away from his wooing, at last Washington won the widow of Daniel Parke Custis, born Martha Dandridge; and became stepfather to her two children and sharer in her estates and goods, which were beyond his own. She was three months his junior, and looked petite at the side of his immense figure. She needed a husband, her children needed a father, and her estates needed a manager.

There was a brilliant wedding at which Washington gratified to the limit his love of fine clothes The bridegroom wore

blue and silver trimmed with scarlet, with gold buckles at his knees and on his shoes; the bride, silk, satin, lace and brocades with pearls on her neck and in her ears. British officers in redcoats and goldlace adorned the scene.

Silent of Tongue.—Three months later, Washington, being twenty-seven years of age, became a member of the House of Burgesses. The Speaker spoke eloquently of his services, and the youthful general rose to reply but failed, whereupon the graceful Mr. Robinson relieved his confusion by saying, "Sit down, Mr. Washington; your modestly equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess!" And we who read of this occurrence recall that George Washington presided over the Constitutional Convention in 1787 for four months and never made a single speech nor said anything save what was absolutely necessary in the way of parliamentary ruling.

Silent! George Washington goes down into history as a man who loved to talk with his friends at table and who wrote many, many letters,—perhaps more than any other American until the days of expert stenographers and typewriters,—but who never made a speech. In public, he was a doer of the word, not a teller, not an exhorter. History, however, is obliged to record that he early lost all his teeth and did not acquire even the famous uncomfortable hinged false teeth of ivory until he was President.

Inherits Fortune of Brother.—Upon the death of the daughter of his brother Lawrence, Washington inherited all her estates. His wife brought to the family in gold a quarter of a million dollars. And it is well to understand that without his great wealth, Washington with his measure of ability could not have put the Revolutionary War through to final success. No Sam Adams, dependent upon the charity of friends for new suits of clothes, could have led the Patriot Army through seven years of struggle and vicissitude.

His Slaves.—George Washington now set out to become a successful planter. His wheat flour became prominent in the London market. He raised large quantities of good tobacco. His horses were thoroughbred. But his farming was all done with slave-labor; his milling likewise. It is said, in his defence, perhaps not with literal truth, that he "never bought or sold one slave." Over his negroes, he maintained

military discipline; but tradition says that he gave far more than ordinary care to their shelter, clothing and food.

Mount Vernon.—This is the first Mount Vernon home period of his life,—when he enjoyed his beautiful house and estate with its broad vista over the Potomac river, with his family and guests and with a steady hope that the troubles threatening upon the horizon would all blow over. He was considered the first military man in all the colonies and by many in the North regard as the first of American gentlemen. His hard, adventurous youth and early manhood were passed; and he had risen to the calmer, less passionate, more methodical days of mature life. What the future contained, he did not in the least see or suspect. He was not a moral or social reformer but quite ready to take life as he found it and to make it as successful as possible.

Much of his time, he spent in fox-hunting, often with his stepson "Jacky" Custis as his sole companion. In all his delight in good living and in social gayety upon his estate and with his friends among the country neighbors and at Williamsburg, the Colonial Capital, the fighter in him was only asleep, not dead.

The Episode of the Poacher.—We read of one entirely characteristic adventure. He had warned a poacher off his lands. One day, he found him again shooting his canvas-back ducks in the water courses along the Potomac river front. When the trespasser levelled his gun at Washington to drive him away, the latter urged his horse into the water, seized the man, boat and gun, dragged them ashore, and then gave the poacher a beating. The poacher troubled Washington no more. The incident displays his good qualities; and shall we say some of his bad? Washington loved property and intended to maintain his property rights; he was totally devoid of fear and laughed at danger—What cared he for a poacher's gun? His temper was hot. The fact that the man was landless, penniless and desperate did not stay his hand. He was the justly angry lord, the trespasser a rascal deserving chastisement; and Washington was policeman enough personally to attend to the matter.

Member House of Burgesses.—The county sent Washington to the House of Burgesses where he had great influence from his wealth, his reputation, his personal bearing

and his vigorous character. He heard there the Tarquin speech of slender Patrick Henry, four years his junior; and assented heartily, soon becoming a leader of the Virginia non-importation party, which vigorously supported the radicalism of Samuel Adams.

Rebel, yet Polite.—When the Burgesses appointed June 1, 1769, as a day of fasting and prayer and of consideration of the direful Boston Port Bill, Washington had fasted and prayed and considered; but the very day that the Burgesses so voted, he could not resist the fascination of an invitation to dine with Governor Dunmore and to dance at the ball with Lady Dunmore. He had the delight of the ever-rising man in being called into the company of the yet greater; and he loved dinners and dances—with or without his wife.

In the fateful last days of the colonial period, Washington wrote to his old friend Bryan Fairfax characterizing General Gage of Massachusetts as a "Turkish bashaw," and his course as "unexampled testimony of the most despotic system of tyranny ever practiced in a free government." No "whining" for relief, no "supine" sitting for George Washington, even if his logic about tyranny and free government was a little mixed. Upon August 1, 1774, he stands right up in meeting at Williamsburg and thus delivers himself,—"I will raise a thousand men, subsist them at my own expense, and march them to the relief of Boston."

Truthful history is obliged to record that at this time, Washington was a claimant of the King's government in London for a perfected title to 30,000 acres of land in the West, and that his agents were being balked exasperatingly by pettifogging legalists and red tape officials and clerks.

In Congress in Full Dress Uniform.—George Washington was a delegate to the Continental Congress of 1774, with its interesting membership of shipowners, merchants, lawyers, and planters. When the sessions were over, he made Mount Vernon a rendezvous for the friends and acquaintances of the French and Indian wars. He went to the revolutionary convention at Richmond and heard Patrick Henry cry,—"Give me liberty, or give me death!" And again answered "Yea" by beginning to organize companies of soldiers.

Next spring Washington heard the news of Lexington and

Concord, and went up to Philadelphia resolved upon his course. He wrote to his now aged friend George Fairfax in England, "The plains of America are either to be drenched in blood or inhabited by slaves. Sad alternative! But can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice?"

The critical question was: "Would Congress declare for peace or for war?" Washington was for war. And he sat there in the Second Continental Congress with his blue and buff uniform of the Virginia colonel upon him as if to say,—"I'm ready." When on June 15, 1775, John Adams, intending to persuade the Continental Congress to adopt officially the militia of New England and Long Island about Boston, arose to nominate him commander-in-chief,—rich John Hancock was his only rival,—Washington withdrew from the hall. Six days later, he set forth upon his second journey to Boston; to meet twenty miles out a messenger bearing the great news of the battle of Bunker Hill. "Did the militia fight?" he asked.

"Yes."

And he replied, "Then the liberties of the country are safe."

Commander-in-Chief.—Washington was now forty-three years of age. For all his good eating and drinking, he had kept his muscles. He had seen the country,—he had been to the Ohio river three times, to Boston once, to Philadelphia often. He knew the sea. He could ride horseback incomparably well; yet was never to learn how to organize and to handle cavalry in action. He could walk and run cross-country, swim, fence, shoot. He understood accounting and surveying, and had read about engineering, finance and war-strategy. He was familiar with the colonial great men, and himself lorded it over the lesser,—a manner and a notion that he was to outgrow with experience. And now he must command soldiers who elect their own captains and make out of militia an army to drive the British out of Boston. He is the gentleman aristocrat who will help a whole land escape from monarchy and bureaucracy into representative democracy.

The story of George Washington, the Patriot General, from his taking command under the elm-tree at Cambridge until the sword of Cornwallis is gracefully handed back at Yorktown is material enough for many books. The world will never tire of its main features. From Cambridge he

writes home,—"I have made a pretty good slam amongst such kind of officers as the Massachusetts government abounds in, since I came into this camp, having broke one colonel and two captains for cowardly behavior in the action on Bunker Hill, two captains for drawing more pay and provisions than they had men in their company, and one for being absent from his post when the enemy appeared. . . . Besides these, I have at this time one colonel, one major, one captain and two subalterns under arrest for trial. In short, I spare none; and yet fear it will not all do, as these people seem to be too attentive to everything but their own interests."

Many of them stood for all that he was and did; they knew what his performances had been at Braddock's defeat. And yet more than half of them soon were home again. Throughout the war, Washington must deal with a Congress of talkers and theorists and in too many instances cheap politicians, with Governors of States in their political infancy, with factionaries and traitors in his army, with inadequate supplies and munitions of war, with alien elements and every manner of incompetence and ill-will. Four things carried him through; first, his own indomitable fortitude; second, the pride of his faithful soldiers in the high and valiant way in which their general carried himself; third, the unwillingness of the Howes, General and Admiral, Whigs, to help the Tories too much, being themselves also lazy and happy with their wine and women; and, finally, the coming of the French.

Under the conditions, Washington was a good field-commander, improving with practice; and he was more than simply a soldier. He saw the war in its larger relations, sending Arnold to win Canada, who lost, however, by a fluke upon the Plains of Abraham.

Washington was keen for those little details which delight soldiers' hearts but drive away the weaklings and the fractious. Every man knew that he preferred to lead in front, not to direct from the rear. Perhaps, he held too many councils of war with his subordinates, in the fashion of American "levelling"; but often he overruled them, for he knew that one good mind alone is better than one good mind submerged by several lesser ones. He preferred battle to siege

and to delay. And he understood perfectly the pomp and circumstance of war; and dressed to look his chief part.

But limitations of space forbid us to follow General Washington from Dorchester Heights to New York and Long Island,—to New Jersey and Trenton,—to Philadelphia,—to Valley Forge,—to Monmouth,—to Morristown, until he swoops down upon the British at Yorktown where, shut in from the sea by the French ships of Count de Grasse, the 13,000 British surrendered to the 15,000 Americans and French.

At Boston, he had 14,000 soldiers; after the defeat at the Long Island battle scarcely 4000; even less at Valley Forge after the failures at Germantown and the Brandywine; nearly thirteen thousand at Monmouth. Generally, the British outnumbered him two to one. In 1781, they had 120,000 men in America, and spent upon the war one hundred million dollars.

It is sometimes said that the Patriots could not have won but for the assistance of the French. It might have been added that the British could not have fought but for their thirty thousand Hessian hirelings and twenty-five thousand American Loyalists, for this was a civil war.

There are several features of the story of George Washington during the Revolution that are noteworthy, some intrinsically, some because of their bearing upon his policies as President of the United States.

His Physical Strength.—There is a well authenticated story that tells of his physical strength. In the early morning of that memorable Christmas at Trenton, he came upon three soldiers trying to lift some tent equipment into a wagon and unable to do so. He leaned over, seizing all the stuff in his very long arms and with one mighty swing heaved the paraphernalia into the wagon. Small wonder that such soldiers as he could keep together admired, worshipped, idolized the amazing man. When, from Valley Forge, he wrote, "I feel for them superabundantly," he wrote, as always in mature life, the truth as he saw it. Often he wept among the slain.

The winter at Morristown two years after Valley Forge was quite as trying as the misery of the huts on the bleak hillsides by the Schuylkill, where Aaron Burr stood as first sentry toward Germantown. The General would sit at dinner

usually over nuts and wine for hours and hours chatting with his officers and guests.

Hard Worker.—Perhaps the most absurd of all the absurd notions that prevails, by a false tradition, regarding Washington is that he was not intellectually clever. Greatness is conceded to him, but not "smartness." He wrote a prodigious number of letters usually in his own hand. Often for weeks and weeks in camp, he wrote letters for six, ten, fifteen hours every day. Some day, his letters will all be printed, unless "piety" continues to conceal such as are unprintable for ordinary circulation. He wrote, wrote, wrote the nation into being. He persuaded the American people to let him convert the militia into an army. Let the British have their towns,—let them have New York, Philadelphia, Charleston. A Patriot Army will win in the end: if only, it can be secured. To get this army, he must convince men everywhere. Therefore, he writes letters everywhere.

Prodigious Letter-Writer.—Many of these letters are phrased in terms that in a literary man would be accounted clever.

When we read of the naked, starving soldiers at Valley Forge and again at Morristown, it is hard to credit the fact that many other Americans were getting rich. Of these, Washington wrote his friend Benjamin Reed, a Philadelphia lawyer, in December, 1778,—"It gives me sincere pleasure to find that the assembly (of Pennsylvania) is so well disposed to second your endeavors in bringing these murderers of our cause, the monopolizers, forestallers and engrossers, to condign punishment. It's much to be lamented that each State, long ere this, has not hunted them down as pests to society and the greatest enemies we have to the happiness of America. I would to God that some one of the most atrocious in each State was hung in gibbets upon a gallows five times as high as the one prepared for Haman. No punishment, in my opinion, is too great for the man who can build his greatness upon his country's ruin."

Severe Critic of Speculators.—At the same time, he wrote to Benjamin Harrison,—"Idleness, dissipation, and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold of most of them; speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches seem to have got the better of every other consideration."

This is not the language of a man weak in thought or in expression and strong only in action.

It is indeed interesting,—in a population of two and a half millions,—a half million being adult males,—only a few thousand dare and care to bear arms for liberty; and their leader, almost the richest man of them all but so short of cash that often for months he cannot even for himself buy some common articles of diet—while some other natives are getting rich and yet richer by staying at home and grabbing dollars.

Let us look at it straight: do we wonder that George Washington was never very enthusiastic over John Hancock? And abhorred the Loyalists and the time-servers? And loved Robert Morris, who went forth one Christmas day and begged $50,000 in gold out of the pockets of his Philadelphia neighbors for the army of Washington?

Brilliant Benedict Arnold.—Washington probably saw through Benedict Arnold. He admired his bravery but he never trusted his character. Arnold had been married but was a widower with three sons early in the war. He had also two natural sons. In this shape, he paid court to the beautiful Tory girl Margaret Shippen. Washington had a friendly sympathy for Arnold until the treason resulted from personal grievances and from desire for wealth. It was a different age. Save in the highest circles, it was more of a disgrace for a woman to be childless than to be an unwedded mother. And Mistress Margaret, in the highest circles, led Benedict Arnold on to his ruin because every girl must marry, and few refused any offers of marriage. But how terrible was the wrath of Washington over the attempt to betray West Point!

The Sincerity of Washington.—The entire war, the entire social revolution may have been a mistake. We paid high prices for independence—learning brutality, seeing corruption, losing the better-born, tearing loose from the strongest nation on earth. But whatever else we may think of Washington, to him belongs admiration for the sincerity of a passion for freedom and an equal love for the soldiers and supporters of freedom. It may be that he saw his chance to be greatest of all; but at least he risked life, limb and estate for the chance.

The Commander-in-Chief organized the victories of Gates

at Saratoga and of Greene in the South. He set the the privateersmen upon their victories on the high seas. He selected those useful adventurers from beyond seas,—Hamilton, Steuben, and above all, LaFayette,—and rejected or subordinated all the rest of the free lances who flocked to the international battle-field.

When in going up the Potomac, a British fleet was turned aside by Lund Washington from burning down the Mount Vernon house, George Washington wrote indignantly that he wished that the house of the Commander-in-chief had been burned—to hearten the Patriots.

And when at Yorktown, the crisis came, he must, in Braddock field fashion, stand where the cannon balls roar and the bullets hit, and lead the fight. When victory at last is seen to have been won, he turns to Knox, and in the triumphant hour that ends six terrible years says,—"The work is done, and well done. Bring me my horse."

Resigns and Asks for Money Due.—In June, 1781, George Washington was forty-nine years of age; and one of the two most famous generals in the world, the other being Frederic the Great of Prussia. There stood to his credit several military achievements,—the clever, even brilliant, exploits at Trenton and Princeton, the terrific fighting at Monmouth where his personal heroism won the victory, and the long strategy of the Yorktown campaign. For two years longer, he had to hold on while his army was neglected. He feared, properly, that England might renew vigorous warfare. He feared and hated, for good cause, as he believed, the Loyalists and time-servers and the Indians. There were encounters in one region and another that history has been too lazy to emphasize. But finally the day of release came. And before Congress, assembled at Annapolis, to which it had retreated from its own weakness, late in 1783, General Washington formally presented his resignation and his bill of expenses.

At Mount Vernon.—The second Mount Vernon period lasted five years. In it Washington repaired his properties, started new enterprises, renewed his social ties, in a measure recovered the health that he had almost lost in the eight weary, vexatious years, and counselled the new nation regarding its future. He was easily first among surviving Americans, a

world-figure, a hero for all ages. He saw himself as "General Washington" and conducted himself, his correspondence and his social relations accordingly. He had redeemed himself from many errors of the past. Some things that he had hitherto enjoyed with a zest beyond most men, he was too old for now,—one was fox-hunting to hounds. But he rode hours daily in the saddle. In two striking ways, his character was changed. He had grown cautious without growing hesitant or timid or indolent; but he measured notions, impulses, words, actions more carefully. And he had grown into a deeper sympathy with poor and plain persons; especially with his soldiers.

Land Purchases in the West.—With the war-interests now but matters of memory, the foresightedness that in him was always his first quality was widely displayed. Alone of all prominent Americans, he saw the meaning of the Western country. There he saw also the increase of his own riches. More than any other American, he saw the advantage of a national government. He was the moving spirit in the convention at Annapolis in the special interest of Maryland and Virginia to which all the States were invited.

President of the Federal Constitutional Convention.—George Washington was sent unanimously as a delegate to the Federal Convention at Philadelphia in 1787 and was chosen unanimously as its President. Through the four months of summer and early fall, he was present at every meeting and left the chair but once to speak; this was to urge the reduction of the minimum of population for Congressional Districts in electing members of the House of Representatives from forty thousand to thirty thousand. He was the first to sign the new Constitution. Tradition declares that as he stood at the table with the quill-pen in his hand to write, he said,—"Should the States reject this excellent Constitution, the probability is that opportunity will never be offered to cancel another in peace; the next will be drawn in blood." It is a sentence that sounds like a soldier and a statesman. That it was the truth, no man can doubt. Nor can any man doubt that the Constitution saved Washington himself from being made, against his own will, King.

We of later generations forget how strong that monarchical movement was. For all that most of "the King's friends" in

America had been exiled and the others reduced to poverty, there were hundreds of thousands who were full of the European traditions of monarchy and aristocracy and nobility. In 1783 Washington had but to say the word; and the Army would have marched to Philadelphia to make him King. He had to resist strenuously the efforts of army leaders to set up a monarchy even against his will.

In truth, however, George Washington had one objection to the Constitution. He thought that it was not strong enough. Just what he would have liked to see changed in it we do not know. He told no one. But neither he nor anyone else foresaw how powerful the Supreme Court would be made through the acumen and strength of Chief Justice Marshall. But he desired the National Government to be strong for the landed citizen's self-government, not for a king's government. He was no Napoleon Bonaparte, no Julius Caesar, no Oliver Cromwell even. He was a new kind of conqueror and rebel; and he made the name George Washington uniquely glorious, so glorious as completely to hide his faults in its overwhelming light. For practical purposes, who cares for the spots on the sun?

The Verdict of History.—The man who had methodically kept accounts of all his expenditures, and who in a business manner after giving up his commission as General to Congress and hearing its praise, had then risen and calmly presented his bill,—sixty-nine thousand dollars,—was a new man in world-history. If, as was charged, he had "grafted" as Commander-in-Chief, no one believes it now. If he desired national independence that he might be free to acquire immense areas of land, no one believes it now. He comes down in American history as a patriotic rich man, an intelligent good man, an heroic soldier, a statesman with big ideas and yet minute interest in details, a just man able to consider and to balance, and yet capable of prompt and vigorous decision. Such a Washington may be partly mythical, but there is a deal of truth in the myth. There is none righteous—perfectly righteous,—none wise—perfectly wise, no, not one.

Elected President of the People of the United States Unanimously.—When the enfranchised 125,000 citizens of the United States cast about for a President to set up the executive and judicial departments of the new

government, they unanimously chose George Washington. 175,000 men and 300,000 women of adult years could not vote. But of the privileged classes, almost none were opposed to him, not even the surviving Loyalists.

In a sense, we already had a legislative department and a legislative tradition. Of courts, there was nothing. Of administrators, there were but few; and these were failures whether officers or clerks of the inefficient, though by 1787 well-meaning, Congress of the Confederation.

Under President Washington, affairs did not drift; he drove them. From the time that his election was certain, until the last days of his second term, he directed, and in a large measure controlled, events and issues. Unquestionably, he was one of the most vigorous of our Chief Magistrates. Between the difficulties that beset George Washington and those besetting Abraham Lincoln, there is no choice. But Washington had two great personal advantages,—private wealth and its ease and prestige, and a large measure of public confidence from the start.

Within a month of his inauguration in New York, Washington had a serious illness,—a carbuncle of the thigh. But with his usual self-control, he went bravely on—guiding affairs from his sick room daily. It is by no means true of most Presidents but it is true of him that his own history is the history of his country. He was the wheel-horse of the whole new National Government.

Rise of Two Parties.—Notwithstanding the personal ascendancy of the President, the country was already divided, from the old days of the Confederation, into the Federalists and anti-Federalists of various degrees. The same struggle has run through American political history to this day. We may use various other names,—centralization and localization, nationalism and sectionalism, federalism and State's rights, socialism and individualism; but they all set up the same distinctions, differences, controversies. George Washington was forced to take Federalists or probable Federalist converts for all offices high and low. The opposition men declined all his proffers of office. He had meant to make one nation out of thirteen colonies in the days of war. He now meant to make one nation out of all the States and parties and interests. All that he did was done in the light of this guiding purpose,

but he wished to get into the service both the friends and the opponents of the existing new government. The latter declined, and Federalist and one-party government came in so that we had a two-party people. This probably saved us from apparent unity with real factionalism and cliquism. As President, he had at last learned to act upon principles carefully determined and thoroughly applied.

Reads His First Message to Congress.—Upon consideration, President Washington decided to read his message to Congress. He rode up to the Hall of Congress in a coach and four with outriders and footmen, and went through a simple, stately, and thoroughly characteristic ceremonial. Jefferson did away with this personal appearance before Congress—in the interest of "Republican simplicity," so he said; but in reality because he was a poor public speaker and a vain man. Washington was no public speaker at all but though dignified and impressive, not at all vain, being essentially modest. He understood well the value of personal display as a means of influencing men's opinions; and he liked to meet people because he had justifiable confidence in his own personality.

His Cabinet.—He sent for all the records of the Confederation and familiarized himself with the state of public affairs. So far as he had any, he formed his theories from his facts. While doing this arduous work, he organized the executive branch into three departments,—war, treasury, and state, to rank in that order,—with an attorney-general to advise in all affairs, and he chose men of high talents whom he knew.

For war he designated Henry Knox of Massachusetts; for treasury, Alexander Hamilton of New York; for state Thomas Jefferson of Virginia; for justice Edmund Randolph of Virginia. The country had no better available material.

The selections for the Supreme Court were not so fortunate,—for Chief Justice, John Jay; for the five associate justices, fairly good lawyers. Jay was then forty-four years old; he had sat in the Continental Congress, being President in 1779, had been Chief Justice of New York, minister to Spain, signer of the Treaty of Ghent, and secretary of foreign affairs for the Confederation. He had written five of the articles in "The Federalist" and had worked with Hamilton in New York State for the ratification of the Constitution, the

first vote in the New York State Convention stood 11 for, 46 against, but the Federalists finally won, being 32 for to 30 against. He was ardent yet restrained, discontented, large-minded, foresighted, in manners by birth and breeding an aristocrat, and in theory a Nationalist.

An Incident with John Hancock.—Washington thought best to proceed early in his administration upon a tour to Boston in order to confirm the New Englanders in Federalism. In Boston, he taught old John Hancock an important social lesson in official etiquette; the Governor of Massachusetts must call upon the President of the United States, whether or not the Governor has gout and more or less nervous prostration.

Indian Affairs.—Having trouble with the Creek Indians of the South, Washington persuaded twenty-nine chiefs to visit him in New York where he gave them wampum and tobacco and secured with their tribe a peace on fairly good terms. When General St. Clair was ambushed out in Indiana by the Six Nations, Washington sent for the sick general and in all his anger,—for he had explained Indian fighting to the over-confident man,—dealt with him kindly; but sent "Mad" Anthony Wayne to recover the lost territory, a wise and somewhat successful measure. Despite British intrigues in the North and Spanish intrigues in the South, the President greatly improved the frontier situations.

The All-Important Compromise.—Gold is government; and the greatest of all the concerns of Washington was getting the treasury into shape for govenmental undertakings. Washington was an "assumptionist," and as such favored taking over the war debts of all the States. Here came the first log-rolling. The creditor North got the State debts taken over by the National Government at par, making an enormous profit contrary to common sense; and the South got the site of the National Capital, at a point on the Potomac fifty miles northeast of Mount Vernon. Both features in the compromise pleased Washington. The site was perhaps well enough in the days when a location on tidewater was important; but its climate always was about the worst in the United States, being unendurable from heat and wet in the summer, and from dampness in winter. Its location proved to be extremely perilous in the War of 1812 and again in the InterState War.

From the far height of more than a hundred years, we know now that the Capital should have been in the hill country of Maryland or of southeastern Pennsylvania.

Alexander Hamilton.—In this business of getting credit and a revenue, the leader was the youthful Alexander Hamilton, by far the most important of all the men in Washington's administrations. Like Jay, the Secretary of the Treasury was of Huguenot descent. Born in 1757, he wrote blazing political pamphlets when but eighteen years of age. He served brilliantly in the battles of the Revolution and in 1777 became Washington's secretary. He led a battalion at Yorktown. He served in Congress in 1782 and '83. At this period, he began to practice law and soon became a member of the New York Legislature, assisted greatly by his fortunate marriage to Eliza Schuyler, daughter of General Philip Schuyler of Albany, the real organizer of the resistance to the invasion of Burgoyne, whom Howe betrayed. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention and wrote most of the articles of "The Federalist" in its defence, which appeared first in the "New York Gazette."

"Assumption" was advocated by Hamilton and opposed by Jefferson; the former won. Next the New Yorker advocated a national bank, which Jefferson said would be unconstitutional; Hamilton won. Soon, we had a national debt of $75,000,000, which tended to the security of the central government. Hamilton urged a protective tariff in the interests of our manufacturers, and Washington supported him in his urgency; but Congress gave to the subject no consistent attention. To get funds to pay the interest on the debt, Hamilton urged excise taxation. And here we have the most important of all the events of Washington's administrations.

The Whiskey Rebellion.—Western Pennsylvania like Vermont and North Carolina was peopled by the Scotch-Irish, so named perhaps because they were neither Scots nor Irish but Saxons who came to England in 800 A. D., moved north into Scotland in 1200 A. D. and west into north Ireland in 1650 A. D. and crossed the Atlantic early in the eighteenth century. There were in America a quarter of a million of these Teutonic adventurers in 1792, mostly in the Appalachians to which they have clung now for two centuries. In Western Pennsylvania, by 1792 they had overridden the Eng-

lish Quakers and the Dutch. They laughed at Hamilton's excise laws; and went on making whiskey tax free despite Washington's orders. In September, 1793, the President sent 15,000 soldiers into Western Pennsylvania; and Hamilton went with them. The Rebellion vanished into thin air; and the nation found itself in secure possession of a large and regular income from perhaps its worst vice of the times,—excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages. "He touched," said Daniel Webster of Hamilton, "the rock of the national resource and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth." But it was no rock,—simply a whiskey still. It was not a national resource but at best a wasteful luxury. The revenue came not gushing but squeezed under the feet of marching soldiers; and Washington was sorry not to lead them, sending his friend General Lee of Virginia instead.

The excise tax meant a respectable and a respected government. The Whiskey Rebellion was the crisis of our early national history. Jefferson as President might have expostulated with the moonshiners, and Buchanan have mourned over them. Washington went after them as he did after the poacher in the old Mount Vernon days: as the later Presidents Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, and Roosevelt would have done.

The Foreign Policy.—The same fibre, stamina and force went into the conduct of foreign relations. France had helped America in the War of Independence and now demanded a closer familiarity with the National Government. But Washington saw two things with intense clearness. First, no nation ever helps another nation beyond the range of its own interests. Individuals may have brotherly kindness even to self-sacrifice. LaFayette was such an individual. But monarchical France was dead: in her place stood radical, fantastic raging France, the terror of the world. Every instinct of Washington was against this new France, now seeking to find herself, and to establish herself among the nations. The temper of Washington was that neither of Burke nor of Mirabeau; but to him Robespierre was abhorrent, a human Satan.

Citizen Genet of France.—In 1792, at the crisis of the French Revolution, George Washington was again unanimously elected President of the United States, and the Capital was moved from New York to Philadelphia. But already Anti-Federalism had become a party, and John Adams was

reëlected Vice-President over Anti-Federalist George Clinton of New York by but 77 electoral votes to 50. The President's proclamation of neutrality in the war between France and England aroused violent objurgations from the French sympathizers because he was not pro-French and from the Anti-Federalists because he assumed the right to issue any proclamation at all. Then came the affair of "Citizen" Genêt, which tried the patience of Washington almost to the limit. Genêt represented the French Republic and commissioned privateersmen out of Charleston, South Carolina. These captured British vessels; and in retaliation British cruisers captured American merchantmen.

Cabinet Changes.—In this storm, Thomas Jefferson resigned from the Cabinet, out of hatred of the land that had caused the death of his wife and an equal hatred of Hamilton, whom he called a "monocrat," meaning thereby one who meant to establish one-man power. Edmund Randolph of Virginia was then given the portfolio of State. Soon Alexander Hamilton was out of the Treasury, and Oliver Wolcott of New York took his place. The War Department came to Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts, who soon went to the State Department. At the end of his administrations, Washington had James McHenry of Maryland in the War Department, and Charles Lee of Virginia as Attorney-General, where William Bradford of Pennsylvania had been one year following Knox. Three different men were the Postmaster Generals, but the Department did not have full Cabinet rank. These were Samuel Osgood of Massachusetts, Pickering and Joseph Habersham of Georgia. Pickering, a very plain man, thus saw three different Departments. These many changes showed the times. They explain in part why Washington would not take a third term.

Jay's Treaty.—In April, 1794, Washington sent John Jay as envoy to England. There he had a deal of strife. In the end after great effort, he managed to get a treaty that might easily have been much worse, but was so far from being satisfactory to American public sentiment that the land was soon aflame with resentment. His treaty secured just three good things,—the surrender of the forts upon the Western frontier, ten million dollars (ultimately) for damages to merchant ships, and open ports in the West Indies to vessels under sev-

enty tons. But it failed in all other of the American claims, including damages for negroes carried off in 1783. We surrendered in two important matters,—agreeing to pay debts due to Englishmen prior to the War, and also not to take the products of the West Indies to Europe for sale.

The excitement of the country was reflected in the Senate where the nominee of the President, John Rutledge, a member of the Court and former Chief Justice of South Carolina, to succeed John Jay as Chief Justice, who resigned, was rejected. In 1796, after a struggle of two years, Washington sent in the name of United States Senator Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, who was confirmed by his former colleagues.

The Farewell Address.—In the meantime, Hamilton, impoverished by trying to live in official Philadelphia upon the always meagre salary of a high public office, and by political expenses and other costs, had left the Cabinet. It was a serious loss to Washington, and it would have been quite as serious for him to have had Hamilton stay longer in his official household. As time passed, and as European character unfolded itself, the season for electing a President drew near. The leading spirits of the country turned to Washington, asking him to take a third term. In 1796 he issued his "Farewell Address," perhaps the most beautiful yet vigorous communication ever written by a public officer in church or in state to his constituents. Hamilton probably wrote most of its phrases. The ideas were Washington's. In the Address, he gave sage counsel, direct warning and noble maxims in the serene tones of a good man whose useful life is about to end. In December of the same year, he appeared before a joint session of both Houses of Congress and spoke briefly. He had come to the laying-down, so he felt, of all the burdens of life.

Threatened War with France.—July, 1798, found Washington, at sixty-six years of age, commander-in-chief of the American armies in the threatened war with France, with Hamilton second in command. But month succeeded month, and on December 14, 1799, before hostilities were declared, George Washington died suddenly.

His Death.—The circumstances of his death were these: a hard ride on the 12th, rain and snow and a cold of the throat on the 13th; bloodletting on the morning of the 14th; and at eventide strangulation by oedematous laryngitis for which the

only known modern cure is tracheotomy and special diet for the restoration of the physical strength. In short, three things conspired to finish suddenly a no longer hale old man,—hard exercise, bad winter weather on Virginia tidewater, and medical ignorance. It may be suggested that Washington's habit of drinking hot rum before rising in the morning,—a habit contracted in the army camp,—had weakened a throat never strong at best.

A resolution in Congress pronounced George Washington "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens." And General Lee in his funeral oration pronounced him "First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." The phrases have rung and echoed about the world for four generations.

His Great Private Fortune.—The estate of Washington amounted to $800,000 in value, and descended to his widow, who survived him three years. The great increase was due in part to the coming of settlers upon lands shrewdly chosen in the Mohawk valley and in the District of Columbia. In part, it was the saved profit of years and years of selling of flour and other plantation products in the markets of London, for except in the deepest years of the War, Washington was a merchant as well as planter. It was the largest estate left by any American up to that time. The thousand slaves at Mount Vernon, themselves mostly born there, were a considerable part of this fortune. Inevitably criticism has followed the general and statesman beyond the grave. Two other patriots, Robert Morris and Thomas Nelson, died penniless. Nor does so vast an accumulation comport with modern views of public servants in our highest offices or in any offices. So much of land frauds, of money and banking thefts and of army corruption has been unearthed regarding these early patriot days, so much of the efforts of capitalists to start with woman's and child's labor factories and mining enterprises, so much is definitely known of the frauds and vices of certain of Washington's friends that every lover of heroes instinctively turns away from too deep inquiry. Critics have raised the question as to why the stepchildren turned out badly, why Martha Washington was kept so much in the background, why the President condoned at least one admitted large defalcation. The answers do not wholly satisfy. The stepchildren had too

much money and bad blood and worse associations. Washington really was too busy with great affairs to be a good husband. And he considered it so necessary to have perfect respect on the part of the people for the new government that he preferred to hide a crime.

We are left, even at the worst, with glory enough for one man, for even the "father of his country." He was a mighty figure striding audaciously and unflinchingly athwart the destiny of the greatest empire of the world, ending its hope of being another Roman Empire, and himself coming out serenely upon the winning side.

George Washington turned in its course the history of mankind toward greater human liberty. Upon his tremendous physical strength and endurance, upon his flawless courage and upon his fortunate possession of private property in an epoch of change, as upon a fulcrum, pressed by the lever of man's will to freedom, the political world was shifted in its orbit. Whence came results that would have astonished and dismayed himself.

CHAPTER II

John Adams

1797-1801
1735-1826

16 States 1800—Population 5,308,483

Politics changed by death of Washington—early life—educated at Harvard—Latin teacher—student of theology and of law—married Abigail Smith, a remarkable woman—the Stamp Act—defended British soldiers of Boston Massacre—member of Massachusetts General Court—member of Continental Congress—floor leader—Chief Justice of Massachusetts—peace commissioner—other diplomatic services—Vice-President of the United States—heir-apparent and strong supporter of Washington—President—opposed both France and England—unpopularity of Hamilton—the French troubles—spoke in person in Congress—X. Y. Z. letters—war afoot and Federalists split—Alien and Sedition Acts—Adams Gallican rather Anglican—Hamilton caused

defeat of Adams for reëlection and let Jefferson in—appointed John Marshall Chief Justice of Supreme Court—a very bitter old age—envious even of Washington's fame—wholly right in opposition to Hamilton—an able man though defeated.

Politics Changed by Death of Washington.—The sudden death of George Washington changed the face of American politics. The mentor of public men was gone. John Adams, but three years his junior, was destined to survive him twenty-seven years; and Thomas Jefferson, eleven years his junior, also twenty-seven years. Alexander Hamilton, most trusted of Washington's subordinates, was to last but four years after his chief. What might have been, these facts suggest: Had Adams died and Washington lived! Had Jefferson died and Hamilton lived! After all, had not Washington really worked hardest?

John Adams was the choice of Washington as his successor, rather than Hamilton, in much the same way and for much the same reason, as in 1908 Roosevelt preferred Taft to Elihu Root. Hamilton was not available, being personally unpopular. John Adams, however, was not elected unanimously. In this period, the State Legislatures chose the electors, and in 1796 the verdict of the electoral college was seventy-one votes for Adams to sixty-eight for Thomas Jefferson. Such a political situation is certainly food for reflection. How different would the history of the country have been, had the three majority been for Jefferson in 1797! It was before the time of party conventions. In Congressional elections and on the floor of Congress, Federalism and Anti-Federalism fought out the question of Presidential nominations. By so narrow a margin, Washington was spared seeing his keenest critic become President.

Early Life.—John Adams was born October 30, 1735, at Braintree, Massachusetts, not in that part of the town which afterwards became Quincy. As a boy, he was a near neighbor of John Hancock and but a year older. His great-grandfather was also grandfather of Sam Adams, "the famous Adams," with whom this younger second cousin was often confused both in America and in Europe. Though the father of John Adams was but a poor farmer, not a well-to-do maltster like the father of Samuel Adams, he contrived to send his son to

Harvard, where he was graduated as bachelor of arts at the age of nineteen, being in the class next after that of John Hancock. Despite great unlikeness in fortune and equally great unlikeness in character, these three were closely associated from early manhood until death.

Educated at Harvard.—Upon graduation, young, stocky, industrious John Adams went forty miles west of Worcester and set up as a "grammar school" teacher,—that is, as a teacher of Latin and Greek. Like so many other men before and since, he looked upon teaching as a stepping-stone, and out of school hours and on holidays and vacation, for more than two years, studied law diligently. Here was no Patrick Henry to crowd into law upon six weeks' cramming and with no substantial foundation of academic study. On the contrary, John Adams studied not only law but also theology and only two things determined him in choosing the bar rather than the church as a career,—the first, his convinced opposition to the orthodoxy of the times, and the second, thrift, for he saw no pecuniary gains in what was to him the more fascinating field. Adams would have been glad to be the minister of a church in those days of ministerial primacy. He would have been glad to be a theological scholar in those days of closet-study. But the pay was poor, and the gateway strictly barred against heresies. Adams came to the bar in 1758, celebrating his admission in Boston by a fine dinner to his elders, and then going home to practice at Braintree. Like Patrick Henry, he quickly gained a large practice in small cases. Three years later, he heard James Otis in that magnificent declaration over the writs of assistance, "Taxation without representation is tyranny."

Marriage.—In 1764, being twenty-eight years of age, and contrary to the advice of the Nestor of the Boston bar,—his friend Jonathan Sewall,—John Adams took to himself a wife, by name Abigail Smith, a lady of nineteen years of the already famous Quincy family and a minister's daughter, like Elizabeth Checkley, first wife of his cousin Sam Adams. It was to be no ordinary marriage.

We read but little of the wife of that marvellous orator, Patrick Henry, other than that she was the devoted mother of his six children and his admiring, worshipful consort. The second wife of Sam Adams and the common law wife of

Franklin did not greatly influence their careers. The case of Martha Washington was different. She gave to her husband the largest of the three fortunes that made his great career financially easy; she did more, she managed his estates and his household and his social affairs with a skill and success that notably contributed to his own immense services to his nation and thereby to mankind. She was his seconder everywhere save on the field of battle. The fact that her second marriage was childless, much as both lamented it, gave to Mrs. Washington the more time and energy to help her husband in domestic and social affairs. She never concerned herself in politics. Without her, George Washington might still have been an important man; but he would have been far less successful.

His Wife a Remarkable Woman.—But the case of Abigail Smith, wife of John Adams, is different. She was the mother of John Quincy Adams and of four other children. She lived until 1818 to die of typhus fever. And she had little property of her own. What she was, however, in herself as intellect and character greatly concerns American history. She belongs to that select and glorious company of wives who have inspired their husbands to great enterprises,—such a wife as James Russell Lowell had in Maria White, Abraham Lincoln in Mary Todd for all her eccentricities (doubtless exaggerated by report) and Grover Cleveland (who deserved less well) in Frances Folsom.

From the days of the courtship to those of her last illness, Abigail Smith kept teaching John Adams many things; and was his confidant in all matters, public and private, often beyond discretion. She turned a bristling, money-getting, eager, narrow "business man's lawyer" first into a patriot and then into a statesman, ranking at least in the first half-dozen of the second half of the eighteenth century. And it was both fight and work to achieve this end, for the original instincts of John Adams were mere activity, pride in personal success, property-acquirement, fame and power. His faults were many, —vanity, short-sightedness, uncharitableness, parsimony, impetuosity, pugnacity. The correspondence of John and Abigail Adams is a veritable mine of information with many ores,—among them wifely counsel, large-mindedness, patience, and

other good qualities. John Adams had married above his class.

The Stamp Act.—The first important public appearance of Adams was in 1765 when he persuaded his town to adopt resolutions against the Stamp Act. At this same period, John Hancock employed him and paid him handsomely in that famous matter of the sloop "Liberty,"—ominous name to alleged tyrants! He had now become important enough for Hutchinson and the Tories to try to bribe him by an offer of the post of advocate-general. But Mrs. Abigail would have none of it. In 1770, having removed to Boston, he defended the British soldiers who had taken part in the Boston Massacre; and seconded the acquittal of all but two who, taking "benefit of clergy," escaped with branding upon the hand. This action, entirely professional, incurred the displeasure of the Liberals; and brought him the paltry fee of nineteen guineas and no word of thanks from the soldiers. In the same year, through the political maneuvers of that astute cousin of his, Sam Adams, master of Boston town-meeting, John Adams became, however, a member of the Massachusetts General Court.

Until 1774, he is primarily the lawyer and manages to accumulate through his litigious neighbors' quarrels a competence, no more. By the same age, Benjamin Franklin had acquired wealth and Patrick Henry a comfortable property. Samuel Adams had become poor. These are essential facts in the resultant situation. Franklin was in a position to live abroad as a diplomat, Henry grew isolated and independent, Sam Adams had to keep in the background, and John Adams for all his self-assertiveness must defer to the rich men in Congress,—to Hancock, Dickinson, Mifflin, Lee, Livingston, the Morrises, and Washington. The Adamses were comparatively poor men. Most of the members of the Continental Congress were rich or at least well-to-do.

In the Continental Congress.—The great years of John Adams were 1774, 1775, 1776, and 1777. In the first Congress, he was dined and wined beyond good sense by the Philadelphians; and he kept back in his soul his pressing desire to act. In order to hold the South, Massachusetts must defer to Virginia. In the second Congress, Sam and John worked to-

gether,—Sam quietly in conversations and John openly in speeches,—to make George Washington commander-in-chief and thereby to adopt the New England army as the affair of Congress. The battle of Bunker Hill, though a defeat, helped their plan, and the Virginia Colonel was set over Yankee troops. Next year, the Adamses worked for the Declaration. Richard Henry Lee of Virginia was their ablest coadjutor. To which of the four,—Thomas Jefferson, Sam Adams, John Adams, and Lee,—belongs most of the credit of the Declaration affords opportunity for argument. The first man wrote it; Sam Adams persuaded Congress to have the committee appointed and directed to write it; John made by far the most eloquent speech in favor of it; and Lee moved the original resolution for independence. There is glory enough for all of them; glory enough for the entire fifty-seven men who signed it unanimously.

In 1774 John Adams had written to his friend Sewall,—"Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish with my country, is my unalterable determination." And now, July 2, 1776, he was in as great peril as General Washington himself. They were all to live or to die together. Conciliation was a dead issue.

Peace Commissioner.—In 1777, after two strenuous years in which he had served on ninety committees of a Congress weltering in folly and been chief justice of Massachusetts, Adams was sent as a commissioner of peace and commerce to France, with the especial business of trying to end the war with Great Britain. Through vast troubles and petty squabbles, for more than ten years, he remained abroad in one capacity and another as American representative. He had to learn slowly and painfully what Washington had divined at once,—that official France was using America as an instrument for the ruin of England. With John Adams, American "shirt-sleeves" diplomacy began; and as against Count de Vergennes, French minister, it began ill. Adams wished to end the war. Both England and France sought, for complementary reasons, to prolong it; England hoping against hope to wear down the colonies, as she still called them, until France tired of helping them, France hoping with great hope to keep the war alive for the wearing down of England and caring nothing for the Patriots beyond their still keeping the field.

Other Diplomatic Services.—For all his errors, of which the worst was his almost total inability to understand the usefulness of Franklin and his consequent discourtesy to that wisest of men, John Adams rendered several signal services to America. He negotiated the treaty with Holland in 1781 and secured loans. He negotiated the treaty of peace in 1782 and 1783 and deserves the credit of saving the fishing-rights in Newfoundland. Returning home with fame, he was elected Vice-President. This first Congress with him as President of the Senate upon twenty tie votes supported the policies of President Washington. He spoke upon the floor freely as Senator-at-large. It was "as heir apparent," so he wrote to his wife, in 1796, that he succeeded Washington as President. Upon the Federalism of John Adams, the destiny of the nation turned.

Vice-President.—The story of his eight years as Vice-President is not dull, but much of it is disagreeable. He was in controversy both with Hamilton and with Jefferson not because he took middle ground between centralization and localization of governmental functions but mainly because he took ground against both France and England, accepting literally and vigorously the warning of Washington against entangling foreign alliances. His vigorous hostility to France was due not only to the change of its government to the Directory and later to the Consulship of Napoleon but also to his thorough understanding that—strange though it sounds—America might and did owe gratitude to such individuals as LaFayette and Rochambeau and D'Estaing and the soldiers and sailors who risked and in many instances lost their lives in her patriot cause, and yet did not owe much gratitude to the French nation or people. His equally vigorous hostility to England was due partly to a grudge against her for insolent treatment of himself as commissioner of peace and later as accredited minister at her Court but mainly to his knowledge that by economic measures she was trying to ruin the sea trade of her former colonies.

Reputed an Unsuccessful President.—The administration of President Adams is commonly accounted unsuccessful; and various explanations are set forth. One explanation is that Hamilton, who was the real leader of the Federalist party was hostile to him. Hamilton himself could not be elected

President. He had been born and reared in his youth in the West Indies, and he never acquired sufficiently popular manners to overcome the consequent prejudice. Even in 1797 he was but forty years old, and to this day no man but forty years old ever has made enough friends to win the Presidency. Hamilton was popularly considered a New York city man, a local man till his death, a corrupt representative of narrow commercial interests, for all the fact that his statesmanship was on a larger order than that of any other man save Jefferson and Adams only.

Another explanation,—not too lightly to be cast aside,—is that Adams had lived abroad for the last ten years and in consequence had lost sight of the domestic situation and failed to understand the now rising politicians and political questions. Still another is that he had grown censorious, arrogant, egotistic, and opinionated, which, despite his wife's counsel, was measureably the case. Moreover, though naturally equal and levelling in his conduct and social notions, he had learned abroad how strong is the vulgar respect for uniforms and ceremonials; and he had become overbearing not only outwardly but also in spirit. Perhaps the influence of Washington in this respect had been unfavorable.

A fourth explanation is that in fact he was always essentially right and that the verdict of history will approve nearly everything that he did and nearly everything that he advocated doing. It was indeed a sorely troublous time, as the history of his administration shows. Perhaps, Washington in a third term might have done better; yet few other Presidents have done as well in their great difficulties.

A fifth explanation is illness in his family that kept him home at Quincy; and the mails were slow.

Let us see what one of the great difficulties was.

Rich Gouverneur Morris of Revolutionary fame and of brilliant memory to this day as French minister had opposed the Revolutionary movement in France so strongly that the Directory forced his recall. Then poor James Monroe was sent, and he became so Jacobinical that in self-defence the administration recalled him. Then magnificent General C. C. Pinckney was sent,—a former aide-de-camp of Washington and a signer of the Constitution. France would have none of him: he had been educated in Oxford, England, though a South

Carolinian by birth. Adams wished to send clever Thomas Jefferson who would be acceptable, but he had just been elected Vice-President, Pinckney receiving the third number of votes, according to the system of the time in the Electoral College whereby the electors each voted for two men, the first and second becoming President and Vice-President respectively. The judicious Madison declined the mission. And now because Jefferson could not go, the Directory chose to assume that the hated Adams would not send him; and launched a new commercial measure to teach America a lesson.

Appears Before Congress.—On May 15, 1797, President Adams convened Congress in special session, himself making a speech in person. He advocated a strong navy; he was the man who had put George Washington in possession first of an army and next of a navy in the War of Independence. This proposition was laughed at. But at last, in early September, two envoys were dispatched,—John Marshall who now comes forward for the first time prominently and that Elbridge Gerry who was one of the three members of the Constitutional Convention to withdraw at the end and to oppose its ratification by their States. They joined Pinckney in France. The French minister Talleyrand demanded large bribes for himself and various of the Directory before he would formally recognize their mission. In January, upon the refusal of this infamous, though perhaps not unusual, proposal, another decree was launched against American shipping and trade. Marshall took his passports. Pinckney withdrew from Paris. Gerry, the Anti-Federalist, alone remained.

The X. Y. Z. Letters.—Then through the W. X. Y. Z. letters came the exposure in Congress of the attempt to compel the payment of bribes; and the country boiled over in wrath. "Hail Columbia" was sung in the streets of the towns and cities. Gerry was recalled. It was a dreadful time for Vice-President Jefferson, a partisan pro-Gallican. Congress passed and the President signed the Alien Act. This authorized the President to banish foreigners who were making trouble; but none were ever banished. Congress passed also the Sedition Act, which directed the fining and imprisonment of publishers of false and malicious charges against the President or other officers of government, or against government itself. Several offenders were fined, and one was imprisoned. Jefferson led

Kentucky to answer with resolutions which in a modified form were passed also by the Virginia Legislature with the support of Madison. These announced the doctrine that the States might annul Acts of Congress.[1]

War Afoot and Federalists Split.—To the actions of France the American Government replied by making George Washington commander-in-chief of the army; and preparations for war on land and on sea went on actively. Several French ships were actually captured. Here arose the final Hamilton-Adams cause of feud. Washington desired Hamilton for second in command. Adams did not, but in time yielded,—and Hamilton never forgave him. This quarrel now completely split the Federalist Party; and thereby helped Jefferson who was getting on with his new Democratic Republican Party. A fierce storm raged for months over a new embassy to France. At last three commissioners were dispatched in November, 1799, by which time Talleyrand was out of office. Adams had saved the country from actually declaring war against France, and in so doing had enraged the political leader of the Federalist party, Alexander Hamilton. National patriotism and sound humanity had been political suicide for the President. In 1815 he wrote: "I desire no other inscription over my grave than this: 'Here lies John Adams, who took upon himself the responsibility of the peace with France in the year 1800.' "

Cabinet Changes.—For his Cabinet, John Adams in 1797 had taken all of the Secretaries of Washington. His notion was that the Cabinet should be a relatively permanent body. Its membership, however, for his administration was as follows, viz.:

State,—Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts (three years), John Marshall of Virginia.

Treasury.—Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut (brief term), Samuel Dexter of Massachusetts (nearly four years).

War,—James McHenry of Maryland (brief term), John Marshall (three years), Samuel Dexter (brief term), Roger Griswold of Connecticut (brief term).

Attorney-General,—Charles Lee of Virginia (nearly four years), Theophilus Parsons of Massachusetts (brief term).

Postmaster-General,—Joseph Habersham of Pennsylvania.

The flurry of the proposed war with France is shown in the

[1]See p. 284, *infra.*

changes in the War Department; and that of the Alien and Sedition Acts in the office of the Attorney-General.

Hamilton Breaks Adams.—During his administration, because of illness in his family, Adams was repeatedly away from Washington, one year for seven months continuously. The Secretaries did about as they pleased. In a way, it is true that the climate of the lower Potomac valley was responsible for his ruin since it was intolerable to his family. Perhaps, the new White House had something to do with this. There was no adequate drainage in that morass in 1797 or for long years thereafter.

But the outcome of all his Cabinet and Congressional troubles was that Adams had to force some of his chief advisers (and should have forced others) to resign. He suspected their loyalty to himself, a suspicion that we now know was fully warranted. They served Adams but obeyed Hamilton. So furious was the real Federalist leader against Adams that he intended to force Washington to come back for a third term; but the broken chieftain suddenly died. Hamilton wrote a scathing diatribe against Adams, to be circulated confidentially among the party leaders. But Aaron Burr got a copy and printed it, sending it broadcast. This ended Federalism in the executive branch.

In the Electoral College in February, 1801, the votes stood, Jefferson 73, Burr 73, Adams 65, Pinckney 75.

The hatred of Hamilton had carried too far. Those who desire to measure him accurately should add this item to such other facts as, for example, that while enriching the capitalist-speculators by assuming the State debts, by his advice and influence the new government repudiated the $100,000,000 of paper currency omitted as a forced loan during the days of the War and of the Confederation, thereby robbing every poor man in the land. Multiplying many fold the wealth of capitalists and finally wiping out the assets of the poor may have been good finance; but at this distance, it does not seem in accord with justice.

John Marshall, Federalist, Becomes Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.—The last important single official act of President John Adams was to name his Secretary of State, John Marshall, as head of the Supreme Court. This skilful

reasoner and determined centralizationist, this supporter of land-getters and of capitalists, was to make Federalism part and parcel of the practice of the National Government and to convert the Supreme Court into a Constitutional Convention with absolute and final power.

So bitter was the feeling of Adams against Jefferson that he left Washington the morning of inauguration day. He felt "disgraced," so he said. The world was all wrong. He had deserved a second term.

In Unhappy Old Age.—With this scene, John Adams practically dropped out of public life. He spent his many remaining years at the home that he had purchased in early manhood in Quincy. He lived to see his brilliant son, John Quincy Adams, elected sixth President of the United States. In his early life, he had been valetudinarian in health, and in his old age, he was fretful and despondent. In 1814, he wrote to Rufus King, "Can there be any deeper damnation in this universe than to be condemned to a long life in danger, toil and anxiety: to be rewarded with abuse, insult and slander; and to die at seventy, leaving to an amiable wife and to five amiable children nothing for inheritance but the contempt, hatred and malice of the world? How much prettier a thing it is to be a disinterested patriot like Washington and Franklin, live and die among the hosannas of the multitude, and leave half a million to one child or to no child!"

On the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1826, John Adams, being ninety years old, died. His last words were: "Thomas Jefferson still survives." A few hours earlier, at Monticello, in Virginia, the man who wrote the Declaration and who defeated him for the second term as President, also died. It is a coincidence that all history reports with a strange sense of nearness of the Power who manages us all.

Patriotic and Able Though Often Mistaken and Envious.—But for one serious fault, John Adams would be known as a great though considerably mistaken statesman. He could not divine the motives of men. He was no politician. The great statesman is always something of a politician.

It is well to note here that, after the War, Washington

would have been the first citizen of the land whether President or not. How great the handicap of Adams was for Washington to survive until the time of settling the question of the nomination for second term, the President understood better than any of his contemporaries. Hamilton, who degenerated miserably in his later days, being found out for what he really was, used the prestige of Washington to help effect the political ruin of Adams. Of all the serious disadvantages of the American short-term Presidency, this is the most unfortunate,—that greater or supposedly greater predecessors have willingly or unwillingly contributed to the undoing of the men actually in office. In the case of George Washington, it was Adams alone who was at fault from jealousy, for he had an absolutely loyal friend in the retired hero. Probably John Adams was right. The mischief-maker was Alexander Hamilton, whom Adams so long outlived yet never could forgive. He did forgive Thomas Jefferson and died at amity with him. But it is so much harder to forgive an enemy in one's own household. Between them, Adams and Hamilton ruined the Federalist Party.

CHAPTER III

Thomas Jefferson

1801-1809
1743-1826

16-17 States
Admitted: Ohio.

Population 6,000,000

Four orders of mankind—early life—educated at William and Mary—marriage—wealth—Dabney Carr—Monticello and the Italian garden—the real nature of the struggle between England and America—the colonial position—member House of Burgesses—"A Summary View" published—member Second Continental Congress—"Declaration of Independence"—member Virginia Assembly—the Virginia social revolution—recorded in statutes—church and state separated—primogeniture abolished—Governor of State—army of Cornwallis raids his property—a note regarding Thomas Nelson, a patriot—Dr. Benedict

Arnold raids Virginia—Jefferson impeached for incapacity—wife died —"Notes on Virginia"—scandals—Annapolis Convention—member of Congress—decimal money—Virginia gives to nation the Northwest Territory—visits Boston—proceeds to France as diplomat—sends sculptor to make bust of Washington—the French Revolution—convent experience of his daughters—Secretary of State—bargain with Hamilton—National Bank—Genêt—argument against alliance with France—retires to Monticello—as farmer and scientist—debts—Vice-President—a letter-writer, not a speaker—elected President by one vote, brought to him by the Sedition Act—Aaron Burr, Vice-President—his Cabinet—government policies—an economist, decentralizationist, peace-at-any-price man—the Louisiana Purchase—destroyed Barbary pirates—Lewis and Clarke—reëlected under changed statutes —George Clinton, Vice-President—the Embargo Acts—Burr killed Hamilton, both bad men—alleged "treason" of Burr in the Mississippi Valley—acquitted—President foiled Supreme Court—house at Monticello—founded University of Virginia—sold his library to Congress—most popular man in all American history—faults—compared with Washington—amiable, brilliant—teacher of Americanism—first complete democrat.

BIRTHPLACE.—The third President of the United States was born April 13, 1743, at Shadwell, Virginia. The University of Virginia at Charlottesville is but a few miles distant. Shadwell included in its limits what is now Monticello. The heart of Thomas Jefferson always centered at this spot.

FOUR ORDERS OF MANKIND.—Mankind may be classified in four orders,—lords, mechanics, helots and poets. The lords rule, the mechanics construct, the helots serve, the poets create. Thomas Jefferson was a poet; in this sense, that with high imagination, he saw visions and dreamed dreams. It is a rude and arbitrary classification,—few men belong wholly to any one of these orders. Washington was the lord, and Adams the mechanic. The pity of it is that we have had some Presidents virtually but helots.

It was this high imagination of Jefferson that has given to him his splendid rank not only in America but everywhere. It also gave to him nearly all of his errors and failings, several of which were indeed serious. Though in action inferior to Washington, history ranks Jefferson above both earlier Presidents, not indeed for definite services rendered but for the brilliant exposition of a political and social philosophy that

has had a profound influence upon men and nations and for the organization of a party to profess and to maintain it.

History judges men mainly by the quality of their best achievements, partly by the quantity of their achievement, and very little by their personal virtues and sins except in so far as their virtues and sins affected the total of their performance.

Educated at William and Mary.—In the early lives of some great men, there have been situations by no means normal. Ben Franklin virtually ran away from home and took to adventures in towns here and abroad. George Washington lost his father early and went to live away from home. While still but a lad, he was brought into personal relations with great men and set to great undertakings. Like Washington, Thomas Jefferson lost his father when but fourteen years old. At seventeen, he went to the college of William and Mary at Williamsburg and remained there seven years, associating in familiar scholarly and social relations with its leading citizens, the governor of the colony, the professor of mathematics and philosophy in the college and George Wythe, destined to become the foremost jurist of America, with whom later shrewd John Marshall read law and brilliant Henry Clay served as secretary.

In physique, Jefferson was slightly taller even than Washington, being six feet two and a half inches in height. But otherwise, physically, he was inferior to Washington. He had reddish hair, hazel eyes, and a slender body. His mother was a Randolph. As the eldest son, both from his father and from his mother he inherited fair estates, lifting him above the financial struggle of poor Patrick Henry. Though his wealth was far less than Washington's, yet in social position Jefferson was rather his superior because of the Randolph blood and characteristic intellectual distinction.

His early law practice was large and profitable beyond that of Patrick Henry in his own colony, or that of John Adams in Massachusetts. Yet he had no gifts of elocution or public address; and won and held his clients as an office consulting lawyer and business expert.

Marriage.—On New Year's Day, January, 1772, at twenty-eight years of age, Jefferson took to wife a childless widow of twenty-four years, Martha (Wayles) Skelton. Scarcely a year

later her father died, and Jefferson, who already owned two thousand acres of land and fifty slaves, found himself in possession of forty thousand more acres and a hundred and twenty-five slaves, and a debt of nineteen thousand dollars due in gold in England. He had become what John Adams called "a baron of the South." Not being a business man like Washington, he carried the debt instead of selling enough land to pay it; and the debt carried him into financial misery in his old age.

Dabney Carr.—His own sister Martha married his yet more brilliant neighbor and friend Dabney Carr; and life opened up all its blessings to him. His wife was a beautiful woman, blonde, cheerful, a good singer. Children came to make the home complete. The Jefferson lands included a fine round hill,—in a way, a mountain,—and there Jefferson, buoyant, artistic, constructive, hospitable, began at once to build the house and to clear and fashion in landscape style the estate that he called Monticello. The Jefferson lands included also the Natural Bridge of rock with a river running through its archway; up that rock the lad Washington, wandering a hundred miles from home, had clambered to carve his immortal name in its enduring stone.

At Monticello.—Dabney Carr set afoot the intercolonial committees of correspondence that foreran the Continental Congress. Carr was a bright and shining light in these days. And when, being not quite thirty years of age, he died suddenly, Jefferson must face his second sorrow,—the first being the death of his own father. The brothers-in-law had been the closest of companions; and this death made great changes in the situation of Jefferson. He took the widow Carr and his nieces and nephews into his own home to stay as members of the family. He now had a great domestic establishment upon his hands,—there were thirty-four whites and eighty-three blacks upon the home estate. Jefferson had an Italian gardener and a French cook. He set out trees, experimented in grains and berries, knew the name of every horse, cow, pig upon his farms, and put up building after building. He rode and walked for exercise and read for amusement and for instruction. Often of an afternoon or evening, he played upon the violin while his wife played the spinet.

The Nature of the Struggle Between England and America.—"Is he discontented and set on reform?" The cynic asks next, "Is he ill?" and next, "Has he made a failure of his private business?" And last, "Is he unhappy at home?" Thomas Jefferson was set on reform and discontented; but he was in superb health and his private business was flourishing, both his law practice and his planting. His home-life was ideal. The reason why he was discontented and set upon reform was because certain matters needed reforming, and he was great enough to see the discrepancies between existing facts and eternal right and justice and strong enough to dare to try to correct the evils in which he and his neighbors and all Americans were apparently becoming trapped and snared and enmeshed.

Our Colonial Position.—The British Empire belonged to the Crown and was governed in every part by a Parliament of two Houses, one consisting of hereditary lords and the other of elected commoners, all residents of the British Isles. It was but human nature that the King and Parliament should think of the immediate welfare first, and perhaps almost solely, of themselves and of the British Isles. The Islanders were superior, the colonials inferior. And it was but human nature that the colonials should resent both the airs of superiority and the actions designed to enforce the assumed superiority. A discussion of details,—the suppression of colonial manufactures, the repression of colonial trade and commerce, the taxes, the bureaucracy of haughty rulers, the isolation through six weeks' average distance across the ocean,—is outside of the scope of this work.

Parliament could not successfully rule America. At first, the hope was that Parliament would cease to try to rule America and would allow the colonial legislatures to rule the several colonies, but that America would remain under the protection of the British Crown and, of course, ready in war to defend the interests of the Crown. As this hope died out, some preferred to endure the known evils and became ardent Loyalists, while others began to dream of and to work for independence as a nation. Of all these latter, Sam Adams of Massachusetts was foremost to act. Not much behind him in time and not at all in energy were Patrick Henry, Dabney Carr, and Thomas Jefferson.

Member Virginia House of Burgesses.—In 1769, Jefferson became a member of the dignified Virginia House of Burgesses. In 1774 he drew up, for the enlightenment and guidance of the Virginia Convention to choose delegates to the proposed Continental Congress, one of his most famous papers "A Summary View of the Rights of British America." Edmund Burke in England, perhaps the greatest, certainly the most profound, of her statesmen, revised it and pushed it to a wide circulation in England. In 1775, Jefferson became a member of the Second Continental Congress and served with success and favor upon important committees. He drafted several of those eloquent papers which were sent perseveringly to the King in the desire to persuade him to a wiser and a gentler course.

Writes the Declaration of Independence.—In 1776, Jefferson was chairman of the committee to write the Declaration,—the other members being Franklin, John Adams, Sherman of Connecticut and R. R. Livingston of New York. His literary skill, his zeal, eloquence, perfect mastery of all the facts, and unquestionable patriotism led the other members to ask him to write the draft. His colleagues of the committee changed it slightly, Congress changed it considerably, John Adams argued for it brilliantly, and Sam Adams steered it through. On July 4th Congress passed it, and Hancock as President and Charles Thomson as Secretary signed it. On August 2, the officers and most of the others signed a new copy engrossed on parchment. The last signature,—that of a new member of Congress, Thornton of New Hampshire,—was attached in November. It is only in a technical sense that it was signed unanimously. Several delegates left Congress rather than sign it; but their colonies immediately replaced these men with enthusiastic patriots, who did sign it. The Declaration is neither the wisest nor the ablest of the productions of Thomas Jefferson; but it drove home at once to the mark, and had at once and has to this day a wonderful influence upon the hearts of men.

Like much of the philosophy of Jefferson, it overshot the mark by overstatement; but mankind has always admired hyperbole that emphasizes truth. It may be stretching truth to say that "all men are created equal," and that they have "certain unalienable rights," to "life, liberty and the pursuit

of happiness." The Pennsylvanians had put it more explicitly, affirming that all men have the right to own property and to work for adequate wages. Jefferson cut out the Quaker certitudes and put in his own poetry, but the essential truth is in his fine phrases. Eloquence that moves men does not specify, or hedge, or limit its terms.

The Virginia Political and Social Revolution.—Jefferson, under a rule against reëlections, soon left Congress to serve for two and a half years in the State Assembly; he himself considered this position pleasanter and more honorable. The Assembly then proceeded to abolish entail of real estate and to release lands thereby, to abolish primogeniture and to make all children equal heirs, to set aside the establishment of the Church, and to create a complete free common elementary and collegiate educational system. This was every whit the work of a true statesman and wise humanitarian; it redeemed Virginia from a fixed aristocracy and an equally fixed theocracy.

Governor of Virginia.—In 1779, Jefferson succeeded Patrick Henry as Governor of the State. It was for Virginia the gloomiest period of the Revolution.

In January, 1781, while Jefferson was still Governor, the person of whom George Washington wrote these terrible words, "So hackneyed in villainy and so lost to all sense of honor and shame that while his faculties will enable him to continue his sordid pursuits, there will be no time for remorse. . . . He wants feeling," the traitor Benedict Arnold invaded Virginia from the seacoast. In June, came the Cornwallis raid under Tarleton from North Carolina. And Jefferson was impeached for incapacity.

In April, he lost a daughter, the third of his children to die. He resigned and went home to his family and friends.

Two days after his resignation, a detachment of raiders from the army of Cornwallis destroyed much of his property, cut the throats of his thoroughbred colts, and carried away many of his slaves, to die in British prison ships. Mrs. Jefferson and himself barely escaped capture. Their escape saved King George from answering an ugly question,—for the author of the Declaration was now as hateful to him as Sam Adams.

THE TERRIBLE COST TO JEFFERSON.—At Yorktown, Cornwallis occupied as headquarters the finest of its mansions—that of Thomas Nelson who had succeeded Jefferson as Governor. The American artillery destroyed it.

By getting himself elected a member of the Virginia Assembly, Jefferson defeated the impeachment charges against himself as former governor, wherein he was fortunate. Nelson ended a bankrupt.

But the strain of life was proving too hard for Mrs. Jefferson, who broke down completely. In September, 1782, at forty-three years of age, she died, with but three of her six children surviving. The death-rate tells volumes of the turmoil and anxiety of the times, for Mrs. Jefferson was by nature a vigorous woman.

"NOTES ON VIRGINIA."—In the dark years of his impeachment, of his watching his failing wife, of his sorrow over her death, Jefferson found distraction in the most charming of the products of his pen, "The Notes on Virginia," which, however, he did not publish until 1787.

It is pitiful that there cling to George Washington and to Thomas Jefferson in the common tradition that passes from mouth to ear and from memory to mouth again scandals,—pitiful that certain Virginia families pride themselves upon bar sinisters in their ancestry.

The scandals are facts that affected their careers and their social standing; but the truth is as yet undetermined. Scandal like death loves the shining mark.

MEMBER OF CONGRESS.—In that fateful year when his wife died, Thomas Jefferson was thirty-nine years old. He never married again. Within a few months, he left Monticello and its sad associations, and went to Philadelphia to qualify as commissioner to France. But destiny determined that he should become a member of Congress instead. Until May, 1784, he attended its sessions at Annapolis. When Washington solemnly handed back his commission as Commander-in-Chief, it was Jefferson who wrote the address in reply read by the President of Congress. What emotions Jefferson felt when Washington then asked for the refunding of all his military expenses may not be presented here. Most patriots took their losses and expenses as final, and Jefferson had lost not only property but also children and wife. There

is everything in character. Scarcely any man in America needed money less than Washington; but they paid him in full.

Decimal Money.—To Jefferson in the same Congress, we owe our system of money,—the gold eagle, the gold or silver dollar, the dime and the cent. He hated British guineas because he hated the British; they together had bought Benedict Arnold, who had destroyed his home and killed his wife.

To this Congress, upon his insistence, Virginia ceded her vast Northwest Territory.

Diplomat in France.—Then as third minister plenipotentiary, Jefferson set out for Europe to negotiate commercial treaties. In June, he sailed from Boston with his daughters. They had never seen New England before.

In Paris, French aristocracy received Jefferson as a peer. La Fayette knew him. French counts and barons had visited him in princely Monticello. He was a savant and a litterateur. He knew how to entertain guests at dinner. He was a graceful dancer, a good seat on horseback, something of a violinist and musician. He was a spendthrift and set up a fine establishment. He read many languages, though he never spoke French well. All Paris was almost as happy over Jefferson the *revolutionaire* as it had always been over Franklin the scientist; gay Paris was even happier.

The Houdon Bust of Washington.—Jefferson bought the best watch to be had in France and sent it to James Madison; lamps for Richard Henry Lee; books for George Wythe and James Monroe. One thing he did among unusual things was with Dr. Franklin to order for the new Virginia State house a portrait bust of George Washington from the sculptor Jean Antoine Houdon, displaying the great general's personal appearance far better than the equally famous picture by Gilbert Stuart. One who looks upon that marble verisimiliture,—the extraordinary width between the eyes, the mighty neck, the stern set of the heavy jaws,—gets suggestions of force and strength far beyond the possibilities of representation upon a plane surface. The artist came all the way to America to get a model in plaster from Washington himself.

Jefferson aided many Americans then travelling or living abroad, including certain prisoners of "the Barbary pirates." He sent plants, nuts and seeds home to agricultural societies

for trial planting,—these including heavy Italian rice. And he imported from America to France the pecan-nut. He kept in touch with scientific discoveries and technical inventions.

Unfortunately in Paris, Jefferson so fractured his right wrist that he never played the fiddle again and had to learn to write with his left hand.

The French Revolution.—While all these things are happening, the French Revolution approaches and arrives. The States-General of the realm meet. Mirabeau thunders. The Bastille falls. Jefferson sees the King brought forcibly from Versailles to Paris. He sits with sages and doctrinaires and extremists when the new Constitution is written. We suspect, though we cannot know, for all his letters of the period are lost, that he saw Robespierre and Marat, Viscount Beauharnais and Josephine, and perhaps even the youth Napoleon Bonaparte.

In 1785, the youngest of the surviving daughters of Jefferson died, and soon he placed his two living children, Martha and Mary, in a convent school in Paris. They were beautiful girls, much like their mother. In 1788, he made a trip through Belgium, Holland and the Rhine valley, seeing all the famous spots, incidentally attending to the business of refunding a million florins of the American debt to Holland. Late next year, with his daughters, he came home to Monticello, a cultivated, finished, in a sense, lonely man of the world.

Secretary of State.—Already, Washington was President and had asked Jefferson to be his Secretary of State. In March, 1790, he entered upon his duties, a fact that shows how slow was the early business of organizing our National Government. Alexander Hamilton had already preëmpted the citadel. Their first collision was an immediate victory for Hamilton, who secured for the bankers and speculators of the North the boon of the assumption of the State war debts, while Jefferson took for the South the apparently empty honor of the National Capital. For all its costs, to this day it is but a paradise in a wilderness of swamps and rocky hillocks upon tidewater, sweating wet hot in summer, damp and chill in winter, full of typhoid and malaria and pneumonia. But in the long years, Jefferson had all the best of the bargain, for the Potomac location of the Capital has been a critical feature of American history and highly valuable to the South.

The National Bank.—The next collision between Hamilton and Jefferson was over the National Bank. Hamilton won, thereby laying up trouble for Jackson and Van Buren and for all other Americans but helping his Northern friends at the time.

Then came the astonishing Genêt episode. Even Jefferson, though pro-Gallic, could not endorse Genêt and France. Jefferson really wished to help France. Circumstances compelled them to rebuke and to reduce Genêt—to what? To private citizenship and a marriage with the daughter of Governor George Clinton of New York. The young Republican enthusiast Edward Charles Genêt saw vicissitudes fast. He was a younger brother of that famous Madame Jeanne Genêt Campan, who was lady-in-waiting to Marie Antoinette and later the teacher of the younger sisters of Napoleon, Emperor of the French.

The Proposed Alliance with France.—Whether or not America broke her treaty with France in declining in 1792 to help her against Great Britain is a question whose negative answer is one of the refinements of casuistry that history forever debates. The mother-country with her impressment of seamen on the ocean and with her encouragement of Indian aggressions on the land deserved no favor at our hands. She waited to reduce Napoleon before forcing a second war upon us.

If we had helped France, and if France had defeated Great Britain, the Napoleonic dynasty might have become to Western Europe what the Hapsburgs are to Central Europe; it is an "if" fraught with meaning to democracy in America. George Washington refrigerated the hot ebullient first enthusiasm of grateful America into his own stern and selfish, necessarily selfish, determination to establish a new nation. For a nation is a family, and with nations as well as families, charity begins at home.

Retires to Monticello.—Dissatisfied with the course of these great events, December 31, 1793, Jefferson, against the wishes of Washington, retired from the Cabinet. Yet the President would not dismiss Hamilton; and one or the other had to go. When Jefferson reached Monticello, he found his estate seriously dilapidated. His ten thousand remaining acres sustained but three sheep! He set out to repair his

fortunes as best he might. Both his daughters were now well married—to men who later served terms in Congress, and one, with her husband and children, came to live with him.

In this period, he finished the building of his house, introduced rotation of crops, and set out fruit trees. But the differences between his financial affairs and those of such a man as Washington were great. Jefferson had been away from America for several years, and no wife with abundant cash, like Martha Washington, had protected his interests. Death again and again had invaded his household. Forever, debt clung upon his skirts. He was remote from markets and not upon tidewater; his $30,000 wheat-mill had no wheat to grind.

His hospitality had been unbounded. In 1794, he had ninety-three slaves and raised fifty-four bushels of wheat! And he loved books and correspondence and the conversation of friends. Moreover, he was building up the first and only party of consistent principles that this country ever saw; and he wrote all his letters now with an unskilful left hand.

Becomes Vice-President.—In such circumstances, Jefferson was glad that in 1797 the Vice-Presidency and a small salary came to him. He had been a candidate for President but had lost by three votes. He made this office a strictly impartial one of presiding; John Adams as Vice-President had considered himself as senator-at-large for the whole nation and had debated freely and daily. Jefferson who was quiet and who, like Washington, preferred to put what he had to say in black and white, never debated. Throughout the turbulent administration of Adams, Jefferson who was invariably suave and discreet, bided his time. In 1801, he ran again for President; but as luck would have it, tied for that office with Aaron Burr, the candidate of his own party for Vice-President. It was a situation unforeseen by the makers of the Constitution who had thought that each elector would cast his vote for any man that he chose. Already, public opinion and party fealty tied the elector's hands. Congress decided by one vote for Jefferson. That one vote came to him through the Vermont Congressman Matthew Lyon who had personally suffered grievously from the Sedition Act,[1] and had persuaded his colleague to change.

[1]See pp. 97, 248, 249, *supra*.

Wins Presidency by One Vote.—It will not serve to an understanding of the situation as it actually existed in 1801 to think of Aaron Burr as we think of him to-day. Burr was the rival of Hamilton, a New York State politician, founder of Tammany Hall, able, magnetic, unscrupulous, surpassingly adroit, immensely ambitious, with no other stain upon his reputation than loose relations with women. The future was to disclose his inferiority to Jefferson and his essential evil.

An Extreme Economist.—As President, Jefferson learned a lesson from the errors of Adams, who had continued the Cabinet of Washington, and promptly organized a new one, with James Madison as Secretary of State and with Albert Gallatin as Secretary of the Treasury. He stopped the enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Acts, which was wise, and through his supporters in Congress undertook to do away with internal revenue duties, which was unwise, and with all direct taxation, which again was unwise for a different reason.

Direct taxation is honest and public and the only right taxation in a democracy. He proposed to rely solely upon a customs tariff for revenue only. This also was a mistake. By reducing the amounts of salaries and the number of positions, he cut down government expense. The former was wrong, the latter right. Cheap service is never good. By the total saving, he reduced the national debt, which was also right, for hereditary bondholders make a caste of snobs. But though he did some things financial well, he never understood finance, public or private. Not a few other Presidents have been equally lost at sea in matters of national finance—among them Lincoln, Grant and Roosevelt.

Louisiana Purchased, Without Legal Warrant.—It was in 1803 that Jefferson accomplished his greatest achievement—the purchase of Louisiana. He sent James Monroe, whom Frenchmen loved, to aid R. R. Livingston, then minister to France, in negotiating the purchase. Napoleon needed money. He had recently acquired Louisiana from Spain; but he had armies and navies to finance. And he sold Louisiana for $15,000,000. With this and other funds, he won the war that he declared twelve days after settling the negotiation.

The purchase of Louisiana was entirely beyond any Constitutional authority or Congressional statute; but public opinion, outside of New England, was almost unanimous in approval of the action. If any other man of that day had been President, with the possible exception of Monroe, Louisiana would have remained French until 1814. Thereafter like Canada, it would have belonged to Great Britain. Our United States might have been a little nation like Argentina or German. But Jefferson, in this instance, was the visionary who performs,—in other words, an immortal statesman.

It is, of course, true that Louisiana might have fallen to us by the luck of war. Without our $15,000,000, Napoleon would not have fought at Austerlitz. Without Louisiana in our hands, there might have been not a Monroe Doctrine but a line of forts on either side of the Mississippi; and a North America like South America or Europe.

The Cabinets of Jefferson.—The story of Jefferson as President is partly disclosed by the history of his Cabinet, which was this:

State—James Madison of Virginia.

Treasury—Samuel Dexter of Massachusetts, succeeded by Albert Gallatin (Swiss) of Pennsylvania, who served nearly all of the eight years of Jefferson.

War—Henry Dearborn of Massachusetts.

Attorney-General—Levi Lincoln of Massachusetts, four years; Robert Smith of Maryland, brief term; John Breckinridge of Kentucky, two years; Caesar A. Rodney of Delaware, two years.

Postmaster-General—Joseph Habersham of Pennsylvania, brief term; Gideon Granger of Connecticut, nearly eight years.

Navy—Benjamin Stoddart of Maryland, brief term; Robert Smith of Maryland, four years; Jacob Crowninshield of Massachusetts, four years.

This last new Department, talked of by Washington and by Adams, was developed by the war with Barbary pirates. Hitherto, our few ships were cared for in the War Department. But the new Department was capable of the ridiculous land gunboat idea.

Handsomely Re-elected.—In the year 1803, the war ships of America silenced the pirates of Tripoli and Algiers and

Morocco. In 1804, Lewis and Clarke explored the Louisiana Territory—at a cost in all to us of $2,500. In this same year, following an amendment to the Constitution establishing the present manner of electing the President and the Vice-President, Jefferson was reëlected by a vote of 162 to 14 for C. C. Pinckney. Clinton of New York became Vice-President, winning over Rufus King. It was the second defeat of General Pinckney, for all that he had been conspicuous for gallant service at Brandywine and Savannah. No Southern Federalist ever got very far in national politics. Federalism, Whiggism and Republicanism have been discreditable in Southerners since Washington retired in 1797.

The Embargo Acts.—The second term of his administration was concerned mainly with that long chain of circumstances leading to the Embargo Acts for which, by later statesmen and publicists, Jefferson has been so greatly blamed. But the truth seems to be both that an embargo may have certain temporary values and that embargoes had long been standard measures of international struggle. The temporary values of keeping one's merchantmen at home are two: First, the purchasing nations are deprived of customary merchandise that may include necessaries of life and are thereby shocked into a partial realization of the presence of a crisis in international affairs; and, second, the merchant ships are safe at home pending the building or purchase of cruisers to protect them when next they do venture upon the high seas.

The familiar assertion that in respect to the embargoes Jefferson persisted too long is totally erroneous. The price of flour rose in England to $19 a barrel, and so great was the popular clamor that in 1812 she was forced to revoke her "Orders in Council." But it is true that Jefferson opposed a navy. For a time, his policy impoverished the country. In a measure, he played into the hands both of England and of France,—of England in that he quieted the Yankee traders who were the rivals of her merchants, and of France in that he raised the price of the merchandise need by England at home. But he angered New England and indeed all the coast cities; and his conduct has been misrepresented ever since. He was perhaps too much the agriculturist and the theorist to see commercial interests truly; and he was never deeply interested in manufactures.

Burr Kills Hamilton.—Aaron Burr, grandson of the Reverend Jonathan Edwards, and hero of several Revolutionary battles, sought the governorship of New York State. Hamilton, his rival at the bar, accomplished his defeat; and then called him a "despicable" character. Burr challenged him to a duel. Both were immoral men, both were insolvent. Hamilton had eight children, one of his sons had been killed in a duel in 1802. Burr had one beautiful and brilliant daughter, Theodosia. If both had been killed that July day in 1804, history would have called them fairly matched. Burr was just a year older than Hamilton. Each had enjoyed the confidence of Washington. Undoubtedly, Burr was the abler soldier, though not braver. Undoubtedly, Burr was the abler politician. And almost undoubtedly, Hamilton was the more gifted statesman and the shrewder judge of men. Burr killed Hamilton, escaping unscathed; and was ruined by his triumph. That duel nearly ended duelling in America. It made Hamilton at once a martyr and Burr ultimately an outcast

The Alleged Treason of Aaron Burr.—Driven by criminal prosecutions into the Ohio valley, Aaron Burr conceived the great scheme of seating his dynasty on "the throne of the Montezumas" in Mexico. Many persons thought that he meant to include in his empire the Louisiana Territory that Jefferson had just bought from France. One of his fellow-conspirators, a vile creature in high office, General Wilkinson, betrayed him; and the former United States Senator from New York and Vice-President, who had lost the Presidency itself by but one vote in Congress after a tie in the Electoral College, was tried for treason before the Supreme Court in 1807.

It is one of the curious things of history that Burr, a Democrat like Jefferson, should have been supported in this trial by the Federalists. Even Chief Justice Marshall made rulings in his favor that are not supported to-day by impartial critics. Federalism so hated Jefferson that it loved Burr even in this terrible hour of his reputed treason. The Supreme Court acquitted him. But Ohio immediately rearrested him. He jumped bail and fled to Europe. Years later, he came back from his wanderings, tried to recover his law practice,—his first wife being long dead,—married for his second wife a widow like the first, quarrelled with her, and died in poverty

in 1836. And the strange thing about the affair is that a Burr Empire in Mexico might have been a good proposition for all concerned. At any rate, rich John Jacob Astor thought so, for he had furnished money to Burr and Blennerhasset.

President Foils Chief Justice.—It is a tremendous and a romantic story that greatly concerned Thomas Jefferson. In his effort to get Burr punished, Jefferson defied the orders of the Supreme Court and made the Presidency absolutely above any and all judges. Ascendant Federalism had been defeated politically by Jefferson in 1800. Now in 1807, the Federalist judiciary finds its high-water mark a little lower than the Presidency. The Supreme Court cannot summon a President as a witness in any case whatsoever. Not yet had it undertaken to declare any act of Congress null and void for want of constitutionality. For years, the three departments would struggle for primacy.

Home at Monticello.—Thomas Jefferson was an old man, nearly sixty-six, when he laid down the cares of office. He had named his successor, and went back gladly to Monticello. There he lived for seventeen years to come,—in a rich insolvency. He had to borrow $7,000 to leave Washington with all his debts to tradesmen paid. Home at last to stay, he gathered literally multitudes of friends and relatives about him, guests unnumbered, transient visitors, mere callers. He read books and replied to every letter. He counselled later Presidents, often wisely. He wrote his bitter "Anas" about his contemporaries. In a cabinet drawer, he kept and tenderly handled the mementoes of his wife and dead children. He tried to organize, under State approval, a lottery by which he could work off most of his lands and all his debts. Year after year, he labored to build the University of Virginia; and at last, from Monticello, he watched the first buildings rise in Charlottesville. He was the first rector of that institution. In his last days he sold to Congress his library for $23,000.

For nine months before his end he knew that he was dying. He was glad to go. Senility, poverty, and unwillingness to struggle were upon him. At eighty-three years of age, Thomas Jefferson died July 4, 1826, leaving one daughter and ten grandchildren. His executor settled his estate, paying

every dollar of its debts by generously contributing to the creditors some twenty thousand dollars of his own. Such was the financial status of the author of the Declaration of Independence, the purchaser of the Louisiana Territory, and the founder of American democracy with its separation of religion and government and its creation of universal education.

The Most Popular Man in American History.—No other President ever was so popular with Congress and the people as was Thomas Jefferson—He was in truth the most generally popular man whom this country ever had; from 1800 to 1826, Jefferson was continuously our first citizen.

The people forgot his rival John Adams of Massachusetts and looked upon Jefferson of Virginia as the successor in their hearts of George Washington. No New England man ever was a popular hero in America. For the main matter, Jefferson really believed in the people. His democracy was sincere. Questions might come and go. Democracy itself might answer them wrongly. But "let the majority rule" was Jeffersonianism in its essence. *"Vox populi vox Dei."*

For a third and lesser matter, Jefferson had great, at times grandiose ideas. And the generality like the man of big ideas.

Again, Jefferson was personally of charming manners. He liked to please. He was quite feminine in this quality as in certain others. He could efface himself. He was not aggressively egotistical; and though his conceits were many, he never forced them upon others. He was naturally genial, and his residence in France made him polite without being ceremonious. His early rival, John Adams, had grown ceremonious without being polite.

But with these engaging qualities went at least one other not admirable. Jefferson was self-protective and adroit. He lived in the upper air of philosophic statesmanship, and let his followers down in the arena take the sword. This was conspicuous in his assault upon the Federalist Supreme Court Justice Chase of Maryland, in his first administration, and it cost him the support of that brilliant leader, John Randolph, who resented being set to a fight with the terrible Luther Martin and then coolly dropped when he lost. Jefferson had another quality still meaner; he spoke ill of certain rivals

falsely. His overdrawn account of the early life of Patrick Henry is thoroughly discreditable to himself; nor was this the only instance. Jefferson was a speculative scientist, careless of facts; he aimed at goals, and was not too scrupulous of his paths.

Compared with Washington.—Inevitably, we compare Thomas Jefferson with George Washington. In a few points, he is the superior; in most, he is the inferior; in some, he is incomparable.

Jefferson helped win for us the region from Pittsburg to St. Louis by various acts in early days; and wholly won for us the region from New Orleans to Helena, Montana. Washington won for us the region from Maine to Georgia. Jefferson was rich when he began life, poor when he died. Washington was richer than Jefferson when he began life, and died far richer. We feel with and for the thriftless philosopher, not for the thrifty soldier-statesman. Jefferson suffered many personal sorrows all his life. Providence gave Washington no family of children, and his widow survived him. His was the narrower domestic life.

Teacher of Americanism.—Jefferson conceived a consistent political and social philosophy. He violated each, however, in his own acts. Washington had no philosophy; but a not too dull man can be consistent in action.

In the record of George Washington, there are no "Anas." There is the imperishable story of the capture of the Hessians on Christmas morning. There is the valor at Monmouth, and the far-sighted strategy of Yorktown. There is the endurance, however stolid, at Valley Forge.

Set them, side by side, these early heroes and statesmen,—Jefferson is more like Franklin than he is like Washington. Careless, if not worse, in some personal habits, erratic, free-handed, often balked and despairing, Jefferson never set himself above or apart from common human nature, never was petty, never arrogant. It was solidity and force set over against brilliance and bigness. Neither was ideal or nearly ideal. Yet in his total service to America each one comes down to us above Sam Adams, above Patrick Henry, above John Adams, far above Hamilton and Hancock, challenging first place in the mind of later posterity with Madison and Franklin. Later ages will study these four,—astonished at

Franklin's genius, loving Jefferson, thinking through the wisdom of Madison, and awed to silence by the serene dignity of the matured Washington.

CHAPTER IV

James Madison

1809-1817
1751-1836

17-19 States Admitted: Louisiana, Indiana.

1810—Population 7,329,881

Heir of Thomas Jefferson—early home—educated at Princeton—born a philosopher—became a general scholar—the Virginia Convention of 1776—member Assembly—member Governor's Council—member Continental Congress in 1780—the three-fifths rule as to slaves—member Virginia Assembly again—Annapolis Convention—navigation of the Mississippi—arduous and competent service in Federal Constitutional Convention—slavery debated—the coming factory system—bicameral legislature agreed upon—partly national, partly federal—items about important members—George Mason—James Wilson—Robert Morris—Alexander Hamilton—Luther Martin—checks and balances—a triune government—"The Federalist"—the struggle for ratification by Virginia—Madison against Henry, Mason, Lee and Randolph—a statesman—member of Congress—tax on slaves proposed—the Ten Amendments—Madison and the Hamilton-Jefferson bargain—the poor site of the Capital—the coming race-struggle—the Franklin abolition petition—a strict constructionist and State's Rights man—"The National Gazette"—married Dolley Payne Todd, social leader—the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions—our referendums—Secretary of State—a clerk to Jefferson—President—the Napoleonic Wars—Clay forces war—Washington burned—New Orleans victory—domestic manufactures—a slightly protective tariff adopted—regent University of Virginia—his temperament and character—a Constitutional President.

Heir of Thomas Jefferson.—The Jeffersonian dynasty was a succession of three men to the Presidency,—Thomas

Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe,—and harsh critics have often styled it a painful decrescendo. Madison inherited from Jefferson a theory of government—"the least government is the best government"—and an inevitable war.

Not until Washington died in 1799, could John Adams be the first citizen of the land; and his term of office was too far gone for him ever to become that first citizen. By 1799 Hamilton, in his own party, and Jefferson and Burr, then "Republican Democrats," disputed that distinction with him. As for Madison, his predecessor survived the close of his second term; and the President was never better than next to the first citizen of the land.

His Home at Montpelier.—James Madison belonged from birth to death in beautiful Montpelier, Virginia. He happened to be born at Port Conway March 16, 1751, where his mother was on a visit at her father's home. She was Nelly Conway, and James was the first born of her seven children.

Educated at Princeton.—The Madisons were independent planters, as were also the Conways. They had means enough to provide a good college preparation for their oldest son; and sent him not to William and Mary but up north to Princeton College, presumably to widen his horizon. At college, he was a prodigiously hard student, adding even Hebrew and theology, in true Princeton style, to his other studies. Then he came home to Montpelier and set himself to teach his younger brothers and sisters. For years, his health suffered from over application to books, or was it from the climate, or from poor eyesight in an age of incorrect lenses in spectacles? At first, he probably intended to become a minister; but the existing state of ecclesiastical affairs in Virginia deterred him. He was no enthusiast for an established church nor for any union of altar and throne.

Member Virginia Convention of 1776.—Because he was a sober-minded, socially well-connected scholarly young man, —the first-born of a landed family in an age of primogeniture, —in 1774 his county made James Madison, at twenty-three years of age, a delegate to the Committee of Safety; and for no other apparent reason. He was not a revolutionary enthusiast but rather a convinced philosopher, a child of the light. No philosopher is ever a reformer or soldier.

In 1776, Madison's county sent him to the Virginia Convention, and he made what he called his first real "entrance upon public life."

A General Scholar.—Graduated at Princeton in 1771, Madison had turned at home from theology to law and was now a member of the bar. But he had studied more than law,—beyond any other American, from mysterious sources not yet satisfactorily accounted for, by 1776 he had become thoroughly versed in the history of law and of jurisprudence, of politics and of social development. Virginia planters sent strange orders to their London agents; and for want of any other reasonable hypothesis, historians assume that James Madison, senior, ordered for James, junior, a considerable number of unusual books to be charged against the tobacco consignments. It is purely an hypothesis: no one knows.

Member of Virginia Assembly.—In the Virginia Convention of 1776, Madison served upon the committee for a new Constitution; and when the Assembly succeeded to the authority of the House of Burgesses, he was elected a member. He failed of reëlection, for the highly interesting reason that contrary to custom, he declined to treat the voters to potations of alcoholic beverages. But the Assembly thereupon immediately elected him a member of the Governor's Council. In 1780, he was made a delegate to the Continental Congress, and was its youngest member. Within a year, he diagnosed the true cause of our troubles at that stage of the conflict, "One or two millions of guineas properly applied would diffuse vigor and satisfaction throughout the whole military department, and would expel the enemy from every part of the United States." It was the clear-sighted, naïve view of the book-scholar; that was the issue of the struggle,—the control of the taxing power, the ownership of the golden stream.

In 1780, Member Continental Congress.—For a time, Madison spent his energies upon the detail work of those multitudinous committees into which the Continental Congress, both legislative and executive in its nature, was forced. The government needed three million dollars annually for running expenses, and got barely a half million. The delegates were paid by their home constituencies. How to apportion the costs of government was the serious domestic question. In particu-

lar, were the negro slaves men or real estate or naught for the purposes of taxation?

The South wished the negroes counted for purposes of representation, and either omitted or scaled down in respect to taxation. It was Madison who, backed by Hamilton, proposed the three-fifths rule that later was carried over into the Constitution.

The Annapolis Convention.—In 1784, Madison retired from Congress, under a vicious law denying reëlections, and at once became a member of the Virginia Assembly. He gave himself almost wholly to matters of Virginia commerce,—especially her relations with Maryland and with England. There were questions of ports of entry, projects for deepening the upper Potomac for navigation and for a canal from the Potomac to the Delaware, and problems of the relations of the State with the Confederation. In 1786, Madison was appointed as one of five Virginia delegates to a convention of the States at Annapolis to consider the whole situation. Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York sent delegates,—eleven in all. North Carolina, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire promised delegates, but none came. The Convention would have been a failure, had not the eleven agreed to issue a call for a convention in May next year at Philadelphia.

The Navigation of the Mississippi.—There was more than one trouble for the disturbed country to worry over. There was a controversy with Spain as to the navigation of the Mississippi, whose mouth and western shores she owned. John Jay, as minister to Spain, had proposed, as a compromise period, twenty-five years and sought to make a treaty upon that basis. Congress wavered on this point, and Madison held, with Virginia, that navigation must be free forever. The Southern States cared more to have New Orleans and lower Louisiana than the Northern States in union with them. This tremendous issue had a deal to do with the purchase of all Louisiana in 1803.

Leader in the Constitutional Convention of 1787.—There were two parties in the Constitutional Convention of 1787. One wished to fix up the Articles of Confederation, the other to make a new government. And there were two great problems, that, in a sense, were part and parcel of one

another. One was how to keep the States in equality with one another in a federal system, and the other was how to keep the citizens in equality with one another. The smaller States were jealous of the great,—Delaware feared that Pennsylvania would absorb her; and on the other hand, the numerous citizens of Massachusetts, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, the thickly populated States, saw that they might individually count for much less than the relatively few citizens of other States. None yet foresaw the sectional cleavage of North and South.

The Two Main Issues.—The other problem was how to count the enslaved negroes. Were they men or not? It was the old question already threshed out in the Continental Congress. And it must be threshed out and silenced, not solved, all over again. The South wanted power, and made its demand, and stuck to it. Every slave was to count three-fifths as much as a man. There were 750,000 slaves. Obviously, the South meant to get an extra allowance of 450,000 population.

The total population in 1790 was 4,000,000; of these one-third were in the South, of whom 700,000 were slaves, for there were still 50,000 slaves in the Northern States. In other words, every white man of the South was to have his own vote and more than half of that of one slave at his disposal. It requires but little reflection to see how indignantly many Northerners viewed the situation. No abolition view was necessary to create that indignation. If one man could have an extra vote for his slave, why not let his neighbor have an extra vote for his horse or for his sheep?

Let Charles Cotesworth Pinckney speak for the South: "If slavery be wrong, it is justified by the example of all the world." He avowed a desire to raise the slave States to an equality with the other States and struggled hard to have the voteless negro of the South count equally with all white voters for the purposes of the apportionment of representatives in Congress. This was that Pinckney whose fine, strong face and magnificent frame made him in appearance comparable with George Washington, and who later ran for the Vice-Presidency several times as the leader of the Southern Federalists.

And let Gouverneur Morris, who also in appearance closely

resembled Washington, speak for the North: "If this [distinction between South and North be real], instead of blending incompatible things, let us at once take friendly leave of each other." He was bitter in his railing at the miserable condition of Southern agriculture and denounced slavery as "a nefarious institution."

Evidently, they must compromise or part. There were abolitionists among the Southern delegates—among them was George Mason. There were pro-slavery delegates from the North—among them Ellsworth and Sherman. Madison forced the compromise. And any compromise helped the South. They had replied to the question, not answered it; silenced conscience, not solved the problem. And all the while they knew that the capitalists as opposed to the slaveowners were trying to get up a factory system to employ the cheap labor of women and children as in England and Scotland.

The Bicameral Legislature.—The other and larger problem was worked out to a solution. Two houses they must have in the National Legislature; let the higher one represent the States, the lower the people. The South desired the States to elect to both Houses; but here the South by its spokesman Pinckney lost. Madison favored proportional representation in both Houses. A minor compromise gave to each State two Senators, but representation in the lower House according to population, slaves counting at three-fifths according to the agreement.

Such were the famous compromises; there were many others; Madison engineering most of them. As one reads the collected journals of the Constitutional Convention, the greatness of his service, the immensity of the labor that he performed through that long summer in Philadelphia grows upon the mind. There were other, and apparently abler men present, there was none other more useful. To him are due more of the features of the resulting National Government than to any other one man.

The Foremost Men in the Convention.—The prominent men of the Convention were these, viz.:

George Mason was of first-class statesmen timber; in human probability would have made a better President than any of the early Presidents except Jefferson. He would not have bought Louisiana. He believed in localized government,

thought that power lodged remotely was dangerous, and was quite right in so thinking.

Charles Pinckney of South Carolina was then but twenty-nine years old, standing upon the threshold of a long and brilliant career. C. C. Pinckney was a duller man, but not so dull that he could not strike off an occasional splendid phrase, such as "Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute." He was a brave soldier, something of a diplomat, and much of a politician.

James Wilson of Pennsylvania later became a Justice of the Supreme Court. He was a canny Scot by birth. Roger Sherman, one of the oldest members, was a Massachusetts Yankee, resident in Connecticut. He soon became United States Senator. John Rutledge of South Carolina was in the middle of a great career. Later a Justice of the Supreme Court. Senate politics prevented his confirmation as Chief Justice—to which position Washington had nominated him. He was a member of Congress at the time of his death. Edmund Randolph of Virginia later became State Governor and United States Attorney-General.

Robert Morris, English by birth, was the greatest speculator in lands that the early history of the nation developed. For six years, he was United States Senator. Washington real estate ventures helped his financial ruin. Gouverneur Morris had a splendid career as diplomat and Senator, banker and fortune-maker. He was audacious, aristocratic, and very clever, too, too clever to be popular,—clever and not too scrupulous. Rufus King, Maine Yankee, moved to Massachusetts and then to New York. He was a Senator for three terms, not continuous, however. The common verdict upon him is that he graded nearly as high as George Mason in character and in ability.

Elbridge Gerry rose to be Governor of Massachusetts in 1810 and Vice-President of the United States in 1813: he was keen and radical in his views. Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut was a safe, judicious man, who was our Chief Justice for the four years from 1796 to 1800.

John Dickinson who sojourned in Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania, as his whim and worldly occasion led him, was a singular character,—smart, independent, tactful, with a ready pen and a ready tongue. The Revolution got away

from him, traveling too fast; but though lukewarm, he remained a Patriot sympathizer. Dickinson College bears his name. Membership in this Convention was his last official service, though he lived far into old age, dying in 1808. His enemies said that his wealth finally made him timid and lazy.

Pierce Butler, Irish born, was brilliant and brave. Later, he became Senator from South Carolina.

Alexander Hamilton was a native of the West Indies,—one of the astonishing figures of our history. He could write admirably well and speak almost as well. Brilliant, insincere, unsound, corrupt, arrogant, reckless, Hamilton made a great part of our early history. In an era of universal manhood suffrage, he would have been less powerful. In our own day, considered politically only, such United States Senators from New York as Chauncey M. Depew and Elihu Root are of the same type, though their private lives are far different. Hamilton should berth with Thomas H. ("Tom") Platt in American moral public opinion.

Last, Luther Martin, the terrible, who being disgusted with the "monarchical nature" of the Constitution withdrew from the Convention. Martin became a thorn in the flesh of Thomas Jefferson. He died penniless in the almost penniless home of Aaron Burr, whose acquittal for treason he had secured. He swung about for domicile from New Jersey to Maryland and to Virginia and then to New York, always a free soul, strong, and valiant. Drink ruined without killing him. Like Martin Luther, this Luther Martin was a born protestant against things as they are whatever they are,—full of discontent, to his friends an angel, to his enemies the chief of devils. Loved and hated, learned, wonderfully well learned, yet original, Martin is worth knowing. To know him is to understand the inner life of this nation from 1775 to 1826. (He died six days later than Adams and Jefferson.) Those who know the real story of Luther Martin, the forces that he fought, his own sins, his great and necessary legal victories for Judge Chase and for Vice-President Burr, will never again tolerate the glossings of orthodox history, glossings that make it so far false and non-standard.

The Contribution of Pelatiah Webster.—These men, most of whom were young, created a government of divided powers,—a system of checks and balances. For their original

plan, they all borrowed directly from the pamphlet published in 1783 by Webster, of Philadelphia, who at the doors of Congress devised and talked over with leading Americans for years the five main new principles of our federal government. These were: First, direct taxing power for the national government, a power to levy upon the people; second, the formal division of the government into three branches, legislative, executive and judicial; third, the bicameral legislature; fourth, reservation to the States of all powers not delegated by them to the Nation; and fifth, a single executive with a council. Webster was a distinguished political economist, then past sixty years of age. Three young men especially relied upon him, though he was not a member of the Convention,—these were Madison, Hamilton, and Charles Pinckney.

James Madison was constantly quoting historical precedents, doubtless from those books in his father's library and from those which Jefferson had been sending over to him from France.

A Triune Government.—Until 1787, nothing of the kind had ever been projected before,—a president who was at the top and yet was no King, an administrator and guide and yet no sovereign; a legislature that could not execute, did not need to obey the head of the government, and could not interpret its own laws; and a judiciary that was independent of the appointing power. In the separation of these three functions, the individual was to find his freedom from the tyrant who was legislator, judge and executioner. And this triune government was to have no relation whatsoever with religion! Church was not mentioned. "There is no God" (named) "in the Constitution." Here was radicalism enthroned at last. The State could plead against the individual no sanction of divine authority.

The Federalist.—Virginia was the ninth State to ratify, thinking at the time that it was the eighth. But New Hampshire had preceded her. Virginia was held for the Constitution by James Madison. No other man save Alexander Hamilton had so hard a fight on his hands. Together, Hamilton, Madison, and Jay wrote "The Federalist,"—the first writing forty-six papers, the second twenty-nine, and the last five. They are of about equal merit,—Hamilton's are the most logical and the keenest, Madison's the most scholarly and per-

suasive, Jay's first in literary style. "The Federalist" convinced the wavering and helped to give to the advocates of the Constitution their bare majorities in several States.

The Struggle for Ratification in Virginia.—In Virginia, Madison found arrayed against him no less a leader than Patrick Henry himself; and George Mason, Richard Henry Lee and Edmund Randolph. Washington was at home at Mount Vernon, from which he wrote many letters. The fight lasted a month, and Madison won by eighty-nine votes to seventy-nine.

Patrick Henry punished Madison by causing his defeat in the Virginia Legislature for the United States Senate; and put up James Monroe against him when he ran for member of the House of Representatives in the First Congress under the Constitution. But Madison carried his district, and Monroe stayed home, to become in 1790 a Senator of the United States.

Father of the Constitution.—The years 1787 and 1788 were *anni mirabili* in the life of James Madison, "Father of the Constitution." Whether or not he made mistakes with his compromises and balances, he made a constitution and guided a nation's history. Whether or not he was indispensable in the sense that George Washington seemed indispensable is scarcely worth more than a mere asking; he was central.

Statesmen and Politicians.—Often in history, men begin as politicians to end as statesmen. Sometimes, they begin as statesmen to end as politicians. Some men are always statesmen, others always politicians, none are always both statesmen and politicians. Most of the Presidents have been politicians only.

With his entrance into Congress March, 1789, James Madison became a partisan.

Tax on Slaves Proposed in Congress.—Two days after the inauguration of Washington, Madison led off with a bill to tax imports and the tonnage of vessels entering our ports. Then and there, he proposed a tariff to help our "infant industries." The perhaps not immortal phrase is Madison's own. A colleague of his from Virginia proposed to lay a tax of ten dollars upon every slave imported. Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts and Madison and two other Virginians alone

voted for the tax. New England rum and Southern slavery had their wedding in the first session of Congress. The slaves and the slave-master together controlled nearly every vote. The amendment of Jonathan Parker of Virginia was lost; and the impost of five per cent. established, excluding slaves, who were on the free list alone!

Next, the question came up as to whether in providing that the President should appoint only "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate" meant that he could not remove without that "advice and consent." Madison favored the affirmative,—to allow removal solely by the President. On a tie vote in the Senate, John Adams, Vice-President, voted affirmatively. Without such power, the President would be helpless; and government would be at an *impasse* always.

Amendments to the Constitution.—Madison himself moved the adoption of twelve amendments to the Constitution and their submission to the States. Ten were ratified. They made for individual liberty.[1]

The Hamilton-Jefferson Bargain.—It was James Madison who by one majority log-rolled through Congress the compromise by which State debts of $21,000,000 were assumed by the Nation (Massachusetts getting $4,000,000 and South Carolina a like amount, the other States less each) in exchange for a site for the National Capital in the South. Northern bankers got the money. It was a bad compromise. It put the residents at the Capital, the members of Congress, and the officers and clerks of government under slavery influences.

As Lincoln often said in conversation: "This city is hostile to us." The site is too hot in summer for white men to work in. It is uninhabitable for three months in the year. Those who try to stay there weaken their constitutions. The site has raised the death rate abnormally. Every special session of Congress during July and August has cost prominent men's lives. And the compromise exchanged something permanent for something temporary, something of mere expediency for something of absolute justice. The Capital might have gone elsewhere. The debts had been contracted to win the War and were a matter of right-and-wrong.

Specious arguments were indeed employed against paying these war-debts. Speculators owned them; and would make a

[1]See p. 71, *supra*.

great profit. Some States had paid part of their debts. Madison was really against assumption, though it meant $3,200,000 to Virginia. He got the hundred square miles on the two sides of the Potomac as his price for surrender; and pleased Washington and the Virginians, though he offended the Pennsylvanians who probably would otherwise have had the Capital. The site was not central even then,—one-third only of the people lived south of the Potomac.

The Site of the Capital.—It is useless to say that if the site had been farther north, the southern section would have seceded earlier and probably successfully, for the South would probably have had no cause for secession. Slavery would have been left undisturbed. If it be replied that the war was necessary in order to get rid of slavery, the answer is that slavery was never worth fighting over. The war destroyed chattel-slavery but left wage-service and created race-hatred. The two real issues are a thousand times greater—the race-struggle, and the right of the laborer to all of his product. The former is a principle of anthropology displayed in all history. The latter is a question of casuistry and a problem in mathematics. The South is a natural home of blacks; climate and soil favor them. A thousand years hence, our descendants and successors will look upon the InterState War, as upon nearly all other wars, as unnecessary, childish, barbaric, and futile.

Slavery.—Madison had perfectly foreseen the real issue. He told in the Convention and in Congress just what he foresaw,—said it pleasantly like a gentleman, clearly like the sage he was. We do not need slaves, or slavery, or blacks. Let us prohibit slavery and the immigration of Africans. If we cannot prohibit, let us discourage slavery and immigration by taxing black immigrants. But dullness and cupidity defeated him. Few human beings can learn anything save from bitter experience; and not always from that. Unfortunately in history, the fathers eat sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge.

The men of the First Congress are in no wise responsible for the lack of foresight that time would come when three-fourths of the people would live west of the District of Columbia and seven-eighths of them north of it. They are, however, responsible for their lack of impartiality in deciding

the question as they honestly understood it. They did not decide it; they dickered and bargained. Debt speculators and land speculators in Congress itself and others lobbying about Congress won easily. Washington eagerly signed the bills.

To this same Congress came a Quaker memorial and an Abolitionist petition against slavery. The latter was signed, and probably written, by Benjamin Franklin. Gerry backed the proposition to interfere with the "Biblical institution." He advised buying all the slaves, precisely as Lincoln did seven decades later. Madison favored some measure looking to emancipation.

The National Gazette.—Gradually, Madison was becoming a strict constructionist; he opposed Hamilton's proposition for a national bank, but was beaten two to one. It was the first painful break between the two Federalist leaders. The next serious break was for Jefferson, then Secretary of State, with Madison's help in Congress, to set up Frenau in the combined offices of translator in the department of State and of editor of an Anti-Federalist weekly paper. Frenau had a salary of only two hundred and fifty dollars; but his paper "The National Gazette" became a power in the land, a source of trouble to Washington himself, and a center of controversy. Madison and others mailed the paper under their own franks as members of Congress. There was as yet no "Congressional Record" printed by the Government and distributed *gratis*. Hitherto, the sessions of Congress like those of the Constitutional Convention had been practically hidden from the public view.

Madison versus Hamilton.—In 1792, Washington proposed to retire; and Jefferson in fact soon did retire. This left Madison in Congress pitted against Hamilton in the Cabinet. And Madison led an attack on the financial honesty of Hamilton in respect to the sale of bonds in France that totally failed. There was also a quarrel because Hamilton would not pay funds to the French government, when he could not know from season to season in that whelming time what the true French government was. And a third quarrel arose over the Presidential proclamation of neutrality between the United States and both France and England in their international war. Hamilton was "Anglicist," Madison "Gallican." Fortunately,

Genêt was so much the fool and madman that the outcome was *opera bouffe*.

Next, there raged the furious controversy over Jay's treaty, which was ratified in February, 1796. The strange proceedings of Monroe in Paris accompanied the treaty negotiations; he was not the American minister, as he should have been, but the Republican partisan. As such, the would-be democratic cosmopolite was necessarily recalled.

Dolley Madison.—At the same time that George Washington retired from the Presidency, James Madison retired from Congress. At forty-three years of age, he had married Dolley (Payne) Todd, a widow of twenty-six years, with two children, and now would build for his bride and himself a beautiful home at Montpelier. He was trying to forget at last his rejection in early manhood by a girl with whom he was infatuated.

The Virginia-Kentucky Resolutions.—In this period of retirement, Madison wrote at Richmond the Virginia resolutions to support the Kentucky resolutions that Jefferson had prepared for Kentucky, in which the doctrine of State nullification was set forth, to oppose the Alien and Sedition laws passed by Congress in the administration of John Adams. Jefferson and Madison asserted that a majority of the States could nullify an unconstitutional law. It is a form of the modern doctrine of the referendum. In truth, it sets up public opinion as registered in the State legislatures as the final court. The Supreme Court had not yet set itself up as that final authority. Marshall won as against Jefferson. The referendum went to a few judges, not to many legislators.

The Referendums According to Our System.—In full truth, according to our system, there are three referendums, each partial. The President can refuse to execute a law of Congress or a decision of Court,—at the risk of impeachment. Congress can tinker with a decision of Court by new legislation and ignore or laugh at a message, even an order, of the President,—at the risk of its members' reëlections. The Court is not really final,—President and Senate can change its membership, and Congress can often legislate a decision out of its real import.[1] Congress and President can give the courts many

[1]But see p. 302, *infra*. Congress holds the purse. *Per contra*, p. 577, *infra*.

disagreeable duties to perform quite contrary to accepted legal and juristic precedent.

Public Opinion.—It is a system of delay. In twenty years, after a conflict of branches, perhaps even in ten, public opinion wins its will and rules the government.

But it is not always, not often, an intelligent, enlightened, vigorous and disinterested public opinion. Verily, there is no God but God. Verily, no form of democracy is His prophet,—neither the democracy of town-meeting nor that of voters whose suffrage is based upon property, neither the democracy of equal universal suffrage of both sexes nor that of male voters who can read and interpret the Constitution and the laws. There is only one God, and He speaks only to the individual who considers, who in the literal sense of "consider" deliberately sets his course by the stars of principle. His is the only referendum worth while; and seldom does it concern more persons than himself.

Secretary of State.—James Madison had been offered a Cabinet portfolio by Washington but had declined. In 1801, President Jefferson made him Secretary of State; and the story of Madison for eight years is simply a part of the story of his official chief and his most intimate friend. Jefferson ruled his Cabinet and Congress as no other man ever ruled them before or since. He was a generator of ideas for other men to carry out. Though the purchase of Louisiana and the non-importation and embargo laws all came within the field of the Department of State, the will and hand were those of Jefferson; and Madison simply operated for him. The whole business unhappily culminated in the second administration of James Madison as President.

President of the United States.—In his first election, Madison had 122 votes in 175. In New England, only Vermont voted for him.

And now began the worst of the trickeries of Napoleon and of the British ministry. Canning sent over Erskine and repudiated him and his agreement by which Madison had been led to release a thousand ships for the ocean trade. Embargoes were laid and released and laid again. Napoleon announced revocation of decrees provided Great Britain would revoke orders in council. The worst of all the offences was the Rambouillet decree, March, 1810, by which Napoleon confiscated

$40,000,000 worth of American ships and goods in Dutch, French, Spanish, and Italian ports. In February, 1811, a member of Congress denounced Napoleon as "that monster at whose perfidy Lucifer blushed and hell stands astonished." The denunciation was probably deserved, though it certainly accomplished nothing in Congress. In March, that body adjourned, leaving matters far more strained with England than with Napoleon. England impressed thousands of our seamen, most of them deserters from her tyrannical navy, France none. A Yankee might be also an Englishman, but not also a Frenchman.

Clay Forces War.—In May, 1911, "the President," American, forty-four guns, fought the "Little Belt," eighteen guns, British, off Sandy Hook. "The President" won, losing but one man to thirty lost by its opponent. And still, for all the public excitement, war did not come. In the late fall, Congress met and listened to complaints of American trade damaged in the Baltic; Henry Clay was present and other new men, and young men, hot for war. In April, a 90-day embargo was laid. June 3, war was declared by a vote in the House of not quite two to one.

In the mean time, in caucus, the Democrats had decided to nominate Madison for reëlection. Madison as well as Jefferson was almost a peace-at-any-price man; but at the price of a second term, he was for war. It is a highly important fact that if the President's term, beginning in 1809, had been for six or seven years, there would have been no War of 1812 or 1814 either. Yet Madison was now so much for war that he paid $50,000 for some letters exchanged between an Irish adventurer by the name of Henry and the governor of Canada, alleging that they proved a conspiracy in New England to secede and to join Canada. In fact, they proved nothing; but they served their jingoistic purpose.

City of Washington Burned by British.—With no whit more reason to attack England than France, we were rushed into an invasion of Canada that ended disgracefully. Our Capital was raided, many buildings were burned, and Baltimore was attacked. On the sea, we won many brave little duels, and on Lake Erie a glorious battle of fleets. Then we made a treaty and said nothing about impressment of seamen. We had done exactly what Napoleon intended; we had helped

him against England; he was paid a second time for Louisiana. But when the treaty of peace was about to be signed, Napoleon was a king in exile upon Elba; the leading New Englanders were discussing constitutional revision at Hartford with possible secession; and brave, blundering Pakenham, brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington, was going on to New Orleans to meet defeat and death at the hands of Andrew Jackson and his soldiers.

New Orleans Victory Saves Us from Disgrace.—That rout at the mouth of the Mississippi with the naval victories saved Madison from universal ridicule. The War of 1812 was almost perfectly incompetent in its management and, as the events of international history with the crisis a few months later at Waterloo showed, probably unnecessary. The embargoes and the war together had ruined our shipping irrecoverably.

But there were some gains. The embargoes had turned our people to domestic manufactures. The war raised us a little in the respect of England, and made us a little less ready to try war soon again.

A Protective Tariff Passed.—Two years of Madison's second term remained after peace was declared. The National Capital must be rebuilt. The National Bank was strengthened. A protective tariff was inaugurated with duties but slightly above revenue standards. In these two years, the national "era of good feeling" was begun.

The Cabinet History of His Administrations.—The Cabinet of Madison saw many changes. It was as follows, viz.:

State,—Robert Smith of Maryland, two years; James Monroe of Virginia, six years.

Treasury,—Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania, five years; George W. Campbell of Tennessee, brief term; Alexander J. Dallas of Pennsylvania, two years; William H. Crawford of Georgia, one year.

War,—William Eustis of Massachusetts, four years; John Armstrong of New York, one year; James Monroe, one year; William H. Crawford, two years.

Attorney-General,—Caesar A. Rodney of Delaware, two years; William Pinckney of Maryland, three years; Richard Rush of Pennsylvania, three years.

Postmaster-General,—Gideon Granger of Connecticut, five years; Return J. Meigs, Jr., of Ohio, three years.

Navy,—Paul Hamilton of South Carolina, four years; William Jones of Pennsylvania, one year; B. W. Crowninshield of Massachusetts, three years.

The "War of 1812" led to some peculiar conditions in respect to the War Department. The army was miserably handled, being full of aged War of Independence veterans and not unafflicted by what we call nowadays "graft and corruption."

Home at Montpelier.—In 1817, Madison retired to Montpelier, living there as a planter. He became a member of the board of control of the University of Virginia, and spent his leisure in correspondence with his friends. In 1829, he served in the Virginia Convention to revise the Constitution. He now became a total abstainer and an earnest advocate of the wide-sweeping "temperance" movement. Upon January 28, 1836, at eighty-five years of age, he died peacefully. Mrs. Madison, twenty-one years his junior, survived him for thirteen years, spending her winters in Washington, where she was easily the social leader.

In all his personal morals, James Madison was irreproachable. He was a competent business man, constantly improving his estate, yet he did not die rich, for he had no love of riches. Of slaves he possessed only a hundred, of whom not one was ever whipped.

A Constitutional President.—Though a devoted younger friend of Jefferson, in temperament he was totally unlike him, being cool, reserved, slow, patient and industrious. His industry was concentrated upon a few main lines. He might have made a better Justice of the Supreme Court and a far better Senator than he did either Secretary of State or President. Either of his rivals—C. C. Pinckney in 1808, DeWitt Clinton in 1812—might have done better for us. Yet the latter in 1825 opened the Erie Canal, realizing the dream of Washington to connect East and West by a waterway.

Madison so hated war that he could not call out half a million militia and teach them the manual of arms, sword-play, and shooting, and thereby reawaken man's primitive blood-lust. The "War of Absurdities" lasted two years, Madison was President for eight. During six of those years,

he was one of the best Presidents whom we have had. And he was always scrupulously constitutional in his operations and methods.

CHAPTER V

James Monroe

1817-1825
1758-1831

19-24 States 1820—Population 9,633,822
Admitted: Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, Missouri.

Last of the Jeffersonian dynasty—early life—educated briefly at William and Mary—soldier under Washington—became colonel—member Virginia Assembly—inter-state trade wars—Western tour—on committee that gave the Northwest to the United States—opposed ratification of Federal Constitution—did not trust Washington—opposed Madison—United States Senator—sent by Washington to France—married wife who was well connected—friends in France—his public performances there—Jay Treaty opposed—feeling of an American in France respecting Washington—Governor of Virginia—agent with R. R. Livingston to buy Louisiana—Napoleon—member Virginia Assembly—Governor again—Secretary of State—our losses on the sea in men, in ships and in goods—Secretary of War—Washington sacked—heir both of Jefferson and of Madison—defeated Rufus King for Presidency—makes tours of the country—purchase of Florida—J. Q. Adams—Missouri Compromise—reëlected, one complimentary vote missing—the Monroe Doctrine—Alaska—the European situation—precedents for the message—Webster quoted—a Pan-American Congress—the Cabinet troubles—regent of University of Virginia—money troubles—personal appearance—irreproachable in morals—Supreme Court declares a State law null—Monroe a democrat at heart.

Last of the Virginia Dynasty.—The fifth President of the people of the United States was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, April 28, 1758. Not many miles away were the homes of the Washingtons and of the Lees. He was the third in the Jeffersonian dynasty and even more the protege and disciple of the master than was James Madison. By temperament, Monroe was ardent and affectionate. He

had the good fortune to be President in an era of peace, both domestic and international, following a period of unrest and unreason, of storm and distress, of awakening and violence, and preceding the eager readjustments that followed from this brief epoch of calm.

Educated at William and Mary College.—His father was Spence Monroe, a small planter; his mother, Eliza Jones, whose brother was a district court judge in the next county north on Chesapeake Bay. About 1775, with what preparation is unknown, James Monroe entered William and Mary College. A year later, he was off to join the Continental Army near New York. There as a lieutenant, he fell under the eye of Washington. He was a fighting soldier,—was wounded in the shoulder at Trenton, and played brave parts at Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth while half-invalid James Madison was teaching his little brothers at home at Montpelier. At Charleston, Monroe became lieutenant-colonel in the service of Virginia.

Member Continental Congress in 1783.—Late in 1780, he became closely associated with Governor Thomas Jefferson, with whom he took counsel as to his studies. He soon entered the Virginia Assembly as a delegate, and in 1783 he was sent to the Continental Congress, remaining a member until 1786.

Perhaps no other man in public life saw more clearly than did James Monroe the necessity of committing to the general government the regulation of trade, and thereby putting an end to tariffs and imports and trade-wars between the States. It was in 1784 that Monroe, Jefferson, and others delivered to Congress the deed of all Virginia claims to the Northwest Territory.

Western Tour.—In order to understand this territory, Monroe made a tour from Albany to Lake Erie and to the Ohio river and thence home. It was in the third year afterward that Congress, led by its President William Grayson, dedicated the Northwest Territory to freedom,—but the South secured the amendment that fugitive slaves might be recovered. On the 13th day of July, 1787, by unanimous vote Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia and Delaware,—slave States,—with New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts determined the final outcome of the struggle between free labor and slave labor. Pennsylvania, Maryland,

Connecticut and Vermont were not present to vote. By this time, Monroe was back in the Virginia Assembly and was a member of the committee that promptly decided to recommend that the legislature ratify this abdication.

As by Madison, so by Monroe, these troublous last years of the Confederation were years devoted to hard study of great political and constitutional questions. He did not attend the Constitutional Convention of 1787; and in 1788, as a member of the Virginia State Convention, he opposed its ratification. For his opposition, he assigned two reasons: First, that there were too many opportunities for friction between the National and State governments,—he feared overlappings, not twilight zones; and, second, that the President might be reëlected again and again and become a despot. Like some other men, he fancied that Washington was too dull to see how he was being used by designing monarchists, lords of trade and of capital.

His Relations with Washington and with Madison. —There may have been something of jealousy of Madison in this opposition by Monroe to the Constitution. He was but a year younger than Madison, and Madison was a very young man to wield so great influence. In sheer achievement up to this time, Monroe had done many more things than Madison who never drew sword in the war. It must have wounded Monroe to be defeated by Madison when they ran against one another for Congress. But in 1790, when Senator William Grayson died, Monroe attained the higher body in Congress and was at last above his rival. They had always been outwardly friends; and now political developments and a common affection for Thomas Jefferson soon drew them strongly together. Monroe constantly opposed all of Hamilton's measures.

It was a strange, dramatic twist that Washington suddenly gave to the career of Monroe by nominating him in 1794 as minister to France to succeed Gouverneur Morris. He choose between Monroe and Aaron Burr! What history was made in that choice! "I really thought that I was among the last men to whom the proposition would be made," said Monroe to Edmund Randolph, Secretary of State. At the same time, Washington sent Jay to England.

Diplomat in France.—In sending Monroe to France, the

President had two purposes, one great, the other small. The first was to have a French sympathizer, an American "Republican" in the French Republic; the second was to get out of the way of Hamilton a shrewd domestic opponent. He knew that some men feared lest an American social revolution echo the French cataclysm. To Monroe instructions were given in the closest detail,—to cement the friendship with France, to get France to help us in winning from Spain free navigation of the Mississippi, and, perhaps at some shift in international affairs to acquire the Mississippi. It is well to remember this, for it has an important bearing upon future events. All this was discussed in Cabinet meetings.

Marriage.—To those who care to pursue the inner relations of history, it is both an interesting and a significant item that in 1786, just before leaving Congress, then meeting in New York—for the Congress of the Confederation was indeed a peripatetic body, about the only permanent features of it being Charles Thomson, secretary, and its own inability to solve its problems,—Monroe had married Eliza Kortwright of that city. She was then twenty-four years of age and ten years younger than himself. Her father had been pretty nearly ruined by the war; but her mother was a sister of that Henry Knox, who, born in Boston, early a bookseller, became the best engineer and artillery commander in the Revolutionary Army, was made major-general after Yorktown, and was Secretary of War under Washington until this very year 1794 when he resigned. His niece, Mrs. James Monroe, was a very charming lady; and it is altogether within the probabilities that she kept her husband, for all his Anti-Federal activities in the personal favor of Washington, partly through her uncle, the General, and partly through her own social graces. James Monroe now took his wife and two daughters to France. His older daughter attended the school of Madame Campau, sister of Genêt, and had as a schoolmate Hortense Beauharnais, step-daughter of Napoleon. The two continued life-long friends; and their friendship had its bearing upon future events.

The French Mission.—Monroe made friends easily, perhaps too easily. The first French mission was to show this.

James Monroe arrived in Paris just after the fall of Robespierre. August 15, 1794, he read before the French Conven-

tion an address in English, and a French translation was at once read by a secretary. It contained the highly improper statement that he meant to "merit the approbation of both republics,"—in short, he made the cause of France as much his own as that of the country whose representative he was. The journal of the day recites that his gushing address was "heard with the liveliest sensibility and covered with applause." Moreover, the flag of the United States was promptly set side by side with that of France "in sign of the union and eternal fraternity of the two peoples."

Interesting Performances.—Not only Minister Monroe but also Commodore Barney of the United States Navy was received by the President of the Convention de Douai publicly, with the fraternal embrace of French revolutonary citizens. Shortly afterwards Monroe, with his suite, alone of persons not members of the Convention, was allowed to enter the Pantheon when the remains of Jean Jacques Rousseau were deposited therein.

It is needless to add that Edmund Randolph, Secretary of State, though a French sympathizer, read Monroe's account of these affairs with astonishment and consternation; he advised the minister to "cultivate the French Republic with zeal but without unnecessary *éclat*," and to avoid notoriety lest England be made furious.

Monroe had many difficulties. One was to get LaFayette out of imprisonment in Germany, and Thomas Paine from confinement in the Luxembourg itself.

The Jay Treaty with Great Britain.—December 27, 1794, the storm broke. "The Citizen de Douai" on behalf of the Committee of Public Safety, objected to the Jay treaty with England. The committee wrote, "There ought not to subsist between two free peoples the dissimulation of courts." Monroe himself denounced the treaty as "the most shameful transaction of the kind I have ever known." The Directory considered the French alliance with the United States broken. Randolph resigned, and Pickering became Secretary of State in 1795; and late in 1796 Monroe was superseded by Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, whom the Directory promptly ordered out of Paris. Monroe stayed abroad until the next spring, trying to sell a house in Paris that he had bought (finally sacrificing it at half its cost), and cultivating friendly rela-

tions with great persons. When he returned, he was given a banquet in Philadelphia. He refrained from visiting George Washington, though he visited Alexandria; and he set about publishing a five hundred page paper-bound book explaining his course in Paris in terms by no means friendly to the President who had sent him on the mission. A war of partisans followed in pamphlets, newspapers and private letters.

American Public Opinion.—James Monroe truthfully represented overwhelming American public sentiment; but he violated diplomatic propriety and the policy of the Administration that dispatched him to France. Public opinion and government were at outs; and Monroe fell.

One of Monroe's American supporters in Paris wrote from there: "I would so paint Mr. Washington on his milk-white steed, receiving the incense of all the little girls on Trenton Bridge, and then I would march him about in the streets of Boston so like a roasted ox that I once saw carried a whole day in triumph by the people of that famous town, that the automaton chief should groan and sweat under the weight of those laurels which are momently dropping from his brows into the sink and mire of his puny and anti-republican administration."

Governor of Virginia.—Two years later, Monroe became Governor of Virginia—by vote of the Legislature, as the system then was. In his term, he had to put down slave insurrection, the early reports greatly exaggerating its real extent. He served for three years, when President Jefferson sent him back to Paris as minister on the great business of purchasing Louisiana from Napoleon, First Consul and now, though but thirty-five years of age, despot of France.

The Louisiana Purchase.—It was a transaction that was Jefferson's own, and yet great enough to spare honor to the two Americans who accomplished it, R. R. Livingston and Monroe. For one and a quarter million square miles of land, they paid fifteen millions of dollars, about twelve dollars per square mile, or twenty cents an acre. The motives of Napoleon in selling it were two: First, he needed money for the war with England and, second, he desired to bind America in renewed gratitude to France. The deal was put through for France mainly by Barbé Marbois, minister of Napoleon, to whom with his characteristic generosity he paid $46,000 for

negotiating the business. There was nothing unusual in this, —Napoleon paid several of his marshals annual salaries of a million dollars each; he was a business man.

In all his reign, he never borrowed a sou upon national credit, but financed his affairs, including his mighty campaigns, solely by home taxation and by plunder of the defeated. He was the agent of the new commercial classes of France who rose out of the ruin of the noblesse.

Napoleon Bonaparte.—Adventurer *facile princeps* in history, Napoleon left perhaps the greatest of all his monuments in the New World. No Bourbon king would have sold Louisiana to this Republic. The "man of destiny" strides into American history as of all Europeans our greatest benefactor. God makes even instruments of wrath to praise Him.

From Paris, Monroe proceeded to Madrid, hoping to acquire Florida from Spain, but accomplished nothing. He then proceeded to London, to try with William Pinckney to make a favorable treaty with the British Government. Jefferson declined to submit the treaty to the Senate, and Monroe came home late in 1807.

Member again of the Virginia Assembly.—In 1810 Monroe began again at the foot of the political ladder as a member of the Virginia Assembly. Next year, he was again elected Governor, though serving but a few months when James Madison, who had become President in 1809, called him into the Cabinet as Secretary of State.

Secretary of State.—To him is generally credited the *coup* by which Madison, who was conciliatory, was forced to defy England. If Jefferson had made Monroe instead of Madison his Secretary of State, war would have been declared in 1806 or 1807 instead of in 1812, and if he had made Monroe instead of Madison his heir in 1809, war would have been declared then. For the provocations to war were not greater in 1812 than in any of half a dozen years preceding. We lost in those six years, thousands of seamen who were impressed, other thousands of seamen whose ships, depleted by the impressment of men from their crews, went down in storms, and, at a low estimate, a hundred million dollars worth of ships and mechandise. Only peace-at-any-price men would say that these lives might not better have been lost, these millions spent in war than in the welter of the rages of Eng-

land against Napoleon and of Napoleon against all hereditary thrones, himself trying to make a new dynasty. But, of course, Christians are peace-at-any-price-men being disciples of Him who said, "Put up thy sword" and "Resist not evil" and "Let him have thy cloke also."

THE WAR OF 1812.—The war, though postponed, came, and dragged along for two years. Then Monroe was made Secretary of War as well as of State; and our affairs began to look up, though Washington was raided, sacked and burned even after the more vigorous policy was instituted. Late in 1814, the treaty of Ghent was signed, and news reached here about the same time that the story of the victory of Jackson at New Orleans sped across the Appalachians. Peace-at-any-price would have been wiser than such a war.

PRESIDENT.—Many things conspired to make Monroe the fourth President of the United States. As Secretary of War, he had taken the field near Washington and had seen battle, thereby renewing the tales of his prowess in the Revolutionary War. Jefferson had been Secretary of State for Washington, and Madison for Jefferson. Why should not the mantle of the Presidency again be thrown upon the Secretary of State? Moreover, Jefferson had virtually promised Monroe, eight years before, that he would succeed Madison. Lastly, Monroe was immensely popular because of his sympathies with France and of his part in the purchase of Louisiana. He was elected by 183 votes to 34 for Rufus King, Federalist, successively of Maine, Massachusetts and New York.

King had a fine record, including eight years as minister to England,—1796-1804. This overwhelming defeat did not end his career, for he served from 1813 to 1825 as Senator from New York, though the Legislature that elected him was Democratic and he a surviving lonely Federalist. He had been all his life a constant opponent of slavery.

MONROE TOURS THE COUNTRY.—Washington knew all parts of the United States above the Rappahannock. Jefferson had been a considerable traveller. And now Monroe undertook two great tours,—first, north from Boston to Detroit, then south from Atlanta to Nashville, making new friends everywhere. The country was prosperous, and the government began to consider internal improvements at the general expense, whether really constitutional or not.

The Florida Purchase.—In 1819, after many years of negotiations, we purchased Florida of Spain,—that is, we say that we did. The cost was five millions,—paid as claims to our own citizens. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, pounded the transaction through. It is a long and painful story. Expansion was American manifest destiny, and we crowded Spain out. She had revolutionary wars in all her South American possessions and had been impoverished by the Napoleonic wars and by her own extravagance. Easy gold for centuries from the New World and a vast empire in Europe for centuries had made her too weak to withstand American audacity and persistence. Her unearned New World revenues had been in value sixty billions of dollars.

The Missouri Compromise.—In 1820 came the Missouri Compromise over slavery in the territories. It was a subject to which Monroe gave no great and serious attention. Not yet did anyone in high authority or of great influence reply to the slaveholders' threat, "If you don't give us this and that, we'll get out," "You cannot depart unless you defeat the rest of us on the field of battle." Every State in turn talked secession. It was the standard "last threat," corresponding with that of the fifteen-year-old boy who is getting ready to leave home and who says to his father: "If you will not let me do this or something else, I'll leave and go to work for myself." And like the judicious natural father, the other States simply smiled and said nothing until sunshine came again.

For forty years more, the fatal compromise of the Constitution by which every white man in the South voted for himself and for a part of a negro gave the slaveholders an immoral primacy in Congress. No man of political prominence and power, North or South, yet saw the point; just as to this day, no such man sees that in American only localities but not classes are represented in Congress. An entire sex is not represented. Farmers, day-laborers, mechanics or clerks are scarcely represented in Congress by class-leaders. Four-fifths are lawyers. Twenty have "union cards."

By effecting the Compromise of 1820, the youthful Clay became a figure of national moment.

In return for the political primacy this effected, the leaders of the South not altogether cheerfully allowed Northern manu-

facturers, who had taken the place in industrial leadership formerly occupied by the merchants and shipowners, and other capitalists increase their fortunes by protective tariffs that robbed Southern consumers as well as Northern.

Monroe Re-elected President with Virtual Unanimity.—President Monroe had been officially congratulating the wealthy upon the fall in the price of labor, and now, in an age when the poor were still illiterate and voteless, was re-elected with virtual unanimity. Never was education in America at so low an ebb as in this "era of good feeling" among the politically privileged. Yet it was not in protest against the wrongs of the weaker that a Maryland elector voted for John Quincy Adams, but, so tradition reports, because he desired no other man to share the honor of unanimous election with George Washington. Perhaps, the fact that Mrs. Adams was a Maryland woman influenced his choice of the man for whom he voted.

The Monroe Doctrine.—It was in his second term that President Monroe announced the foreign policy of the United States so completely and so succinctly that all the world listened and that no later President has been obliged to seek to express it more adequately. "The Monroe Doctrine" is the title-deed of James Monroe to enduring fame. We find it in the annual message transmitted to Congress December 2, 1823.

The occasion of this deliverance was to arrange with the Emperor of Russia regarding the occupation of Alaska. The United States was upon friendly terms with Russia. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, had been minister to Russia from 1809 to 1813, nearly four and a half years, and he knew the Court and the people well. There is good reason to suppose that the language of "The Monroe Doctrine" is the language of Adams, not considerably revised by the President or by the other Secretaries of the Cabinet.

The European Situation.—The causes of the deliverance were numerous. There were domestic troubles in Spain and in Portugal consequent in part upon the successful outcome of the rebellions of their South American colonies. By the usual methods of monarchs, the Holy Alliance had set out to pacify these social disturbances in Spain and in Portugal. To the emperors and kings who had put Bonaparte out of the business of emperorship and of king-making, republics any-

where were obnoxious. President Monroe had good reason to know that Russia, Austria, Prussia, England, France, Spain and Portugal would be glad to divide up the New World,—perhaps take back the Louisiana Territory, and even conquer the United States again for the British Crown. He did not propose to have the New World reabsorbed wholesale or retail. And he knew that all American past tradition and present sentiment would vigorously support him. Even before the Constitution was adopted, the principle had been suggested. On January 1, 1788, Washington wrote to Jefferson that this country must not involve itself "in the political disputes of European powers." In the first notes for "The Farewell Address" as submitted to Hamilton for literary development, he expressed a hope that the nation in "twenty years" would be strong enough in population and riches to bid "defiance in a just cause to any earthly power whatsoever." In his second annual message, President Adams noted a spirit in America to resist "the menaces and aggressions" of foreign nations.

Historical Support.—Jefferson wrote to a private citizen that "the object . . . must be to exclude all European influence in this hemisphere." The notion occurs again and again in his correspondence. October 24, 1823, he wrote to Monroe: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be,—never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second,—never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs." He abandoned the Old World to its "despotism" and declared "our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom."

Said Monroe: "The American continent, by the free and independent conditions they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we

have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. . . . Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm and manly policy; meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power; submitting to injuries from none." For the rest, he warned Spain and all Europe off these continents; "she can never subdue them."

Opinions of Daniel Webster.—Two years later Daniel Webster came to the support of the Doctrine with his streaming eloquence,—"I look upon the message of December, 1823, as forming a bright page in our history. I will help neither to erase it nor tear it out; nor shall it be by any act of mine blurred or blotted. It did honor to the sagacity of the government"; and more to that effect. A discussion had arisen as to the sending of a delegation now to a Pan-American Congress at Panama. The South American States had abolished slavery. The negro republic of Hayti would send negroes as delegates. And the slaveholding Southerners were opposed to our recognition of the congress. We finally sent delegates, who arrived too late.

LaFayette Revisits America.—From the summer of 1824 till that of 1825, at the suggestion of Jefferson, Marquis de LaFayette made his triumphal tour of America. He laid the corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument, when Daniel Webster pronounced the oration. He visited every State and saw all the survivors of the Revolutionary War. Congress voted to him $200,000 and 23,000 acres in Florida, and sent him home in the new frigate "Brandywine," so named in honor of that drawn battle in which he had fought with gallantry. By 1825, Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier Marquis de LaFayette was an international institution, even though years ago Napoleon had called him "ridic-

ulous." But that monstrous man was then four years dead; of heirs to-day, he has none. As for LaFayette, it is pleasant to add that though he left a very youthful bride to come to America, they managed not only to live out long lives but to rear a family of valiant and useful sons. History has strange revenges. While in America, knowing how poor in purse Monroe was, LaFayette, in true Latin style, offered to share his purse with him. He made the same offer to Jefferson and doubtless to others.

His Cabinet.—The Cabinet membership was as follows, viz.:

State,—John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts.

Treasury,—William H. Crawford of Georgia.

War,—Isaac Shelby of Kentucky (brief term), John C. Calhoun of South Carolina (nearly eight years).

Attorney-General,—Richard Rush of Pennsylvania (brief term), William Wirt of Virginia (nearly eight years).

Postmaster-General,—Return J. Meigs, Jr., of Ohio (six years), John McLean of Ohio (two years).

Navy,—B. W. Crowninshield of Massachusetts (one year), Smith Thompson of New York (five years), Samuel L. Southard of New Jersey (three years).

In Old Age.—On the whole, Monroe had pleasant memories for his few declining years. Both of his daughters were well married in New York. There he spent most of his time, occasionally visiting Oak Hill in Virginia.

With both Jefferson and Madison, Monroe served as regent of the University of Virginia, and was a member of the convention to revise the State Constitution. In 1830, his wife died. His money troubles kept him worried as similar troubles had worried his patron Thomas Jefferson. Perhaps, the loss of his life-partner and these money-troubles hastened his death on July 4, 1831, at seventy-three years of age, just four years to a day after the passing of Jefferson and John Adams. In his old age, at one time, he was so poor that he peddled books from house to house. Madison lived to be twelve years older than Monroe and outlived him five years.

The end came to John Adams, to Monroe and to Madison with no apparent physical ailment. It was due to the anemia and debility of old age.

Personal Characteristics.—In person, James Monroe

was not much under six feet in height, raw-boned, strong, unattractive and awkward. His manners were less severe than those of Madison and John Adams; but he had less of personal charm than had Thomas Jefferson. He was not the equal in scholarship of these three predecessors. His moral character was irreproachable. Unlike all his predecessors, he was singularly unselfish and unself-regarding. He had the physical bravery of Washington and almost the moral bravery of John Adams. He was a constantly growing man, and as the years pass, his reputation grows. He was a better President than we have usually had.

Supreme Court Makes Itself Supreme.—It was in this "era of good feeling" that the Supreme Court decided that it could declare a State law null and void for conflict with the Federal Constitution (McCulloch *v.* Maryland). This was the triumph, the climax of Federalism and gave to John Marshall, Chief Justice, enduring fame. Likewise, it entrenched the vanguard of the coming plutocracy in the citadel of the central government.

Theoretically, we are in every respect a government of limited powers. No branch is supreme, no officer of government can do as he pleases. But practically Presidents can do what they please unless a statute or court decision forbids; and practically the Supreme Court can annul whatever it sees fit. And Congress, which is supposed in the Senate to represent the will of the States and in the House of Representatives to represent the will of the people (such is the meaning of the name itself), alone is both theoretically and practically subordinate. Armies march when Presidents say so; Polk marched an army to Texas and Mexico and fought. Taft likewise, but didn't fight. Congress ordered neither to do so. There are other impressive historic instances. Lincoln defended Sumter and fought the first Bull Run without orders; and Roosevelt took Panama and sent the fleet around the world. Jefferson bought Louisiana. In a sense, the Presidency is unlimited.

Fourteen hundred judicial cases serve to interpret the Constitution. Declarations by the Supreme Court that a law is null and void are often delayed by decades; we may yet live to see protective tariffs held unconstitutional. This would be no greater an exhibition of power than was the overthrow

of the Missouri Compromise by the Dred Scott decision. The first case was indeed but a little mustard seed; to-day a mighty tree of judicial power thrives upon the soil of our Constitution. Certainly, the Fathers foresaw nothing of this kind.

Sectionalism in the Admission of States.—In this same period, five States were admitted. In Washington's time, the admissions were of two Southern States, containing 82,000 square miles and of one Northern State containing 9500 square miles. On the same scale, the South should have made eight or nine States out of Kentucky and Tennessee, so as to keep proportionate strength in the Senate. In 1802 Ohio came in alone. Louisiana and Indiana were admitted four years apart in 1812 and in 1816. But now Illinois and Maine with 90,000 square miles were supposed to balance Mississippi, Alabama, and Missouri with 171,000 square miles. Thereafter the principle was fully recognized that there must be some balance. But the South was already defeated, for in the Senate New England, virtually a province, had twelve members with 65,000 square miles, whereas Virginia with 67,000 square miles had but two. The South had no very small State. Even Maryland, with but 12,000 square miles, was larger than either New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, or New Jersey.

It was this condition in the Senate that gave to the wage-service North and to its really subsidized hothouse protected manufacturers its victory over the South. A section with small States and many Senators built itself up at the cost of the ultimate consumers in the section with large States. The statement that the North had the population is no answer. The laws caused the population. Originally, and naturally, the Northeast is far less habitable than the Sunny South.

Monroe a True Democrat at Heart.—To offset the centralization of government manifested by the Supreme Court, President Monroe vetoed "internal improvements" in the form of the Cumberland or National Road. Rather than let the court decide upon its constitutionality, he denounced it; but then on the last day of his second term, in the interest of political peace, he signed a still more liberal appropriation bill for the same purpose. And for all his strict construction views, James Monroe signed in 1824 the first truly protective tariff measure. The explanation of these actions is that Monroe

was a democrat at heart, and desired to give to the people what the people really wished to have. And unlike such a hortatory Democrat as Thomas Jefferson, he did not spend much time or energy in trying to teach the people to like his own pet notions and measures. In this sense, he was a politician. And it is as a successful and honest politician and not as a consistent statesman that James Monroe comes down to us from the early days of the Presidency.

CHAPTER VI

John Quincy Adams

1825-1829
1767-1848

24 States Population 11,000,000

The Adams family—early life—visited France—his "Diary"—diplomatic Secretary in Russia—educated at Harvard—many great men his friends—lawyer—in London—married a Maryland girl—minister to Prussia—State Senator—proposed minority representation—United States Senator—desired war against England—left Federalist party—minister to Russia—peace commisioner—Secretary of State—so-called "purchase" of Florida—report on weights and measures—the true history of Americanism—suppression of the slave-trade—a diplomatist of the highest rank—the unseemly struggle for the Presidency—his rivals—gave ball in honor of General Andrew Jackson—changing to popular election of the Electors in the Electoral College—Adams won in the House of Representatives—the terrible charge of John Randolph against Adams and Clay—internal improvements—"Tariff of Abominations"—Whigs—Jackson elected—sectionalism—upright but self-righteous—member of House of Representatives—"the old man eloquent"—the right of petition—hot temper, cool head—favored protective tariff—petition from slaves—petition to dissolve the Union—pulled House through a deadlock—victory—died in the Capitol.

The Adams Family.—Massachusetts has given two Presidents to the nation; and several other Presidents had fathers or mothers or other ancestors born and reared within her borders. She gave to us two men of the Adams family,—

John the second President, and his son John Quincy Adams, an abler man than his father. She gave to us also Charles Francis Adams, grandson and son of these two, to do the work of a statesman-diplomat in England during the Civil War. It is a family of hereditary talents of the highest order. In American history, only the family of Jonathan Edwards and that of Lyman Beecher may fairly challenge comparison with the Adams line.

It may indeed be that John Quincy would never have been President but for his father John Adams; but if so, it is so for only one reason,—the blood and rearing given to him by John Adams, his father, and Abigail Smith Adams, his mother, for John Adams as ex-President was sufficiently hated to make the Adams name itself a heavy handicap. Later, and beyond doubt wiser, generations think differently of John Adams from the people of 1825, among whom John Quincy Adams found himself, by a conspiracy of circumstances, elevated to the place of first citizen of the land. Yet this son, though often wrong, deserved the Presidency, and his memory is that of one of our ablest and most valuable statesmen who was no politician at all; wherein he ranks with Washington, with his own father, with James Madison, and with few others, whom an admiring country or constituency has elevated to high office.

Early Life.—The sixth President of the people of the United States was born in Braintree (now Quincy), Massachusetts, July 11, 1767. His father was then a struggling young lawyer in a small town, who had not yet wholly given his heart to the patriot cause. John Quincy passed his early childhood there and in Boston. In June, 1775, from a hilltop in Braintree, the boy, holding his mother's hand, saw, ten miles away, Charleston afire and heard the artillery and musketry of the battle of Bunker Hill. They were a lonely and worried little family, with the husband and father away at Philadelphia in the Continental Congress. Any midnight or noon, Braintree might suffer a British raid and witness upon its green another minute men fight.

But the British sailed away with thousands of Loyalists to Halifax, and then little John Quincy was often put on horseback to ride ten miles to Boston to get the latest news, for

Mrs. Abigail Adams, though a fond mother, was not a timid one and meant to make a man out of her son.

The Boy Goes to Europe.—In February, 1778, the boy sailed with his father in the frigate "Boston" bound for France; and in the course of a half-year crossed the ocean three times, landing in Spain upon the second voyage eastward. In this same eventful period, he began that diary which was to grow and grow until it became the greatest diary ever written, a veritable book of doom for all and sundry of his contemporaries. Closely edited and much reduced, it makes a dozen octavo volumes, and is the best source history of its period. Then also he began writing those now quaint "old-fashioned" verses which reveal his finer and more charming qualities.

Educated at Harvard.—The boy travelled much and studied a little until at fourteen years of age Francis Dana, American envoy to Russia, took him to St. Petersburg as his secretary. He came back in 1782 and was immediately secretary in the negotiations for the treaty of Ghent. When, in 1785, his father was made minister to England, John Quincy Adams stood at his first cross-roads of choice in life; he had travelled much, had seen many events and men, had learned French, had read many books, had already played a man's part in affairs. He might have become at once a member of the American diplomatic corps; instead, being a sensible youth and a sound Puritan, he took ship for America and entered Harvard College in the fashion of all the Adamses. In 1787, at twenty years of age, he took his bachelor's degree. Then for three years, he studied law in the office of Theophilus Parsons at Newberry port.

Practices Law.—Both Dana and Parsons were afterwards Chief Justices of Massachusetts as was his own father. J. Q. Adams had come to know John Jay, later Chief Justice of New York; and the immortal Benjamin Franklin; and many others of fame and rank, including some of the first statesmen of nearly every important European nation. Such was the man who at twenty-three years of age in 1790,—his own father being Vice-President,—hung out his shingle in Boston and waited for clients. Few men, dying at the allotted term, have ever seen as much of human life as John Quincy Adams

had seen as early as 1790. Naturally, he was restless and eager. Being an Adams, inevitably, he was censorious and industrious, and painfully reliable. Clients came. He began to make money. But he spent his leisure replying in print to the "Rights of Man" of Thomas Paine and to the fulminations of Citizen Genêt.

Diplomat Abroad.—President Washington read these replies, and in 1794 appointed him Minister to Holland. So well did his demeanor there impress Washington that he prophesied of the young man,—"He will be found soon at the head of the diplomatic corps, be the government administered by whomsoever the people may choose." Incidentally, J. Q. Adams had to go to London again.

Marries a Southern Lady.—There he met the daughter of the American consul, niece of Governor Johnson of Maryland, signer of the Declaration and later Supreme Court Justice,—Louise Catherine Johnson, whom he married in July, 1797. It was a happy union. If John Quincy Adams had been less self-centered, he would have seen how from year to year he was spared those domestic afflictions which account for so much in the lives of such men as Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson. But no Adams was ever grateful. No Adams was ever treated by God or fate or his fellowmen as well as he deserved. In the case of John Quincy himself, the greatest of them all, and the worst complainant, the diary proves this.

Next, Washington persuaded John Adams, when President, to transfer J. Q. Adams to Prussia, whither he went in November, 1797. There he negotiated a treaty of commerce between Prussia and the United States. He was recalled late in 1800 by his father so that President Jefferson, his hated rival, might not be allowed to recall an Adams from the diplomatic service.

Rises to United States Senate.—Once more, John Quincy Adams became a lawyer in private practice in Boston. In some way, he contrived to be appointed a commissioner in bankruptcy, when President Jefferson promptly removed him. But the brilliant publicist was not long to hide his light under a bushel; in April, 1802, he was elected State Senator. Two days after taking his seat, he proposed the startling innovation of proportional representation of the minority in the Gover-

nor's Council. In February, 1803, by a vote of 86 to 65, he was elected United States Senator, defeating Timothy Pickering, a fact that had important bearings upon the future happiness of the victor. This split the Federalist party definitely,—J. Q. Adams was, of course, an Adams Federalist, while Pickering was a Hamilton Federalist.

The Democrats greatly outnumbered the Federalists in Congress; and the Hamiltonians greatly outnumbered the Adams' sympathizers in the Federalist party. Adams began as a United States Senator with but few friends; and his course alienated even these few. The rest of the Senators either despised or hated him; but month by month those who despised him grew fewer and those who hated him grew more numerous. He was terribly in earnest, and he cared for nothing save what he thought the rights of a matter. No man and no interest could influence him, for there was no way to reach him. He was that terrible creature, an able man, disinterested, without a friend, and set on righteousness,—a lonely fate. Only a few weeks later, Pickering came to take the other Senatorship.

Adams voted to sustain the purchase of Louisiana, though he denied that the purchase was constitutional. The partisan Federalist voted not to confirm the purchase. He voted to acquit Justice Chase who had been impeached by the Jeffersonians for Federalist utterances from the bench; he always voted to sustain the power of the judiciary. In 1806, he introduced resolutions against European violations of American neutrality. He voted against the Federalists and in favor of the Non-Importation Act. In May, 1806, the British government issued a proclamation declaring all Europe from Brest to the Elbe in a state of blockade. In November, Napoleon answered with a decree declaring all the British Isles in a state of blockade. In January, 1807, the British government forbade neutrals to trade between the ports of its enemies. And, in November, it declared all neutral vessels and cargoes liable to capture and to confiscation; a few days later, it fixed a rate of duties upon neutrals. In December, Napoleon answered by another decree, denouncing any ships that paid the tax as subject to capture and confiscation.

Promotes the War-Spirit.—It was a war of paper decrees, more or less enforced. England and France played

battle dove and shuttlecock with American shipping. John Quincy Adams shrewdly said that virtually both nations had declared war upon the United States. In June, 1807, the British frigate, "The Leopard," fifty-guns, took four seamen off from "The Chesapeake" near Hampton Roads. Three Americans were killed in the action. The British hanged one of the seamen; one died in confinement, two were returned to "The Chesapeake" in 1812 at Boston.

Here was a *casus belli* adequate for any President and Congress of patriotic vigor. Jefferson did nothing. New England was Federalist and in a true sense Anglican; but New England was also commercial, and her commerce was being strangled, and her people were in distress. The five States had come to the parting of the ways; and it was natural that their leader, Massachusetts, should have in Congress a Senator who should be the first to discern the fact.

Leaves Federalist Party.—The outrage upon "The Chesapeake" occurred in a recess of Congress, and Senator Adams tried to organize a meeting of Federalists to protest. They were too devoted to England or too afraid of her power or both to accept his urgent leadership. The Democrats held a meeting; and Adams not only attended but was made a member of the committee to draft warlike resolutions. Then the Federalists, who controlled Boston, called a town meeting, and Adams was again put on a committee to protest. But the wedge had been driven in; and Senator Adams was no longer considered a good party man. When in October, 1807, he voted for the embargo, Federalism rejected Adams forever. He became an apostate. They carried it into his social relations. And to this day, the Adams family in Massachusetts is on the defensive because John Quincy Adams became in effect a Jeffersonian. Boston Brahminism knew nothing worse than this treachery of Adams to the sacred cause of outworn Federalism.

The term of Senator Adams would expire in March, 1809; but the Federalists made hot haste to teach him a lesson. In June, they elected James Lloyd, Jr., his successor by 21 to 17 in the Senate; by 248 to 213 in the House. A total vote of 18 changed would have endorsed the course of Adams. On June 8, he resigned, and Lloyd was appointed to fill the rest of his term. The son of John Adams had lost the United

States Senatorship because he supported the administration of Thomas Jefferson, his hated and successful rival.

Minister to Russia.—His friend Josiah Quincy, Congressman, immediately offered to resign so that Adams might take his place as a representative; but the latter refused to permit this. And now came yet worse. In March 6, 1809, two days after he became President, James Madison named Adams as minister to Russia. Judas had taken his thirty pieces of silver! By 17 to 15, the Senate voted not to send a minister to Russia; Timothy Pickering was one of the 17. But Madison persisted; and in June Adams was confirmed by 19 to 7, of which 7 Pickering was one.

He remained in Russia until early in 1814 he became one of the three commissioners of the five American commissioners to treat for peace with England at Ghent. There ensued a quarrelsome and disagreeable experience that lasted a half year of daily negotiations. England looked upon the United States as the defeated country, and remembered the Revolutionary War. Henry Clay, who was one of the commissioners and who had instigated the disastrous land campaign against Canada, gambled all night with his friends and quarrelled pretty much all day with Adams. Clay cared only for the right of the United States to prevent the navigation of the Mississippi by the British, while Adams was trying to protect the northeast fisheries in the interest of New England. Adams wished England to yield Canada, while Clay demanded a promise not to impress American sailors.

Peace Commissioner.—Napoleon was in isolation upon Elba; but England was having trouble with the Emperor of Russia and with the King of Prussia. Perhaps, in the back of their minds, the Emperor and the King had formed a liking for America partly because they liked John Quincy Adams.

At any rate, the Holy Alliance in effect intervened or interfered in such a manner that the British government suddenly became anxious for peace. The treaty is one of the most interesting of such documents. It said nothing about impressment or fisheries or Mississippi navigation. Virtually, it simply restored the *status ante bellum;* but its outcome was wholly favorable to America.

Secretary of State.—Becoming Minister to England, Adams remained in Europe. Then in 1817, President James

Monroe made him Secretary of State in his Cabinet of Democrats. All Americans knew that thereby he was named heir-apparent to the Presidency. Again, Judas had taken silver.

So-called Purchase of Florida.—All the colonies in South America were in revolt against Spain, and the European powers were disinclined to recognize them as belligerents. Henry Clay, leader in Congress, desired to force the hands of Madison and Adams, by a declaration in favor of the rebels. It was a splendid opportunity for the display of his fervent eloquence. There was another trouble,—with Spain regarding the boundaries of the Louisiana territory that she had ceded to France a few years before Jefferson bought it. It was a highly complex and a decidedly irritating situation. Not the least of the troubles were those provoked by the erratic General Andrew Jackson in Florida, which Spain still owned. The first treaty, negotiated with infinite pains and much skill by Adams with the Spanish minister Don Onis, was rejected by his own government. With all these international disputes went also the question of the admission of Missouri as a State.

His Views of Slavery.—Both the domestic and the international debates turned mainly upon the changing slavery-situation. The Missouri question Adams called "the title-page to a tragic volume," foreseeing clearly what few others yet suspected. "Slavery," he wrote in his Diary, "is the great and foul stain upon the North American Union." At this stage, John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, predicted that if the Union should be dissolved, "the South from necessity would be compelled to form an alliance defensive and offensive with Great Britain." Adams saw clearly that "This is a question between the rights of human nature and the Constitution of the United States." But not even J. Q. Adams, certainly no one else, foresaw that a time would come when the Union could not be dissolved but seceding States could be retained by force. In all the United States in 1820, there was not one Nationalist who would resort to force. The year after, with but one change and that greatly in favor of the United States,—the cancelling of certain royal grants of land to Spanish nobles,—the treaty was ratified both by the King and Cortes and by Congress,—though Henry Clay was selfishly against it with his brother-in-law, Brown of Louisiana, and with three other votes in

the Senate. By this treaty, the United States gained Florida and a part of Oregon to the Pacific Ocean, and a definite boundary along the Red and Arkansaw rivers, all in return for some $5,000,000 of claims of American citizens against Spain, which the United States assumed and then dishonestly disputed for many years. The purchase was a diplomatic victory, a raid on a sinking nation, a superb example of the progress of manifest destiny, the relentless on-going of the Anglo-Saxon to world-supremacy. It enhanced the prestige of John Quincy Adams in America as well as in Europe. And it forwarded several men toward the Presidency.

On the day of the ratification of the treaty, February 22, 1821,—on anniversary of Washington's birthday,—Adams submitted to Congress a report that he considered equally important with the treaty. It was an effort to standardize weights and measures, and represented a vast labor for four years upon his part. No one paid any attention to it.

The Monroe Doctrine.—Just how far Secretary Adams contributed to the Monroe Doctrine is historically an unimportant matter, though it is of biographical interest that he encouraged a by no means unwarlike President in a yet more warlike tone. He had no intention of seeing Spain and Portugal restored to full control in South America, with Russia holding all the Pacific Coast from Bering Strait to Lower California, France taking Mexico, and England adding Cuba to her vast dominion of Canada.

Certainly, no other man ever had any clearer understanding of Americanism that J. Q. Adams,—his diplomacy proves it.

The Slave-Trade.—There came up the interesting proposition that America should join the European powers in suppressing the slave trade. England, Spain, Portugal and The Netherlands suported it; Russia, Prussia, Austria and France opposed it. America refused even to consider it,—the Monroe Doctrine kept her out of Europe. America could not allow the right of search. But Adams put the matter cleverly: If England would agree never again in time of war to take a man from an American vessel, America would consider joining a concert of powers to suppress the slave-traffic. Of course, England declined.

As a Diplomat.—In a conversation with Mr. Stratford Canning, the British minister, John Quincy Adams said to

him, "Have you any claim to the mouth of the Columbia river? You claim India, you claim Africa, you claim—" "Perhaps," said Canning, "a piece of the moon." "No," answered Adams, "I have not heard that you claim exclusively any part of the moon; but there is not a spot on this habitable globe that I could affirm you do not claim."

His was the shirt-sleeve diplomacy of his own father and of some recent American statesmen, including President Cleveland. John Quincy Adams ranks among the first of American diplomats, with few peers and no superiors, one of the few peers being his own son Charles Francis Adams.

An Unseemly Struggle for the Presidency.—In 1824 the question of the succession to the Presidency came up. Washington, Jefferson and Madison had fixed firmly the two-term tradition. Monroe was ready to retire. The leading candidates were Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and William H. Crawford.

Jackson was the hero of New Orleans and the people's favorite. He was "the great Indian fighter"; had been a judge in Tennessee, a Congressman, a Governor of Florida, and a Major-General; and was now United States Senator. Of the same age as Adams, Jackson was his most formidable rival.

Henry Clay of Kentucky was Speaker of the House of Representatives, a brilliant and moving orator, a gambler who made money by gambling, a "sport," a socially charming man, ten years the junior of his leading rivals.

Crawford of Georgia was the first of American political manipulators upon a national scale. He had nervous prostration from the summer of 1823; but for which state of health, lasting over a year, he might have been successful. He continued to hold the position of Secretary of the Treasury, its documents, papers and checks being signed for him with a rubber stamp, a fact that illustrates the process of public business in 1823-4 and the easy-going character of James Monroe. Probably, Crawford needed the salary.

Gives a Ball in Honor of Jackson.—They were all Democrats; and the election was a personal contest in which John Quincy Adams stood frigidly upon his personal self-respect and official dignity. On January 8, 1824, the ninth anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, Adams gave a ball in honor of Jackson; a thousand persons attended. It was

said to be the finest affair of its kind to that date since the Capital was founded in 1800.

The vote in the Electoral College stood:

Jackson 99, Adams 84, Crawford 41, Clay 37.

New York and New England had voted for Adams; Pennsylvania and its eastern and southern neighbors with Tennessee, for Jackson; Ohio, Kentucky, and Missouri for Clay; and most of the rest for Crawford. The Legislatures still chose the electors in Vermont, New York, Delaware, South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana; the people voted in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Indiana, and Illinois. The popular movement was zigzagging to success. Few delegations voted solidly.

The fight now changed to the House of Representatives and became yet more bitter. The illness of Crawford and the hatred of Clay for Jackson determined the issue.

The vote stood:

Adams 13 States, Jackson 7, Crawford 4.

But Calhoun had been chosen by the Electoral College as Vice-President by 182 to 79, divided among half a dozen candidates.

An Unhappy Winner.—So grieved was John Quincy Adams, so aggrieved in fact, by this doubtful compliment that he would have declined to serve, but did not wish to see John C. Calhoun thereby succeed to the Presidency; and the Constitution provides no way to have a second election. This is not the only defect of a strangely overrated human device.

His Cabinet and the Terrible Charge by John Randolph.—For his Cabinet, Adams retained William Wirt of Virginia as Attorney-General, John McLean of Ohio as Postmaster-General, and Samuel L. Southard of New Jersey as head of the Navy Department. He named James Barbour of Virginia for the War Department, Richard Rush of Pennsylvania for the Treasury and Henry Clay of Kentucky for the State Department. Jackson promptly charged that Clay had sold out to Adams. In his "Diary," Adams wrote that probably two-thirds of the American people were opposed to him for the Presidency.

Now the brilliant, reckless, mischief-making, vituperative

John Randolph of Virginia stalks more prominently than ever upon the national scene,—charging a corrupt bargain between Clay and Adams. This struggle ended "King Caucus." The words of Randolph were "the coalition of Blifil and Black George—the combination unheard of till then of the Puritan and the black-leg."

He cursed the parents of Clay for bringing into life "this being, so brilliant yet so corrupt, which like a rotten mackerel by moonlight, shined and stunk." Clay challenged him to a duel. Both fired: neither hit. Clay fired again, missed; Randolph fired into the air, strolled over to Clay, shook hands; and honor was satisfied. One of Clay's shots had pierced the long flannel coat of John Randolph.

Material Progress at Government Cost.—The Presidency of John Quincy Adams was not uneventful. In it, $14,000,000,—an amount larger than in all the years from 1789 to 1825,—were spent without constitutional warrant upon internal improvements, one-third upon roads and canals. The Erie Canal was finished at the cost of New York State, lowering freight from Buffalo to New York from $88 per ton to $6, and not long afterwards to $3. Georgia successfully defied the United States by violating treaties with the Creeks and with the Cherokees. An attempt to hold a Pan-American Congress of the new nations at Panama was so much of a failure that it had separated before the American delegates arrived. A great number of commercial treaties were negotiated with other nations. In 1828 "the Tariff of Abominations" was passed, so styled by a Maryland Senator, because of its high protection. All the South was against it. John Randolph denounced it as a bill to "rob and plunder nearly one-half of the Union for the benefit of the residue." A flood of emigrants poured westward by the National Road and by the Erie Canal. And the temperance reform grew into great proportions.

Two Parties Again.—Out of all the personal rancor, hatreds and ambitions, two political parties emerged,—the National Republicans, soon to be known as Whigs, and the Democrats. The former were "broad constructionists," favoring internal improvements, protective tariffs, and the National Bank. Adams, Clay, and Webster were the leaders. The latter were strict constructionists and State's rights men. Its

leaders were Calhoun, Randolph, and other Southerners. Jackson was himself a protectionist, but he gravitated to the Democrats inevitably from personal associations.

Adams Defeated.—The result of the election of 1828 was a foregone conclusion. All the States except Delaware and South Carolina had changed to popular election of Electors. Jackson was immensely popular personally while Adams was unpopular. The electoral vote was: Jackson 178, Adams 83; the popular vote was: Jackson 648,000, Adams 508,000. It was a sectional vote,—New England, New Jersey, and Delaware for Adams, Maryland split 6 to 5 for Adams, the rest for Jackson. In the campaign, most extraordinary lies were published broadcast. One was that Mrs. Adams was an English woman. This lie helped her husband in splitting Maryland, her native State; but it hurt him in the South and West. Another lie was that his poor old father, who had died in 1826, had disinherited him. Still another was that he had grown rich in the public service. It was the first mud-slinging campaign in America; and one of the worst to this date. The bottom men were getting freedom to vote.

A Mournful Old Man.—The old man of sixty-three years, John Quincy Adams, went home done out, broken-hearted.

His life was all gone—for nothing except labor. He had tried to get Congress to build a naval academy to match West Point, founded in 1802. He had tried to secure an appropriation for a national university. He had tried to keep the offices of government free from political partisanship. And he had failed, and for his failures had been punished by the vilest of libels and slanders. He knew his crime,—that he was what he was,—a perfectly upright statesman. His self-righteousness he did not see.

This disgrace was the end. He must drag out his days in Quincy while an illiterate Indian fighter, a home-breaker, a smuggler of negroes, a lawless demagogue, stood in the place where a Harvard professor of literature—Adams had been a professor for two years, 1805-1807—belonged by every right.

His Total Mistake.—But angry, resentful John Quincy Adams had made a total mistake. He had his best days before him. He was to become "the old man eloquent" in the House of Representatives and to die on the field of its debates. The

Plymouth District asked him to run for Congress in September, 1830; and elected him by a vote of 1817 to 373 for the next candidate, and to 748 for all other candidates. Unlike George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, he was strongest at home. This success was balm to his many wounds. He had a fulcrum that would hold. That District returned him faithfully for nine terms.

In the House of Representatives.—John Quincy Adams was to become a voice crying in the wilderness of national politics against slavery, which had grown so strong as to dare to stifle the inalienable English common law right of petition. He cried aloud in Congress for a dozen years until he was heard. It is a long, long, bitter, terrible history. Only two or three of its items may be set down here.

He took his seat December, 1831, being then sixty-four years old, bald, short, rotund, his eyes red and rheumy, his voice shrill, his hands shaking like those of that other irrepressible commoner, his third cousin, Sam Adams. He had come out from the Courts of Europe, down from the Presidency, in breaking age, to fight in the ruck of the House of Representatives and to be the bravest and ablest of all its fighters in an era of political revolution. He was a "character,"—hot temper, cool head,—warrior and scholar. He who had been so unpopular was to become the idol of growing millions of supporters in the North and West. He had paid the heavy price for sincerity and was now to get the reward—triumph and admiration.

At first, Congressman Adams was allowed considerable latitude of effort:—he supported protection, opposed nullification, and urged dignified measures with foreign lands, especially France. But he had been bringing in petitions against slavery, and in the spring of 1836 Congress passed several resolutions, first, that it had no power to interfere with slavery in any State; second, that it should not interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia; and, third, that "all petitions, memorials, resolutions or papers relating in anyway or to any extent whatsoever to the subject of slavery or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon." Adams denounced the third resolution in these words: "I hold the resolution to be a direct violation of the Constitution

of the United States, the rules of this House, and the rights of my constituents." The vote stood 117 to 68 against him. He repeated the same phrases with every new Congress for years, sometimes adding "and of my right to freedom of speech as a member of this House."

The Right of Petition in America.—And he kept right on presenting petitions,—sometimes three hundred petitions in a single day, in all thousands and tens of thousands. Occasionally, he brought in petitions not relating to slavery, which discomfited the enemy, who had to sift out those receivable from those not receivable. Once, he trapped them fairly,—he held up in his hand a petition from twenty-two slaves! He said that perhaps it was not what it purported to be. "Expel him, expel him!" cried the members. Some threatened to dissolve the Union and to go home at once. Waddy Thompson moved "a severe censure" for his "gross disrespect" in bringing in a petition from slaves, and talked of bringing him before the grand jury of the District of Columbia, which is Congress operating as a city council for the government of that satrapy. Another member proposed to stay "until this fair city is a field of Waterloo and this beautiful Potomac a river of blood." Adams let them rave until tired, when he called to their attention the fact that the twenty-two slaves had asked that slavery be not abolished! It was "an awful crisis," according to one Southern orator in the House. After several days of terror and wrath had passed, the House resolved that slaves had no right of petition, whether for or against slavery or anything else.

In 1842, he presented a petition to dissolve the Union; and another furious time resulted. Henry A. Wise of Virginia, who as Governor in 1859 hanged John Brown, declared that for Adams he felt "personal loathing, dread and contempt." It was a wrathful contradiction in terms.

The Deadlock.—In the middle of these stormy years, there came a time when the deadlocked House could not organize; whereupon they let the valiant old man preside until chaos could be partly converted into order. They knew that he was implacably honest and honorable. They knew that before the Supreme Court his practice was in the greatest land and other cases.

Congressman Adams was slowly winning. In 1842, the

majority in favor of the gag-law upon petitions was four; in 1843, it was three; in 1844, after weeks of struggle, the vote was 80 to 108: Adams had won. Free speech is an everlasting human right. Denial of the right of petition, compared with slavery, is far, far more important. A week later, his petitions were received and duly referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Died in the Capitol.—Upon November 19, 1846, he was struck by paralysis in the streets of Boston. When he came back to Washington in February, 1847, the whole House rose to receive him. One year later, February 21, 1848, he fell when trying to address the Speaker; and reviving a few hours later in the Speaker's room, he exclaimed, "This is the last of earth. I am content!" He remained there unconscious until his death upon the 23d.

They placed a tablet in Quincy Church in memory of a real democrat and marked it *"Alteri Saeculo."*

His wife, who was eight years his junior, survived until 1852, cared for by three sons and a daughter.

A Victorious Life in Itself.—It may indeed be that some Supreme Court will yet declare that a protective tariff is unconstitutional and that J. Q. Adams had to fight vigorously for such a tariff, in order to have a place in Congress in which to fight for a good a thousand times more valuable than a protective tariff is injurious,—the right of the private citizen to make legislators hear him. The sum total of many governmental acts and policies may yet cause another civil war and social revolution. Yet, in the appointed zigzag of history toward the goal of humanity, John Quincy Adams has a definite place; his life is in itself an asset to America.

CHAPTER VII

Andrew Jackson

1829-1837
1767-1845

24-26 States 1830—Population 12,866,020
Admitted: Arkansas, Michigan.

Contrast with all predecessors—breaker of at least five of the Ten Commandments—enemies and friends—early life—utterly alone in the world—white men "Indianized"—pioneers and settlers—his marriage with another man's wife—the Tennessee State Constitutional Convention—member Federal House of Representatives and of Senate—description by Albert Gallatin—Supreme Court Judge—general of militia—planter—speculator—killed opponent in duel—the Burr scheme—stolen negroes—Indian fighter—Major-General U. S. A.—stormed Pensacola—terrific slaughter of British veterans at New Orleans—the Hartford Convention contrast—fined for contempt of court—Scott declined duel with Jackson—more Indian wars—made money—popularity a dispensing power—United States Senator again—his political managers—compared with Washington—with Jefferson—the popular movement compared with Niagara-American democracy—"Old Hero" must be President—the claim against Adams in 1824—hatred of Clay—relentless pursuit the characteristics of Jackson—President—the "sports system"—the political revolution—social manners—Jackson a leveller—rotation in office—his Cabinet—the "kitchen cabinet"—Calhoun *v.* Van Buren—Peggy O'Neill—a new Cabinet—several foreign treaties—a Georgia law relative to Indians held unconstitutional by United States Supreme Court—position taken by Jackson—cheap lands—high tariff—beneficiaries and laborers—the National Ban—internal improvements—Clay's "American System"—political conventions—Nicholas Biddle, adventurer—charges against the Bank—nullification—its historical origin—unconstitutionality—Scott ordered to Charleston—public opinion—reëlected—Anti-Masons—the government deposits—a Harvard honor—Clay carried censure in Senate—Taney made Chief Justice—decentralization—specie money—Benton carried expunging resolution—died at "The Hermitage" in Tennessee.

Contrast with all Predecessors.—Between John Quincy Adams with his predecessors and Andrew Jackson with his successors, there was apparently an impassable gulf fixed.

Adams was the last Secretary of State to succeed to the Presidency. John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and the second Adams were all learned men. George Washington was an accurate mathematician as surveyor, accountant and business man. They were all more or less gentlemen in birth, breeding, character, manners.

And yet the associations of John Quincy Adams as President are rather with Jackson than with the Jeffersonian dynasty. For entirely different reasons, they were both intensely American,—Adams because he knew so much of Europe, Jackson because he knew nothing of it, and did not attempt to conceive it.

Not an Exponent of Obedience to the Ten Commandments.—That splendid Americanism of Adams and his administration grew up spontaneously; and Jackson, the Indian fighter, became the symbol of the greater, deeper Americanism to which it conformed. For the sake of Adams himself, we may regret that Jackson defeated him for a merited second term. We may even regret that a man of many sterling and startling qualities, with as many terrifying defects as Jackson ever came to the Presidency at all. He had broken at least five of the Ten Commandments:—he had daily taken the name of God in vain, he had killed, he had committed adultery, he had stolen, he had coveted. But it is wiser for us to see and to realize that we were fortunate in winning democracy without a bloody social revolution. Jackson was a safety-valve, opened wide, and screeching, thereby releasing the genie of destruction into the atmosphere.

As President, Andrew Jackson was a man of polite manners and usually gentle speech. But he enraged the classes and fascinated the masses, and was hated and loved accordingly. His real deficiencies and faults in later life were of the kind not obvious to casual observers.

Opinions of His Friends and of His Enemies.—Those who still admire him love him. To them, he is one of the great Presidents,—Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln. Probably, they add Cleveland. But those who do not admire him but on the contrary fear and even abhor his like cannot condemn him to the grade of Buchanan; he was not weak or vacillating or dull. He was a smashing hard fighter; and often

fought without reason and warrant. He was an immensely notable personality.

Utterly Alone in the World.—Andrew Jackson was born probably in South Carolina, possibly in North Carolina, March 15, 1767,—a few months earlier than J. Q. Adams. His father died the same year, probably only a few days prior. There were two older boys. The home was in the Waxhaw Settlement, most of which lay in North Carolina, Mecklenburg County, part in Union County, part over the line in South Carolina. His father, mother and brothers were all born in Ireland, County Antrim, of Scotch nativity, but Saxon blood.

When Andrew was yet a boy, he was wounded by a British officer who cut him in the face with a sword because he would not black his boots. Later, he and a brother were taken prisoners. Before the war was over, his mother and both his brothers were dead; and Andrew was not only an orphan but without brother or sister, strictly alone and vagrant in the world.

Where White Men "Indianized."—His was a fierce and eager soul in a wild and lawless land of mountains and valleys, in an age of Indian wars and white men's feuds. Beyond the Appalachians, adventurous emigrants from the Carolinas were setting up "the State of Franklin,"—some called it "Frankland." Brave, strong, untamed men there were in that world of forests, of Indians, and of wild beasts. And Andrew Jackson grew up among them as one of them,—fighting, horse-racing, trading, hunting, gambling, adventuring life, limb, money, time, honor itself. There white men "Indianized," becoming fiercer than the red men. The story of the early days of Kentucky and Tennessee is the bloodiest chapter in American history. To this day, the traces of the rebarbarization of the Anglo-Saxon endure in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. Sometimes, whole villages of the pioneers were wiped out by the Indians, and whole parties of the Indians wiped out by the pioneers. A "Kentuck" was often as skilful in taking scalps as any Indian; and not seldom as real a savage. I speak by tradition of the blood since 1790.

Pioneers and Settlers.—Behind the pioneers came the settlers, full of the litigious spirit. Every one was in debt.

Promissory notes were the one universal medium of exchange. The settlers got their homesteads by squatting upon the lands. Surveyors for the owners who held paper titles fled eastward or deathward.

In such a world, after trying farming and storekeeping, in 1788, Andrew Jackson was admitted to the bar, under authority of the State of North Carolina but in the present State of Tennessee at Greenville. He knew no law; and it is not certain that he was ever examined for admission. A dangerous career opened before him; to help establish the reign of law.

He Marries Another Man's Wife.—In 1791, at Natchez, under peculiar conditions, Jackson married Rachel Donelson, whom he had met as a lodger in her mother's house. In 1790 her husband, Robert Robards, had petitioned the Virginia Legislature to pass an act divorcing her on the ground of adultery with Jackson. The Legislature passed an act authorizing the Supreme Court of Kentucky, where the Robards had been married, under Virginia law, to try the case with a jury. In 1793, the husband secured the divorce. In 1794, Jackson again married Rachel; and until her death in the winter before he was inaugurated President was exceedingly devoted to her. They had no children. Conduct of this kind creates a series of extraordinary situations. There was no evidence but only a presumption of adultery because of association and conduct prior to the unquestionably illegal and immoral first marriage. And yet Jackson stole a woman's heart from her husband, each being infatuated with the other. His domestic life was in fact beautiful; but the scandal of its beginning has never ceased. No man has any right whatsoever to allow himself to express any interest in any other man's wife or to permit any wife to express any interest in him. According to the backwoods notions at the time, Lewis Robards would have been amply justified in killing either or both of the pair; or himself in order to end his own fierce jealousy. If he had killed Jackson! But we can scarcely imagine American history without Andrew Jackson.

Member State Constitutional Convention; Senator of the United States.—In 1796, Jackson took part in framing the Constitution of the new State of Tennessee; himself proposing that name. From 1796 till 1798, he was first a

member of the lower House of Congress and later a Senator, resigning from distaste for the service.

His Appearance.—Albert Gallatin, the Swiss financier, described him then as "a lank, tall, uncouth-looking personage, with long locks of hair hanging over his face, and a cue down his back tied in an eel-skin,—a rough backswoodsman." He was a strange sight in staid, polished Philadelphia. Jackson bitterly, even violently, opposed President Washington.

By getting the general government to repay the cost of one of the Indian wars of the State of Tennessee, Jackson made himself popular at home. Then he resigned the Senatorship to become a Superior Court Judge in Tennesse and also a general of militia. In 1803, he and ex-Governor John Sevier, one of the earliest of the pioneers, had a furious quarrel, being prevented only by their own partisans from killing one another. In the same year, he tried to get President Jefferson to make him governor of the Territory of Orleans,—after the purchase of Louisiana. But the year 1804 found him once more a private citizen,—a planter and a storekeeper, a debtor and a speculator.

Kills a Man in a Duel.—In May, 1806, this man ever "mad upon his enemies" fought a merciless duel with Charles Dickinson, whose bullet split upon his breastbone and whom he then killed. The basis of the quarrel was the slander upon Mrs. Jackson.

The Burr Scheme.—In the course of business, in 1805, Aaron Burr made a contract with Jackson for some boats down the Mississippi. In 1806, Jackson came to the conclusion that there was something wrong about the contract. But he went to Richmond to the trial of Burr, and supported Burr against Jefferson mainly because he believed that the real criminal was that General James Wilkinson, head of the regular army, who was to lose the battle of Chateaugay in 1812 and later to be shown up as an arrant scoundrel as well as miserable military fakir. The intuitions of Jackson were against Wilkinson, the accuser of Burr.

Shortly after this time, Jackson got into serious trouble for what to-day looks like trading in stolen negroes, but he won by forcing the Indian agent who made the charge out of office and reducing him to poverty. This is one of the ugliest of the many ugly incidents of the life of Jackson. The Indians had

smuggled the negroes out of Cuba or stolen them from Georgia and Carolina plantations.

General of Militia.—As soon as the militant general of militia heard of the declaration of war in 1812, he offered his services. In January, 1813, he set out with 2500 men to conquer the lower South; but three months later was ordered to dismiss his troops. He marched them home at his own costs. In September, he fought the two Benton brothers in a quarrel that followed from this order; and carried a bullet in his shoulder for twenty years as the result.

A week before this bloody encounter the Indians had massacred 553 persons at Fort Mims, where the Tombigbee meets the Alabama river. In October, Jackson got out of bed from his wound and led an army against the Indians. He made a wonderful field leader of otherwise insubordinate volunteer soldiers. He had all the requisite qualities,—an intense nature that attracted interest, energy, indomitable perseverance despite poor health, sympathy with his men, direct purposes, decision and even severity of judgment, and a clear head. In short, he was a warrior and a commander. March 14, 1814, he ordered a private shot for insubordination, an unusual order with volunteer troops; by this execution, he enforced discipline. His campaign against the Creeks lasted seven months of steady success. Tecumseh had been killed in Canada in October, 1813; with him died the hope of a universal race war of red against white men. But perhaps it prolonged the race struggle.

Major-General U. S. A.—In May, 1814, the general of militia became a Major-General of the United States Army. In August, the city of Washington was taken and burned by the British. In September, an attacking force at Mobile was repulsed and retreated to Pensacola. General Jackson, without orders from Washington, stormed Pensacola successfully. Believing that the British would next try their fortunes at New Orleans, he moved his army to that point and put the city under martial law. He enlisted many free negroes and the pirates of Barataria. And he wrote bombastic proclamations in the style of Napoleon. Americans were nearly all fooled by the Napoleonic imposture of a passion for liberty, fooled by one of the greatest geniuses of all time but a fraud and a measureless criminal none the less.

Battle of New Orleans.—On January 8, 1815, in the battle of New Orleans, the Americans lost seven killed and six wounded, and the British 2000 killed, wounded and missing. And yet Jackson himself reported that the Kentuckians on the west side of the river "ingloriously fled." It was one of the strangest fights in history. Pakenham was a brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington; and his soldiers were veterans of the Duke's Spanish campaigns. Half the British dead had been hit by shots between the eyes. There was no chance for marching columns of red-coats against men who could shoot the heads off squirrels on tops of trees and who at a hundred paces would let their friends shoot silver dollars from between thumb and finger. Individuals counted, and the valiant massed troops were mowed down before they reached Jackson's mud redoubts. Ten thousand such sharpshooting volunteers under Jackson would have defeated all the British, Germans, Austrians and French together at Waterloo. And not a man among them would have known what to do with the continent after the victory.

Even though Pakenham was dead, the British rallied and took Fort Bowyer February 12. By this time, the news of the Treaty of Ghent reached New Orleans.

The Hartford Convention.—Never was a victory more opportune for political purposes. All America was in grief and shame over the Washington disgrace. New England had held the Hartford Convention,—with its request for radical Constitutional revision and its covert threat of secession.

Fined for Contempt of Court and then Repaid.—At Mobile, February 21, 1815, General Jackson had six men executed for breaking into a storehouse in September and for deserting in company with two hundred others. It was discipline far beyond anything the West had known before. Somewhat later in the year, Jackson was himself fined $1000 for contempt of court in a serious matter of violation of a writ of *habeas corpus* for a French citizen of New Orleans. In 1844, Congress refunded the amount with interest,—$2700. Such was and is politics.

Takes Pensacola.—The War of 1812 determined Jackson's future; he held high command in the regular army. In 1817, when fifty years old, he had trouble with General Winfield Scott and challenged him to a duel, which Scott declined.

In April, 1818, in the midst of his Indian warfare in the South, Jackson had two Englishmen, Ambrister and Arbuthnot, executed,—being thirty-three and seventy years of age respectively,—their crimes, inciting Indian insurrections and acting as spies. The next month, he took Pensacola, deposed the Spanish government, and set up an American garrison in control.

Made Money.—In these Indian wars, he had 1800 white soldiers and 1500 friendly Indians against probably not half as many hostile Indians. In all, eighty Indians were killed and not one white man. By this fighting, Jackson had plunged the nation into trouble with England and Spain and had set President James Monroe and Congress by the ears. He had done too much. Incidentally and mysteriously, he had made some money.

A Popular Idol.—But the government was forced to support Jackson because he had become a popular idol,—he was the man who does things, the man who can, a natural king. His popularity exercised for him a dispensing power; there was none great enough to judge him. In the Cabinet, only Adams defended him for his course in Florida. Now arose fued,—Jackson against Clay in Congress, Jackson against Crawford in the Cabinet. In February, 1819, the great General went to New York on his first visit. After the purchase of Florida, he was made its territorial governor in 1821; and left the regular army. In six months, he stirred up much trouble, grew ill, and resigned. He declined the mission to Mexico, and stayed at home in Tennessee.

Senator Again.—In 1823, Jackson was again a United States Senator and voted for the protective tariff and for internal improvements.

His Political Managers.—In the wake of such an ongoing, quarrelsome yet steadily successful and increasingly popular man, there is apt to travel a group of those who will make their own political capital out of his greatness. They learn his peculiarities and manage him. They learn the peculiarities of his public and manage it also. And in the case of Andrew Jackson, as long ago as 1815, they had set out to make him President of the people of the United States.

Compared with Washington.—That the character and career of Washington should be popularly compared with

the character and career of Andrew Jackson has been styled "a grotesque vagary of history." But the comparison was inevitable. Each was an Indian fighter, a hero of a war with Great Britain, a man of blood, a wanderer, a speculator; each was great in action but something of a tool for others to work with. Yet the contrasts were as striking. Washington was methodical, Jackson erratic. Washington created awe, Jackson love or terror. Washington usually had superb health, Jackson none. Both grew intellectually until death; but Washington grew by steady, plodding effort, Jackson by flashes of insight. In the end, Washington was patient, massive, superb; Jackson gracious, quick, fascinating. Washington could see both sides, Jackson was wholly partisan.

Compared with Jefferson.—Another comparison is inevitable. Both Jefferson and Jackson were democratic leaders. They believed in the people, and the people believed in them. Both were ardent partisans. But far greater differences separated Jackson from Jefferson than separated Jackson from Washington. Jefferson was conciliatory, ingratiating; Jackson militant, upright-and-downright. Jefferson was a man of the salôn and court, the library, the council, the desk, the garden; Jackson a man of the forest, the battle-field, pistol and sword, the market, the crowd. Both rode horseback,—Jefferson for exercise and for love of horses and outdoors, Jackson for practice as soldier and commander. Jefferson was an eager student and in a way a scholar, Jackson already knew.

The Popular Movement like Niagara.—Beyond any other Presidents, these men had their will,—Jefferson, however, less than Jackson,—Jefferson by initiating and directing a new, wide people's movement with skill and wisdom,—Jackson by force and by fascination and by leading. It was the same movement. The place of Jefferson in it was like Lake Erie as it enters Niagara river; the place of Jackson was where the river narrows and plunges in cataract. The Civil War in Lincoln's time was the fearful whirlpool; and reconstruction the yet deeper gorge below. The waters of the democratic stream have not yet issued from the furious and fatal gorge into calm Lake Ontario.

Of all our Presidents, those who came nearest to being King were Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln,—Jackson most

of all,—which displays to all the world how utterly impossible kingship is in this heteroclite and mongrel democracy. It was sired by the high-flown philosophy of doctrinaire Jefferson and born of the mixing of the blood of all peoples and races and languages, peasants, runaways, mechanics, yeomen, zealots, younger sons of gentlemen, soldiers and sailors, adventurers, traders, heroes and saints, cowards and criminals, virtuous and vicious, the pure and the vile, all stripped to the skin, racing forward, downward, in the strangest, swiftest, greatest welter of humanity since the beginning.

Jackson in his brave canoe of military fame and popular favor rode in the flood, careened, plunged over Niagara's brink, and survived.

There stood the ancient landmarks of aristocratic power, the Senate and the Court. He might have been impeached, but he wasn't. It was an astonishing epoch, that fourth decade of the nineteenth century in America.

Several Styles of Democracy.—Jeffersonian democracy is a body of doctrine to the general effect that the nation should be controlled by a majority of its population, finding men of the highest grade to carry out its will intelligently. Democracy is the will; government the intelligence. Jeffersonian democracy assumes that superior persons, even experts, shall be placed in office. It stands for many things,—peace at almost any price, permanence in office of all clerks and other minor incumbents, non-interference, strict interpretation of the Constitution, low taxes, few internal improvements beyond postoffices at national expense, simplicity, dignity, liberty. "The least government is the best government." Such democracy is quite consistent with an air of good breeding in the conduct of government; and it carries with it the fragrance of philosophy.

Jacksonian democracy has less doctrine and is simpler. It asserts that the nation should be directed and controlled by its majority, placing men in office who are its delegates; ambassadors, representatives, agents, clerks,—not its interpreters, leaders, experts, seers. It is militant, not reflective. It acts upon the axiom of war,—"To the victors belong the spoils!" It practices rotation in office, giving every man his chance to be fool or sage in public, knave or saint. And it ends either in anarchy or in tyranny, for *demos* is either outlaw or

tyrant. Either every man does that which is right in his own eyes and there is no judge in the land, as in ancient Israel, or Saul, towering head and shoulders above all the people, is sought out among the asses to be king. Jackson was the American Saul. To this day, he stands out tall and terrible upon the track of our American past.

"Old Hero" Must be President.—In 1824, the political manipulators behind General Jackson almost secured the Presidency for him. There was indeed no valid reason why he should be President. Perhaps to call him "an Indian fighter" is to belittle him unfairly. He was a shrewd and unscrupulous business man, an excellent commander of a few thousand volunteer soldiers, and something of a local politician. There was, however, no other way for the American people to show honor to "the hero of New Orleans" and to answer all his detractors than to bestow upon him signal political power,—which meant the Presidency. In the wake of this ship, many a small boat might be towed into the safe political harbor of a salaried office.

Two forces made Jackson a candidate for the Presidency,—hero-worship and personal politics, such as this nation hitherto had entirely escaped.

The defeat of Jackson in the House, after the failure to elect in the Electoral College, caused the bringing forward of a new doctrine. It was first urged by Senator Thomas H. Benton,—a plurality of the popular vote should elect. Benton asserted that because more persons had voted for Jackson than for Adams, Congress should have carried out the popular will. This is democracy at its lowest terms. It is not constitutional government. Its instability is perilous.

Relentless Pursuit of His Object.—Throughout the administration of Adams, the Jackson manipulators kept working away to get their man into the White House in 1829. The General himself nursed his grievances against Henry Clay whom he styled "the Judas of the West" because he had turned his votes in the House to a Massachusetts man and not to Jackson of Tennessee; against Crawford; even against Calhoun of South Carolina, and against Adams himself, both men being as yet in no wise bitter enemies of his. But one of Jackson's strongest traits was relentless pursuit of an object; with this went hatred of whomsoever and of what-

soever stood in his path to that object. The pursuit and the hate made him take mean views of all who did not share his purposes and inclined him to impute dishonorable motives to them. He became an ardent seeker of the Presidency and a hater of those who would not aid him in the seeking.

Elected President.—Partisan newspapers, a literary bureau in the style of the colonial committees of correspondence, factions more numerous and bitter than had been known in the country since its first settlement, and the swelling tide of new and inexperienced men in Congress and in the State legislatures characterized the administration of Adams. Such quarrels invariably follow eras of good feeling. Two parties were in process of formation. To all impartial observers, the election of Jackson was a foregone conclusion. For the first time in American political history, both Houses of Congress were anti-administration. In 1828, Jackson carried the Electoral College by more than 2 to 1. He carried Pennsylvania in the popular vote by 2 to 1; Tennessee by 20 to 1; and Georgia, which had witnessed his Indian campaigns, unanimously, for there was no Adams electoral ticket. John C. Calhoun was elected Vice-President.

The Spoils System.—"The spoils system," already established in New York State and in Pennsylvania, was now extended into national affairs. Until the time of Jackson the removal from office had been:

Washington	9, of whom 1 was a defaulter.
John Adams	10, of whom 1 was a defaulter.
Jefferson,	39
Madison	5, of whom 3 were defaulters.
Monroe	9
J. Q. Adams	2, both for cause ascertained.

The Political Revolution.—From March 4, 1829, to March 22, 1830, President Jackson removed 730 officers, of whom 491 were postmasters. This was the year of drastic proscription, a proscription forced upon Jackson by the men who had made him President rather than originated by his own will. In all, during the eight years of his "reign," as his enemies styled his Presidency, several thousand office-holders were changed. Hitherto, a man who entered public service

looked upon it as a life-work. Doubtless, there were many "barnacles" upon the good ship of state. Doubtless, recent "civil service reform" has tended to keep many men in office actually invalided by old age and disease but now virtually irremovable until obviously and hopelessly inefficient. But taken as a whole, the civil service was far better from Washington to John Quincy Adams than from Jackson on until the "reform" at the close of the nineteenth century. A minor public office should be a life-business, not a temporary prize. It should go to one who is naturally subordinate, even subservient, who sees life in the terms of obedience to and guidance by real superiors.

Jackson a Leveller.—Western democracy as the guiding principle in American national politics helped to put an end to class and to caste. The European notion that one man is honored by "knowing" another and is disgraced by being "known" socially by a third man,—that to be addressed by a man should raise one in his own estimation or his neighbor's,—got terrific blows in the days of the American Revolution. But it survived until Andrew Jackson became the first citizen of the land. In the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, it went out with knee breeches and silver buckles; fancy embroidered waistcoats had gone out a generation before. This is not to say that the manners of President Jackson were rude, uncouth, backwoodsy. In deed by 1829, his manners were better than those of John Quincy Adams, for all the diplomat's experience at European courts. He was polite, urbane, and gallant. Daniel Webster said that his wife greatly admired the social graces of "Old Hickory."

Yet the Indian fighter was a leveller beyond even Sam Adams. With his rotation in office, he broke the old bureaucracy. Washington saw new faces. And what took place in the National Capital was taking place likewise in every other city,—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, even Charleston and Savannah. The levelling never was complete, —not even in Washington. But it was real, extensive and obvious.

His Two Cabinets.—Into his Cabinet, the President had put Martin Van Buren of New York as Secretary of State, S. D. Ingram of Pennsylvania as Secretary of the Treasury, J. H. Eaton of Kentucky, second husband of Peggy O'Neill,

as Secretary of War,—his first wife had been a niece of Mrs. Jackson,—John Branch of North Carolina as Secretary of the Navy, John M. Berrien of Georgia as Attorney-General, and W. T. Barry as Postmaster-General,—an office now elevated to Cabinet rank. It was considered even at the first a weak body; and Jackson treated its members as clerks, at first discontinuing Cabinet meetings until requested two years later by Congress to resume them.

There soon grew a "kitchen cabinet" of the men who knew how to manage Jackson. These men held minor government positions. They included William B. Lewis of Tennessee, who had developed Jackson for the Presidency,—an astute, silent, loyal friend of his hero; Amos Kendall of Kentucky, formerly of Massachusetts, a Dartmouth College graduate, at one time a tutor in the family of Henry Clay, lawyer, editor, postmaster, immensely clever, something of a statesman, more of a politician,—who later became very rich through partnership with S. F. B. Morse, artist, scientist and inventor; Duff Green, the partisan editor of the Jackson "organ," "The Globe"; Isaac Hill of New Hampshire, another editor; and several others who came in as the years passed. The first two became respectively Second and Fourth Auditors of the Treasury; and Hill was United States Senator from 1831 to 1836, when he resigned.

Calhoun versus Van Buren.—The first struggle in the administration was between John C. Calhoun, who had been re-elected Vice-President and who expected to be the heir of Jackson, and Martin Van Buren for the patronage. For John Adams, the Vice-Presidency had been the last stage on the road to the Presidency; for Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and J. Q. Adams the Secretaryship of State had been that stage on the road.

What shall we do about Peggy O'Neill?—The Cabinet split on the rock of a question,—What shall we do about Peggy O'Neill? She was the daughter of a Washington innkeeper,—low class, according to old social notions. Peggy had married a purser in the navy, by name, Timberlake; but she stayed at home when he went on voyage. In the Mediterranean service, he got drunk often and was severely reprimanded. His friends said that he drank to forget Peggy's amours. Then he committed suicide. Almost at once, Mrs.

Timberlake and Secretary Eaton, a boarder at the inn, were married. The case was singularly like Jackson's own save that Robard had persisted in staying alive. It happened that Mrs. Jackson had died in December, 1828; and the General, always a sentimentalist, was now keener than ever in respect to anything that suggested their marriage.

But the wives of the other Secretaries of the Cabinet would not recognize Mrs. Eaton. We may wonder what attitude they would have displayed toward Mrs. Jackson, had she lived. Mrs. Donelson, wife of Jackson's own nephew and private secretary, was mistress of the White House. But she would not receive Mrs. Eaton, and the President sent her home to Tennessee for one winter. The wives of diplomats also would not sit at dinner with the new Mrs. Eaton.

It assists in understanding the situation to know that in 1824 Jackson himself had lodged in the tavern kept by the father of Peggy O'Neill at the time of her husband's suicide. Eaton also lodged there. Jackson asserted belief in her innocence and goodness. Mrs. Calhoun was especially violent in her denunciations of Mrs. Eaton as an improper person; this violence made her husband obnoxious to Jackson. Henry Clay took up the quarrel, and tried to break the Cabinet, espousing the side of the offended ladies. His own reputation was such that this espousal of the cause of social decency was sneered at as hypocritical.

A New Cabinet.—Beginning in April, 1831, the Secretaries resigned,—first Eaton, then Van Buren, until within a few months Jackson had an entirely new Cabinet,—the Departments being headed as follows: Edward Livingston of Louisiana, State; Louis McLane of Delaware, Treasury; Lewis Cass of Michigan, War; Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire, Navy; and Roger B. Taney of Maryland, Attorney-General. Livingston had been second only to William B. Lewis as the coacher of Jackson for the Presidency. Not one of these men was then of proven Cabinet size; and but one deserves any honor as an American statesman,—Lewis Cass. Even this arrangement did not last long in any of the Departments.

Several Foreign Treaties.—In 1830, President Jackson secured the reopening of the trade of the United States with the West Indies on a complicated bargain, however, that fav-

ored Great Britain. In 1831, by treaty with France, he won a settlement of the claims of the citizens of the United States against that nation,—some $5,000,000,—and of the citizens of France against the United States,—some $250,000. In 1836, we nearly went to war, trying to get the money, which was finally, however, paid in installments.

The Indians and the Courts.—During the first administration of Jackson, grave troubles arose with the Southern Indians,—the considerably civilized Cherokees, who numbered 16,000 with 1250 negro slaves, the Chickasaws, the Choctaws and the Creeks, lowest in culture but 40,000 in number,—in all 80,000 persons. Despite treaty rights guaranteed by the United States, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi all passed laws against the Indians. Two Boston missionaries refused to get licenses from Georgia to live among the Cherokees; and a State judge ordered them imprisoned for four years at hard labor in the penitentiary. The Supreme Court of the United States held the Georgia law unconstitutional, and ordered the men released. The Georgia authorities declined to obey, practically nullifying the Supreme Court of the United States. President Jackson refused to enforce the Court's order. In 1833, the missionaries were pardoned, an evasive shift to avoid the real issue. There were many similar cases, showing at once the race questions involved and the President's hostility to the judiciary, which resembled Jefferson's. The President said, "John Marshall has given his decision; now let him enforce it."

The New Indian Territory.—By 1838, through various treaties, laws, armed conflicts, and money payments, most of the Indians had been sent into the newly established Indian Territory beyond the Mississippi. With a different President, they might all have been left in the Gulf States, their natural homes.

Great Questions in Congress.—It was in a debate over withholding the public lands from sale that Daniel Webster made his famous reply to Robert Y. Hayne in 1830. Jackson himself had no policy with regard to our vast domains of unsettled public lands. This question became inextricably involved with that of the tariff, and both with that of the National Bank; and all three with that of internal improvements. Before any satisfactory answers to these four ques-

tions were made, the mighty question asked by South Carolina as to nullification had to be answered.

Cheap Lands.—They are indeed separate problems; but in the mixing of American politics, well-defined issues are hard to get. Cheap lands mean the drawing of men away from cities,—away from manufacturing and commerce. Henry Clay was for cheap land. But the purposes of tariffs may be two,—to raise revenues and to discourage the importation of foreign goods. In 1828 "the tariff of abominations" had been passed. Adams had signed it. Some members of Congress had voted for its worst features in the hope that, as a whole, it would be so bad that no majority could be log-rolled together for it, or that upon its passing the President would veto it. Wool was its substance, an ominous portent in American history.

Our trade was then annually as follows, viz.:

Exports—mainly cotton, rice, tobacco	$28,000,000
Imports—woolens	8,000,000
steel and other hardware	4,000,000
miscellaneous	16,000,000

Sectionalism.—The country was divided sectionally,—New England desired high duties on woolens and cottons and low duties on wool, iron, hemp, salt, and molasses (for rum there). Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky desired low duties on woolens and cottons and high duties on wool, iron, hemp, salt, and molasses (for whiskey there). The South desired low duties on everything; but would go rather with the second group of States than with New England upon the direct issue.

The high tariff manufacturers asked for cheap labor. To keep wages down by an abundant supply of laborers, they wished to end moving upon the public lands.

The National Bank, with its twenty-five branches, needed business upon which to live. So likewise did the local banks in the several States. The bankers favored free access to the lands,—they were supposed to be good security for loans. Even in England at this period, there were wild notions as to banking.

The West desired internal improvements, as did some eastern and southern localities. The West especially favored such

improvements as would encourage settlement. What nine men in ten want is neighbors. Men instinctly feel that life is easier in society. Solitude tends to savagery; and savagery tends to extinction, inevitably.

These hard problems came up to Jackson in a form in which a soldier might settle them by knocking them in the head. Jackson was no thinker, but he was a soldier.

South Carolina Talks Nullification.—In 1830, while Jackson's heart was aflame with the Eaton matter, Congress passed acts that reduced the taxes upon salt, molasses, coffee, cocoa and tea, but making more stringent the appraisals of all articles. The great items were to be worse than ever. In April, at a public banquet, Jackson gave as a toast,—"Our federal Union: it must be preserved." It was a hard blow to the Southern party. They hoped that the President, who had allowed virtual nullification of Federal Indians laws, would allow nullification of the protective tariff. South Carolina began to talk secession. In October, 1831, a free trade convention was held at Philadelphia; and a protectionist convention at New York. In the following winter, J. Q. Adams in Congress, a protectionist, was made chairman of the Committee on Manufactures, with a majority of its members anti-protectionists. Clay advocated an "American system,"—the tariff to be prohibitive of imports. He even advocated letting the rest of the public debt stand so as to make no revenue for its payment necessary. Jackson and Adams favored paying the debt. In 1832, an Act was passed that abolished or reduced the revenue features of the tariff but left its protective features,—woolens were raised fifty per cent. higher. Low grade wool came in free. Clay and the manufacturers had won.

Positions of the Leaders.—Again, Jackson was before the country for the Presidency. He had opposed internal improvements, generally on two grounds,—first, their "unconstitutionality" and "special interests,"—government does not exist to help individuals as such or even localities as such, but only to forward indubitably the public welfare. He had favored paying the public debt. He had been an economist, and a non-interferer, in true democratic fashion. And he was known to hate the National Bank. Where he really stood on the tariff, no one knew. Clay took up the cause of the Bank, which would need a new charter in 1836.

The New Party Conventions.—Conventions of parties had now become the fashion. The National Republicans met in December, 1831, and nominated Clay for President and Sergeant for Vice-President. The Democratic Convention met in May, 1832, and nominated Jackson unanimously and Van Buren for Vice-President by over 4 to 1. The Anti-Masons, who had become a great party, nominated that William Wirt who in 1807 had conducted the prosecution of Aaron Burr and had been Attorney-General from 1817 to 1829.

Nicholas Biddle and His Bank.—The contest concerned chiefly the National Bank. Clay favored its re-charter, mainly because Jackson opposed it. The opposition of Andrew Jackson to this second of our National Banks is a matter that can be understood only in the light of an understanding of the temperament and social opinions of this unique man. He shuddered at the memory of Hamilton, who had brought the National Bank idea out of Europe into America. He felt an instinctive and probably justifiable enmity to its President, Nicholas Biddle, a young, plausible, literary, brilliant, daring aristocrat of Philadelphia. Jackson was a relentless hunter. He made Nicholas Biddle his quarry. He felt that the Bank was a monster, too big for even Congress to control,—the head and front of a growing and dangerous "money-power." He disliked its corporate alliance with the United States Government. He feared for equality and liberty. In this hostility to the Bank itself, Jackson again was probably justified.

Charges against the National Bank.—At any rate, the campaign was waged by Biddle for the Bank against Jackson; and by Jackson against Biddle and the Bank. The charges against the Bank were many; they included usury, drafts issued as currency contrary to statute and to honest banking, selling gold coin as bullion or commodity, trading in its own stocks, gifts to canals and roads, trading in real estate, subsidizing the press, lending over a million dollars (three per cent. of its capital) to Thomas Biddle, cousin of Nicholas, drawing specie from the West, lending money to members of Congress, having forty Congressmen as stockholders, control by a little clique of directors, and a dozen similar items. Upon July 10, 1832, Jackson vetoed a bill granting a new charter,—

it had passed the Senate by a vote of 28 to 20, the House by 107 to 85. To pass it over the veto, the vote in the Senate was 22 to 19 upon July 13; and the Bank had failed to get the necessary two-thirds.

Hotheads and Hasty in South Carolina.—While this campaign was on, came nullification and its defeat. In November, 1832, a convention in South Carolina adopted an ordinance declaring that the tariff laws of 1828 and of 1832 were "null and void." There was supposed to be in a State Convention some mysterious potency of the popular will higher, greater and nobler than existed in a State Legislature or in Congress. This was a fruit of the Federal Convention of 1787, which accomplished a work beyond the Congress of the Confederation,—and yet some of the members were the same in Congress and in Convention! That potency consists in two facts,—first, the Convention has a single, distinct, well-known purpose, and, second, it comes fresh and immediate from the people. As offsets, the convention usually has a lower average quality of men, the naming more of accident than of deliberation; and men of less experience than those of the legislature. And it is usually nearer to the popular will and whim of the moment, which is by no means a source of confidence to the discerning.

The convention tears down privileges and creates rights; the legislature preserves both privileges and rights. The convention is usually radical and destructive and always, until these later days in America, occasional. The legislature is traditional and constructive and continuous.

Historical Origins of Nullification.—To Jefferson, to Madison and to Jackson himself belongs the responsibility of the Nullification Convention of South Carolina,—to Jefferson as the author of the Kentucky resolutions of 1798 relative to the Alien and Sediton Acts;[1] to Madison as the author of the Virginia resolutions of the same general tenor, though milder;[2] and to Jackson because he had allowed Georgia her way with the Indians.[3] Not one of them had gone to the extremes of South Carolina, not one supposed that any single State of its own motion could nullify an Act of Congress.

[1]See pp. 248, 249, *supra.* [2]See p. 284, *supra.* [3]See p. 235, *supra.*

Unconstitutionality.—Nullification is the business of the Supreme Court. We raise here undoubtedly the question of the validity of the decision of Chief Justice Marshall and his associates in Marbury *v.* Madison, 1803, and in McCulloch *v.* Maryland in 1819. In the former case, the Court held that Congress could not annul the specific provisions of the Constitution and that any bill actually intending to do so was not law. In the latter case, the Court held that a State legislature could not annul the Federal Constitution. In 1821, in Cohens *v.* Virginia, the Court asserted its right to hear appeals of certain kinds from the State courts,—all governments and all individuals are, therefore, under the control of the Federal Government. What kinds, the Court will decide.

In Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, it has always been a common law right for judges to say whether the law pleaded is or is not law. In essence, this is all that the Supreme Court has said in these famous, constitution-building decisions; but in effect, it made itself dominant in the National Government, and the Government paramount over the States. The Constitution says something different,—Whatever was not expressly granted to the Federal Government was reserved to the States. —Amendments, Article X.

This course on the part of the Supreme Court has been praised as nation-building and denounced as usurpation. It was both. It centralized and solidified government and decreased liberty. It was never intended by the fathers that the Court should be a perpetual constitutional convention and literally supreme in the land. On the contrary, they provided two definite methods of constitutional revision by amendments. It is possible to make a nation so solid that it will burst from the compression of its inner life; the so-called "Civil" War was such a bursting caused by the Dred Scott decision that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. It is possible also to make a court so strong as to invite a Taney than whom a Cromwell is not more capable of setting a spark to explode the magazine of national sentiment. Revolutions usually arise from tyrannies judicially enforced.

Congress Not a Parliament.—What the Court did was to say that Congress is no sovereign Parliament to amend "an unwritten constitution" as it wills and no Federal Convention sitting perpetually for such amendment.

The nullifiers of South Carolina with Governor James Hamilton as President of their Convention proceeded to add that any appeal from their courts to the United States Supreme Court regarding the tariff would itself be contempt of court. On November 27, 1832, the Legislature passed laws to make these nullification ordinances effective; and backed the threat of secession by ordering one thousand stand of arms for the State militia.

In December at Columbia, the western counties of South Carolina held a Convention to denounce nullification; and civil war within the State was threatened.

Jackson Defeats Nullification.—President Jackson ordered two war vessels to proceed to Charleston, and General Winfield Scott, head of the army, was set to collecting troops to enforce the laws. In a proclamation (written by Secretary Livingston) he declared nullification "incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle" in it "and destructive of the great object for which it was formed."

The proclamation electrified the country. It was the most popular action of all Jackson's long life, not excepting the victory at New Orleans.

The Southern nullifiers, who were not a majority save in South Carolina, thought that the proclamation was due to Jackson's hatred of Calhoun. Old John Randolph travelled about the State in his carriage trying to arouse the people against the proclamation but advised them not to secede yet! Calhoun resigned the Vice-Presidency and was elected United States Senator.

January 16, 1833, Jackson sent a message to Congress to enact extensive legislation affecting the whole situation. A tremendous debate upon constitutional theories followed. All the State legislatures except South Carolina passed resolutions against nullification; but there were some ominous additional resolutions,—North Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, and New Hampshire assailed the tariff; Virginia offered to mediate between the United States and South Carolina; and Georgia asked for a convention of the Gulf States.

Nullifiers' Right as to the Tariff.—Often it happens, in the lives of nations and of individuals, that on a minor issue

an aggressor is right, but upon the major issue wrong. The nullifiers were right as to the tariff. It was outrageous. But as to nullification, they were wrong, not because they offended the letter or even the spirit of the Constitution but because they offended public opinion and manifest destiny. The new migrating multitudes of the North and West cared naught for State lines. One nation from Atlantic to Pacific, from Lakes to Gulf, was in the march of events. Families resident in ancestral homes are requisite for defending State's rights and domestic institutions and customs. Transients are only Americans, not Rhode Islanders or Georgians as well. Now that in the twentieth century public lands are gone, State's rights will grow apace. Climate and association and heredity are behind the true doctrine.

Jackson Wins against Clay.—In November, 1832, the popular elections had taken place. When in 1833 the Electoral College met, the votes stood:

Jackson	219	Van Buren	189
Clay	49	Sergeant	49
Floyd[1]	11	Henry Lee[1]	11
Wirt[2]	7	Ellmaker[2]	7
		Wilkins[3]	30

In every State save South Carolina, there was a popular vote, which stood, in its totals:

Jackson 707,217, Clay 328,561, Wirt 254,720.

Anti-Masonry.—The Anti-Masonic vote, for Wirt and Ellmaker, was a singular and a significant phenomenon. Anti-Masonry began with popular indignation in 1826 against the kidnapping and assumed murder of one William Morgan, who being a Mason and needing money, tried to earn some by exposing its secrets in a manuscript that, however, was never published. A body found in Niagara river was identified as his.

With this unhappy incident as nucleus, the Anti-Masons gathered together many factions. Their convention in 1830 was the first in American history to publish a platform. The

[1]Of South Carolina, nullifier.

[2]Anti-Mason, Vermont only.

[3]Of Pennsylvania, independent, hostile to Van Buren.

movement grew into hostility to all secret societies. They invented the national political convention, which met in September, 1831, choosing Wirt for Presidential candidate. They hoped that the National Republicans would endorse him. When the Republicans nominated Henry Clay, Wirt tried to withdraw. It is a fair question whether by dividing in their opposition to Jackson the Republicans and Anti-Masons did not actually increase his majority. Probably, Clay alone would have had more votes than Clay and Wirt drew for their rival tickets. But the result showed that even Henry Clay was out of the running with "Old Hickory" as his rival. If the vote had been taken in December, after the Nullification issue had been raised, Jackson would have had an almost unanimous vote outside of the Gulf States. Even in November, the result was a triumph for Jackson. He had become a tribune of the people. He now proceeded as never before to rule the land,—without guiding principles or an understanding mind. The second administration of Andrew Jackson is a chapter *sui generis* in American history; he overrode Congress and with his reinforced kitchen cabinet was the government. No man and no interest could stand against him. Fortunately, he was old and ill; and did not dare to undertake what he might have had,—a third term.

The first serious problem was financial readjustment. The little local banks had beaten the big Bank with its branches. The threatened money monopoly could not be realized. Jackson now undertook to withdraw the government deposits from the National Bank and to place them in more or less appropriate sums in the local banks. There was no warrant of law for him to do this. The charter would not expire until 1836.

Andrew Jackson, LL. D., of Harvard.—The Deposits. —In 1833 Andrew Jackson in a triumphal progress through New England was granted the degree of LL. D. by Harvard College. The Indian fighter was now a Doctor of Laws of our oldest, most venerated university. From Boston he wrote to his Secretary of the Treasury, William J. Duane, an argument regarding the right to remove the deposits. Taney also urged this. By various Acts of Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury reports directly to the House of Representatives.[1] Duane refused to obey the orders of President Jackson and

[1]See Article I, Section 7, U. S. Constitution.

refused also to resign. On September 23, Jackson removed him from office and transferred Taney to the Treasury. Duane now found himself, to quote his own words, "ostracized, disowned, outlawed on all sides." Taney obeyed; and there was a financial panic. Nine million one hundred thousand dollars were transferred in the next few months to twenty-three small local banks. Even so, the National Bank still had $51,000,000 on deposit. So powerful was it in Congress that it was able to prevent the confirmation by the Senate of the appointment of Taney as Secretary of the Treasury.

Taney Rewarded with Chief Justiceship.—But in July, 1835, Chief Justice Marshall died, and after a long contest the President forced the Senate to accept Taney as head of the Supreme Court.[1] He was then fifty-nine years old.

The Pitiful End of "Nick" Biddle.—Breaking the National Bank was not an error. Its President spent $400,000 in buying a charter through the Pennsylvania Legislature. It failed in the commercial crisis of 1837; again in 1839; and was ruined by February 4, 1841. Nicholas Biddle died in 1844, insolvent, broken-hearted and barely escaping conviction for plundering the Bank. It was a pitiful ending to a brilliant, dangerous, and toward the end criminal, career.

Decentralized and localized banking conditions have unquestionably tended to the upbuilding of new sections and to the self-reliance of the American people.

The President Censured.—In January, 1834, by a small majority, Clay carried in the Senate a resolution of censure upon the President for his actions in respect to the government deposits, which were declared to be without warrant of statute. He would like to have carried the House for impeachment, but the House was Jacksonian.

The Cabinet Changed Again.—The final Cabinet of Jackson consisted of these members, viz.:

State,—John Forsyth, who had succeeded Louis McLane, the fourth incumbent.

Treasury.—Levi Woodbury, the fifth incumbent.

War,—Benjamin F. Butler (of New York), the third incumbent.

Attorney-General,—Benjamin F. Butler (of New York), the third incumbent.

Postmaster-General,—Amos Kendall, the second incumbent.

[1] See pp. 418-419, *infra*.

Navy,—Mahlon Dickerson, the third incumbent.

The history of the Secretaryship of the Treasury told where Jackson waged war upon actual corruption in Congress and a legalized banking "trust."

THE SURPLUS.—In 1836, with the public debt all paid, the United States Treasury had $40,000,000 surplus on hand. By a vote of 5 to 1, Congress gave it away to the States, inflating tremendously the bank funds, and over-stimulating business. Much of this money was squandered by the States and the counties among which some States divided their shares. A large surplus is a curse to a nation.

INTRINSIC MONEY.—In 1834, public lands were sold to the amount of $4,800,000; in 1835, $14,700,000; in 1836, $24,800,000. Land speculators organized banks, got them appointed government depositories, and floated paper currency notes. Senator Benton of Missouri, known as "Old Bullion," tried to get a strictly gold and silver currency; and in 1836 Jackson ordered that only gold, silver and land scrip should be taken for public lands. His last official act as President was to refuse to sign a bill annulling his specie circular; he sent it back to the State Department March 3, 1837, at 11.45 P. M. It was one of his best official actions. In January, 1837, after a lapse of three years, Benton carried that remarkable resolution to expunge Clay's censure of 1834. It was clearly futile and contrary to fundamental reason; but it pleased "Old Hero" mightily. The past is, however, adamant; and the censure is a fact.

IN RETIREMENT AT "THE HERMITAGE."—The successor of Jackson was his personal choice, Martin Van Buren, for whom few others cared. In retirement, he still exercised much influence from "The Hermitage." In 1844, he dropped Van Buren and urged the movement to nominate Polk of his own State, because of his attitude regarding Texas. Shortly after the defeat of Clay, he died of slow consumption June 8, 1845, being then seventy-eight years of age and leaving a memory of the most extraordinary personal success ever achieved in American politics.

His estate was small, and was disposed of by will in legacies, public and private.

DEMOCRACY AN EXPERIMENT.—In a certain sense, every

son of man is *sui generis,* unique. But Andrew Jackson was unique in the sense that he was more unlike each and every other President than any other differed from his predecessors and successors. Many of our Presidents have had distinctive characteristics, even distinctive characters. Of all Presidents, he was the most colorful. The nearest approach to him was Roosevelt; yet Roosevelt is more like even Buchanan than he was like Jackson.

Spectacular, pyrotechnic, catastrophic, almost cataclysmic, Andrew Jackson led the new people out of the last palace halls of the old aristocratic order of society according to convention and tradition and into the breezy, rude, rich, perilous wilderness of equality according to Nature,—which, be it understood, is no assertion that all men are created equal. With him, privilege was driven to the defensive in America until its last fortress is taken, and it dies forever. It is a wilderness of give and take; of swim your own weight and load, or sink; of hold your own, face front, whatever the odds, or perish.

Such democracy is a magnificent, dangerous, soul-absorbing experiment. Within every reform in American history, within every aspiration for change, there lives the spirit of Andrew Jackson, as it were, the energetic Jean Jacques Rousseau of American politics.

CHAPTER VIII

Martin Van Buren

1837-1841
1782-1862

26 States 1840—Population 17,069,453

Extraordinary friendship with Aaron Burr—early life—leader of the bar—marriage—State Senator—puts an end to imprisonment for debt —and to estates tail—opposes Burr for governorship—political proscriptions—British system of office-holding—rotation in office—Van Buren a pastmaster of small politics—supports War of 1812—New York State Attorney-General—the Bucktails—anti-slavery—United States Senator—member State Constitutional Convention—a reform leader—a high protective tariff unstable—tries to restore original meaning of

Electoral College—votes against occupation of Oregon—the Albany Regency—anent circuit duties of Supreme Court—a civil service reformer—Governor of New York—progressive—Secretary of State—right hand man of Jackson—minister to England—meets Washington Irving—appointment opposed by Clay, Webster, Calhoun and Hayne—made Vice-President by outrage—price paid by President—Panic of 1837—tremendous economic changes—rhapsody by Clay in Senate—independent treasury bill—specie payment resumed in 1839—cotton and Texas—loses renomination because of two-thirds rule—log cabin campaign low grade—tour of South—Free Soilers nominate Van Buren—in 1860 supports Douglas—compared with Madison—personal appearance—a decentralizationist and an exponent of freedom—in office blameless in all great matters.

His Alliance with Jackson and with Burr.—Martin Van Buren, who was neither renominated by a great party nor reëlected, is one of the problems of American historical scholarship. One of the unknown factors in the problem is how far he influenced and how far he was influenced by Andrew Jackson. Another factor seeks to account for the close sympathy between himself and Aaron Burr. Van Buren was born on December 5, 1782; Burr in 1756, being then twenty-six years old.

Van Buren's reputed father was a farmer and an innkeeper. His mother was a second wife. Burr was a boarder there for the year previous to Martin Van Buren's birth. The striking similarity of the two in appearance, and in character and ability, the inferiority and dissimilarity of the other Van Buren children, the reputation of Burr with women and the extraordinary affection that Martin all his life felt for Aaron Burr gave rise to significant opinions regarding them,—which reported circumstances seem to bear out.

Fair Elementary Education.—Lawyer.—After a fair elementary schooling and a brief period in Kinderhook Academy, Martin Van Buren at fourteen years of age began his law-studies at Kinderhook under Francis Sylvester. Six years later he went to New York to study with W. P. Van Ness, an opportunity secured for him by Aaron Burr, then Vice-President. In 1803, at his majority, he became partner at Kinderhook with his older half-brother on his mother's side, J. J. Van Alen. He became very successful; by 1808 was surrogate of his county, Columbia; and soon became known as the leader

of the Republican side of the bar. There were plenty of lawsuits,—involving old rights, feuds, estates.[1] The ancient patroon land-system was going to pieces, the Dutch families to whom Van Buren belonged were having a hard time to hold their own against the newcomers, and democracy had set in.

Marriage.—Four Sons.—In 1807, Van Buren married Hannah Hoes, a kinswoman of his mother's and a friend since childhood. It was a marriage of but twelve years, when his wife died, leaving four sons. Van Buren lived forty-three years, never marrying again. He had seen enough of families with stepmothers and two sets of half-brothers and half-sisters.

State Senator and Judge.—In 1813, the young lawyer, already foremost at the bar, became State Senator and as such, under the New York Constitution, a member of the court of errors, in the fashion of the British House of Lords, wherein the hand of Alexander Hamilton, born a British subject, was displayed. Theoretically, Van Buren became a lay-judge. In 1815, he became State Attorney-General also, holding the office four years.

He removed to Albany, a city then of but ten thousand inhabitants, and there he made his headquarters until, in 1829, Jackson appointed him Secretary of State. Benjamin F. Butler, a man of high personal distinction, became his law partner.

Ends Imprisonment for Debt.—The services of Martin Van Buren in the development of American liberties included no less a matter than, as a judge of the court of errors, helping to get rid of imprisonment for debt, that monstrous absurdity now in the limbo of the past. What a far cry it was from this jailing of debtors to our present national bankruptcy, in which North Carolina, years before, had taken the lead! In this decision in 1813, Van Buren opposed the famous jurist, Chancellor James Kent. Another similar service was rendered in 1823, when being of counsel with Aaron Burr and a United States Senator, in the Medcef Eden case, he helped break down "estates tail." Such estates tie up land, are the defence

[1] Cf. the early days of Patrick Henry in Virginia, p. 137, *supra*, and of John Adams of Massachusetts, p. 244, *supra*.

of primogeniture and of social inequality, and do not comport with American liberty. This work of his was like that of Jefferson in Virginia.

The End of the Political Career of Aaron Burr.—The first test of the strength of the character of Martin Van Buren came in the political contest of 1804 when Burr, who had unsuccessfully intrigued for the Presidency, ran for governor against Morgan Lewis, candidate of the Clintons and Livingstons, who virtually owned the offices of New York State. Despite his never-to-be-broken personal friendship for Burr, Van Buren voted the Lewis ticket. Like many another pair of friends, they dreamed of controlling both parties, but this defeat, largely due to the killing of Hamilton that summer, closed Burr's political career.

Political Proscriptions.—Then followed the period when New York State learned the trick of discharging political enemies from office. Clintonians proscribed the Federalists, and Federalists the Clintonians. Van Buren suffered as did all other officeholders. The spoils system arose in a State of limited suffrage,—no man could vote for governor or senator unless possessing a freehold of £100 value, or for assemblymen unless possessing a freehold of £20 value or paying yearly rent of forty shillings and being an actual taxpayer, not merely an heir or co-tenant. Great family interests, not democratic partisanship, established rotation in office in New York State.[1]

Rotation in Office versus Vested Rights.—Rotation in office is the extreme contrast with the British view of vested right to office, even of the rights of inheritance, of sale, and of bequest of office.

In England, government offices were usually private property, and religious offices were universally such. We made both kinds merely temporary services. In the European sense, our governors are not officers, nor are our ministers such, but servants. And yet in some sections of New England, church pews are still "real estate" and as such heritable and alienable. And in various cities, even States, the boss may secure property in many offices and distribute them by sale or by favor to his henchmen. But compared with European prices for offices, ours are cheap.

[1]See p. 331, *supra*.

Americans were then Jacks of all Trades.—The second and third decades of the nineteenth century constituted the end of a different age from ours. There were few experts and fewer specialists. Nearly all Americans were still farmers or farm laborers, which meant that they did a hundred things besides what we now call "farming." Most of the rest were merchants and clerks, handling usually imported goods. Only a few were manufacturers and mechanics, or miners, or sailors. England had won the sea-trade. Our own people were all-around men, who went easily from farm or store to political office, and back again; we were not generally so laborious and efficient as now, though we kept longer hours. Few men had learned some one thing so well that they had no time to learn a little of everything. Rotation in office paralleled rotation in business.

Men of the type still survive who keep a hotel, run a farm, serve as town clerk, sell automobiles, edit a paper,—do whatever comes to hand promising well. In the old days, the offices themselves were not specialized as they are now. Then a young fellow taught school, groomed horses, kept store accounts, ran a postoffice, shingled a house, tended a garden, as luck decided. But all girls stayed home and did housework and light farm chores.

"Little Van" a Pastmaster of Small Politics.—In this new business of using small offices to help out supporters of himself and party for the great offices "Little Van," as Martin Van Buren was generally known, quickly became a pastmaster. He had a winning personality, adroitness, industry and loyalty.

A War of 1812 Jingoist.—In 1812, as Senator, he voted against the Madison electors, and for DeWitt Clinton. It was a curious move. Most of the Federalists voted with him. Clinton carried the Legislature and, of course, the Electoral College. Would Clinton have made a better President than Madison?—it was at the beginning of the War of 1812.[1] Soon afterwards, Clinton and Van Buren became hostile to one another. Van Buren was an enthusiastic advocate of strong war measures,—of stronger measures than President Madison and Congress ever adopted, but he saw no military service himself. In 1814, under his leadership, New York State voted 12,000 soldiers for two years, 2000 men as

[1]See p. 286, *supra.*

"fencibles" to protect the seacoast, and 2000 negroes as soldiers, provided that their masters would set them free. This bill was drafted by "M. V. B." in his own hand and filed proudly by him as "a memento of the patriotism, intelligence and firmness of the legislature,"—to quote his own words endorsed thereon and preserved in the archives of the State until the great fire of the Capitol in May, 1911.

State Attorney-General.—The Republicans now had two heroes,—"the sage of Monticello" and "the hero of New Orleans"; and New York State had its admitted political guide, Martin Van Buren, whom it made Attorney-General. A few months later he became also a member of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, a euphuistic name for the body controlling all New York higher educational institutions.

The Bucktails.—The details of the life of Martin Van Buren for the next few years belong rather to New York State history than to personal biography. He helped to get the Erie Canal bill through the Legislature in 1817. He was a Tompkins adherent, opposing Clinton usually. As such, he was a "Bucktail," so named from the tail of deer worn at ceremonies by the opponents of Clinton. Tammany Hall was "Bucktail." The Tompkins men became the true Democrats of the regular party organization and traditional line. In this period rose Thurlow Weed, one of the most famous New York politicians,—an opponent of Van Buren. In 1820 Van Buren, though a man of party affiliations, often an independent, supported the Federalist Rufus King for reëlection as United States Senator, who was successful. King voted against admitting Missouri as a slave State; and Van Buren paved the way for this by calling a public meeting in Albany to protest against slavery in any part of the territory beyond the Mississippi.

Two Great Honors.—In February, 1821, Martin Van Buren became United States Senator. It was his lucky month! Half of all his great honors were voted to him in that month. Before going to Washington, he sat as member in the State constitutional convention, which, despite the prophecy of Chancellor Kent who declared "universal suffrage" a "delusion" that posterity will "deplore in sackcloth and ashes," took the control of government out of the hands of the owners of

land, and decentralized administration, then too closely directed from Albany. Van Buren was the leader for wider suffrage and the dispersion of governmental powers and for reducing the number of officers appointed by State authority.

Judges are Men.—In this convention, he performed the genuine service of arguing that judges are not less open to improper influences than other men; the strange belief that though born of the same parents as the rest of us, they are both incorruptible and irreproachable still persists in some quarters. The truth is that judges are men; Van Buren was right and rendered a service in saying so. The new Constitution was adopted by the freeholders themselves by a vote of 75,000 to 41,500. What a strange notion that property qualifies for voting. Spending property for knowledge, therefore, disqualifies.

Tends Toward Strict Construction of the Constitution.—As a Senator, Van Buren made a notable but not a great record. He was astute and often brave, but never daring. His political opinions and course of action gradually changed from regular protectionism upon the tariff to as little incidental protection as possible and from liberality in matters of internal improvement anywhere and everywhere to no internal improvements, but only coastal river and harbor improvements. He came to see that men cannot legislate a high protective tariff into a state of stable equilibrium and that it always builds up special interests,—a national card-house structure full of perils to all occupants and in itself as essentially wrong as slavery.[1] As to internal improvements, he saw that these are matters of intra-State or inter-State enterprise.

Would Reconvene the Electoral College.—He voted unavailingly to prevent the free admission of slaves into Florida, hoping that the system would never cover our Southernmost State. This was one of the errors(?) that cost him a reëlection to the Presidency, when the Jackson fever of the public had quieted down; and men began once more to consider measures and issues, forgetting heroes. He was a supporter of that magnificent man, physically considered, William H. Crawford, whose breakdown in health from overwork and

[1]See p. 169, *supra*.

bad climate in Washington was the main cause of his loss of the Presidency to J. Q. Adams in 1828.

Van Buren tried to secure a national law to abolish imprisonment for debt, seeing that such imprisonment is as futile as it is wicked. He sought so to amend the Constitution that when the electors fail upon their sealed ballots, they should reconvene. This amendment was probably the true meaning according to the fathers of the Constitution. We have mechanized, even automatized, a process that Madison, Mason, Hamilton and their colleagues meant to be deliberate and intelligent and rational. The plan of Van Buren, if successfully worked out, would have made great changes in later history.

He was no imperialist and voted against the occupation of Oregon by the United States, ranging himself against his two senatorial friends, Benton of Missouri and Jackson of Tennessee. It was a vote that betrayed the limitations of his mind.

The Albany Regency.—For some time, now he had been a founder and main member of what was called "the Albany regency," a group of ten or a dozen active, shrewd, skillful politicians of perhaps the better type who meant to run New York State. And he was becoming the founder of National Democracy which as a machine lasts to this day. He was collecting together the men whom Jackson was to arouse to perfervid and almost senseless enthusiasm; and he was forming the issues in politics for many years to come.

Opposes Pan-American Congress.—Van Buren opposed the first Congress at Panama,[1] asserting that it would lead to an unconstitutional alliance with all Spanish America and might provoke Europe to make war upon us. In this opposition he was supported ably by Henry Y. Hayne of South Carolina on the ground that the South Americans were part Spanish, part Indian, part Negro, and wholly inferior to the Caucasians of the United States. By delaying, they won.

Let Judges Go Among the People.—When Marshall and his colleagues of the Supreme Court sought to be relieved of circuit duty, Van Buren defeated them, arguing that strong judges sitting always *en banc* can conceal the weaknesses of their associates, and that all judges need to go out among the people. He feared the growing bureaucratic pride of the

[1]See p. 315, *supra.*

judicial and executive branches of officers if always resident in Washington; and here he was clearly right.

Civil Service Reformer.—Early in the administration of J. Q. Adams, with Benton, he made an exhaustive report upon the civil service. Some plans were excellent, others bad. Among the good plans was service during good behavior in many offices; among the bad, was distribution of patronage among Congressmen. The report was not accepted; and yet it serves as a landmark in the history of the civil service.

Governor of New York.—The service of Van Buren as Senator ended in 1828. Webster came into the Senate in 1827. Van Buren had been an excellent parliamentarian, was a good speaker and influential in getting business done; and he had grown in knowledge of men and of issues. But he had not yet stood the test of a popular election. No man is really strong in American politics until he has been up for nomination and election to office and has won. The death of Governor DeWitt Clinton in office gave the opportunity. Van Buren was nominated by the Bucktails for the governorship. The vote was:

Democrats 137,000, National Republicans (Adams men), 106,500, and anti-Masons 33,500.

Little Van Becomes Jackson's Heir.—Van Buren had almost a clear majority. Jackson now declared that this meant a desire on the part of the people for Van Buren to be next to the President. In early days, to be next to the President was to be Vice-President; but when Thomas Jefferson came in, —1801,—American politics had given that honor to the Secretary of State.

A Reform Governor of Ten Weeks.—Van Buren was inaugurated Governor January 1, 1829, and sent to the legislature one of the best gubernatorial messages in the history of New York and indeed of all the States. He favored internal improvements at State cost; and advocated independent private banks under State supervision, including the State guarantee system. These for some years have been established in Oklahoma and neighboring States, and declared constitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1911. Van Buren also advocated separation of State and national elections; attacked the use of money in elections; took liberal views as to the duties of legislators, condemning "jealousy of the exercise of delegated political power" and "too rigid and scrupulous economy" as "indications of a contracted spirit unbecoming the character of the statesman"; showed up relentlessly the viciousness of the mud-

slinging that had fouled the Jackson-Adams campaign of 1828;[1] and declared that the election of 1828 was a triumph of sound and admirable public opinion.

As governor, Van Buren made excellent appointments to office, naming even vigorous political opponents; and then, March 12th, he resigned to become Secretary of State in Jackson's administration.

Secretary of State.—The story of the two years' service of Van Buren as Cabinet leader is the story of the early days of Jackson as President. He was the first politician of the party. John C. Calhoun had tried to prevent his appointment; and later, when Jackson discovered that in the administration of J. Q. Adams, Calhoun had recommended a court-martial for "Old Hickory" in the case of the missionaries to the Georgia Indians,[2] the fiery old leader turned upon the Vice-President to his final undoing. To Andrew Jackson, we owe the breaking of the power of the most brilliant statesman the South ever produced. In the unfortunate affairs of Mrs. Eaton, who by alleged infidelity was held by the Washington women responsible for her first husband's suicide,[3] Van Buren as a widower with four grown sons was able to pursue an easy course. He made a formal call upon her,—which pleased General Jackson and could not be censured by the social leaders.

He served in the Cabinet but two years when he resigned with the frank statement that he was a candidate for the succession,—which meant a candidate against Calhoun and Clay either in 1832 or in 1836, as Jackson, who was in poor health, might decide. By this time, the policy of the new Democratic party in respect to the protective tariff and to internal improvements had been determined. James A. Hamilton, one of the eight children of Alexander Hamilton, founder of Federalism, helped Jackson and Van Buren formulate these doctrines in State papers. It is one of many striking instances that show that Andrew Jackson was a remarkably good judge of men for his purposes.

A Perfectly Frank Office-Seeker Revealed.—Here is a passage in a letter from Samuel Swartwout to Lorenzo Hoyt, "No damned rascal who made use of his office or its profits for the purpose of keeping Mr. Adams in, and General Jackson

[1] See p. 318, *supra*. [2] See p. 327, *supra*. [3] See pp. 333, 334, *supra*.

out, is entitled to the least lenity or mercy, save that of hanging. . . . Whether or not I shall get anything in the general scramble for plunder remains to be proven; but I rather guess I shall." He did. He became collector of customs at New York; and a few years later was a defaulter for a million dollars.

Minister to England and the Outrage.—In the summer of 1831, Jackson sent Van Buren as minister to England. It was a strangely delightful experience with a rude termination. The new Minister found Washington Irving as *chargé d'affaires*. It was the beginning of what was a friendship for the rest of their lives. They travelled through the beautiful "Lake Country" together in an open carriage and saw all the other famous scenes of middle and north England. Upon their return, Van Buren found himself the guest upon many occasions in many households and social affairs hitherto not open to American diplomats. But in February, 1832, there was a violent awakening,—the Senate had refused to confirm the recess appointment by the President.[1] Van Buren was now to test the question whether or not it is an advantage to a public man to be the subject of an outrage. In March, he dined with the king, William IV, at Windsor, who graciously said to him: "Detraction and misrepresentation are the common lot of all public men." And then after a short trip upon the Continent, he returned to New York, arriving early in July. Clay, Webster, and Hayne had opposed his confirmation. Webster based his opposition upon an admission of Van Buren's in a negotiation with the British ministry that a part of the American claims were not justifiable. Said Webster: "In the presence of foreign courts, amidst the monarchies of Europe, an American minister is to stand up for his country." He said that he hoped his own speech would be heard in the defence of everything American "by every minister and crowned head in Europe." It was a foolish opposition. No sane and well-informed citizens ever believed that General Jackson could or would send a minister abroad to toady to European kings. Vice-President Calhoun declared of the rejection: "It will kill him, sir, kill him dead. He will never kick, sir, never kick." But Senator Benton was wiser,—he affirmed: "You have broken a minister and elected a Vice-President."

Vice-President.—A few days after his return from Eng-

[1] See pp. 152, 156, *supra*.

land, the Democratic party nominated Van Buren as Vice-President by a vote of nearly three to one upon the first ballot. It was this convention that adopted the two-thirds rule so unfortunate for Van Buren twelve years later.[1] Jackson and Van Buren were triumphantly elected, securing seven-twelfths of all the votes cast,[2] and winning in the Electoral College by four to one.

Powerful and Popular.—No other Vice-President, before or since, was ever so near to the President as Van Buren was to Jackson. And no other Vice-President ever had so great influence in the Senate. No other Vice-President was ever unanimously nominated for the Presidency upon the withdrawal or death of his chief. It was a long Presidential campaign, lasting a year and a half. There was no Democratic platform, but late in the canvass, in August, Van Buren wrote a letter in which he set forth his policies. He believed that any distribution of a surplus of Federal Government funds was unconstitutional. Here he was directly in opposition to Jackson himself. His view was not only legally correct but economically expedient.[3] For the States to draw from the nation would be to weaken and debauch them while vastly strengthening the central government; it would set up the relation of paupers and prince.[4] He opposed dividing among the States the proceeds from the sales of public lands in which sheer speculation for profits was rife. He opposed improving navigable rivers above the ports of entry at National cost. He declared that a National Bank was unconstitutional. Let "the national government confine itself to the creation of coin." He defended expunging the censure upon President Jackson.

Players of Politics.—In another letter, he defended slavery in the District of Columbia as inevitable because it was a small section between two slave States. For the folly of its location[5] and the crime of its social condition Alexander Hamilton was responsible, not Martin Van Buren. As Vice-President, he had given his casting vote in favor of excluding anti-slavery documents from the mail. And yet as a man, like Washington and Jefferson, Van Buren hated slavery. As a politician, he necessarily endured it,—or would have lost the

[1] For the vote, see p. 365, *infra.* [4] See p. 11, *supra.*
[2] For the vote, see p, 331, *supra.* pp. 261, 262, *supra.*
[3] See p. 345, *supra.*

Presidency. He stood upon a lower plane than John Quincy Adams in the House, and yet even Adams played politics often, indeed usually. He had to advocate high protection in order to keep in Congress. On this equally important question of a protective tariff, Van Buren was ethically right, and Adams wrong.

PRESIDENT.—The election showed that certain enemies of Jackson and of Van Buren had gained ground. Two States where Old Hickory had always been strong,—Tennessee and Georgia,—voted for Hugh L. White, a Senator from Tennessee, who led a defection from the Democratic party. Van Buren made some gains in the North but lost many votes in the South. Massachusetts voted for Webster, her great Senator. The votes in the Electoral College stood as follows, viz.:

Van Buren 170, Harrison 73, White 26, Webster 14.

The West had voted for Harrison.[1]

The Electoral College had failed to choose a Vice-President. The Senate now chose from the candidates Richard M. Johnson, who had been Senator from Kentucky for ten years. He had been an Indian fighter with William Henry Harrison and was commonly distinguished as "the man who killed Tecumseh," but the fact was not proven.

"THE" PANIC.—Martin Van Buren took Jackson's counsel and even maintained nearly all of his Cabinet of 1837 in office.[2] He was the first President born after Yorktown and remembering nothing of colonial or Revolutionary War days. Sixty-one years had passed since the Declaration of Independence. The new President looked forward to a happy, prosperous, constructive administration. But the "Panic of 1837" then fell,—the worst panic in our history,—it was indeed "the" Panic.

Its causes were more than one or two. They were complex, not simple. They were profound, not superficial. Some causes were psychological, other sociological in their nature. In truth, our ancestors were children needing to go to the school of experience.

TREMENDOUS ECONOMIC CHANGES.—In 1837, we had a bad financial system,—not worse than in the days of the deposits

[1] See p. 371, *infra*.

[2] See p. 334, *supra*.

in the National Bank of the United States,[1] but bad. Throughout the West men were buying public lands and paying for them with paper money borrowed on promissory notes from the local banks,—eighty of these local banks in various parts of the country were flush with funds from the recent deposits of National Government money. The total of this speculation was several hundred million dollars in a country with a population of about twenty million persons. The notes ran at high rates of interest,—from twelve per cent. up,—and the speculators in the lands did not work them, but held them for increases in value. Such increases appeared likely enough: fine lands changed hands at $1.25 per acre. But for nearly ten years, the speculation had run wild. And interest does not grow; it has to be earned by work. Nearly all the residents were debtors one to another and to creditors in the East. Debits and credits were the staple of business. Not much specie money passed.

A Nation of Speculators.—Not all the speculation was in Western lands. There was much speculation in all parts of the country in town and city business and residence lots. Americans were lunatic with the discovery of the "unearned increment" and how to get it by means of paper titles to lands; they had not yet learned that the increment is earned by the working community, perhaps even by the owner himself as an important factor in the community. Without labor and with appetite, there is loss, not gain.

The loans were pyramided, with profits figured on paper. Farms and lots were sold—for notes—at apparent profits; and wealth—on paper—increased fabulously. Jackson had indeed seen through it all; he was a good business man, and keen for the fatal fallacy.[2]

Coincident with the rise of lands was the development of canals and the placing of steamboats upon the rivers. The canals built towns. The stocks of the steamboat companies became profitable. Men saw visions of easy wealth. They organized banks to finance navigation companies and land speculators. Hundreds of thousands of men who might have been farmers and as such producers of wealth, or mechanics and artisans, gave their days to commercial speculations and

[1] See pp. 336-338, *supra*.

[2] See pp. 344, 345, *supra*.

their nights to new dreams of increasing prosperity. Ordinary gambling at cards and riotous living increased. Of necessaries of life, the production failed to keep pace with need; and their prices rose. Fast as settlers went into the West, they did not go fast enough to match with articles of value through labor the paper documents of value through hope. We are in the same kind of epoch now, though the gambling is in different terms.

Bread-riot in New York.—On February 14, 1837, the Jackson Jacobins met in front of the New York City Hall and cried: "Bread, meat, rent, fuel. Their prices must come down."

The crashes that brought the panic were several. On January 1, 1837, $9,367,000 of the treasury surplus for distribution to the States had to be taken from the deposit banks; this was real money. Loans had to be called in, and specie secured. The country lived through that. On April 1, a similar distribution took place. In the meantime, there had been financial trouble in England. With this was connected the fact that some Americans as they grew rich,—often only on paper,—bought heavily of English goods; and England had to be paid in gold and silver. By April 11, New York City had seen 128 failures, one-fourth being those of real estate speculators, nearly one-half of wholesalers, jobbers and commission merchants, the worst being failures of foreign and local bankers and brokers. And prices started down fast. Everything came down,—rent, wages, bread, meat. Cotton fell from 20¢ to 10¢ per pound. Fortunes melted like snow in a chinook in Idaho.

Whereupon, fifty merchants as a committee went to Washington and told the President that he must stop asking coin for the public lands! He must accept paper. Like drunkards, they proposed more whiskey as a cure.

In May, the banks of the country everywhere stopped specie payment. And bankruptcy prevailed in every city, town, village and hamlet. It was a terrible summer for millions out of work for want of employers with capital to pay them wages, being too poor to work upon their own lands with their own tools as independent producers.

A Characteristic Rhapsody by Clay.—Van Buren called a special meeting of Congress for September and sent in one

of the ablest State papers in our history, asserting that it is not the business of government either to repair private losses or to seek to improve private fortunes. In this paper, he outlined the scheme of an independent treasury, such as we have now had for many years, and happily so. Webster, Clay and the business classes denounced his propositions. The Kentuckian exclaimed rapturously,—"people, States, Union, banks, . . . all entitled to the protecting care of a paternal government." It is the child's view of a world with demigods in it,—the ignorant man's notion that government is a thing apart from us, a notion derived from days before government became "by the people" themselves, part and parcel "of them." No "parental government" can be good "for the people" since it keeps them forever under tutelage. The independent treasury bill passed the Senate but was defeated in the House by 120 to 106. Van Buren was successful, however, in blocking any further payments to the States of the once existent "surplus." He won against Clay and Webster in the Senate by 28 to 17 and against J. Q. Adams in the House, by 118 to 105. The only concession that Van Buren made to the needs of the times was to recommend the issuance of $10,000,000 in interest bearing treasury notes, none smaller than $50.[1] These were paid to government creditors because the government could not get cash from its own debtors. They were not fiat money or greenbacks but publicly admitted debts. Non-intrinsic or paper or fiat money is really debt denied and concealed from the eyes of the foolish and simple. It is a false pretence, whereby something is gotten for nothing.[2]

Urges an Independent Treasury.—Again and again in his messages to Congress, Van Buren urged the independent treasury plan. At last, in 1840, Congress passed the bill in each House by small majorities; and the divorce of bank and government was complete. Thereby, Hamilton's plan of banking was buried, let us hope, forever.

Specie Payment Resumed.—The plans of Van Buren respecting the panic had worked so well with the natural laws of the present economic régime of interest, rent, wages and taxes that by April, 1838, in a convention of all the important banks,

[1] See pp. 540, 541, *infra.*

[2] See pp. 88, 89, *supra;* also the Greenback party, pp. 118, 119, *supra.*

the business community resolved to resume specie payment for New York in May and gradually to cover all the country so that by January 1, 1839, the whole situation should be that of sound money. It was a working out of the plans of Senator Benton of Missouri; and a victory for the Loco Focos and Equal Rights men of New York.

If the United States Bank under Nicholas Biddle had been properly managed, the country's prosperity would have been perfectly restored by 1840 and Van Buren would have been re-elected President. But Biddle's United States Bank of Pennsylvania failed in a crashing ruin.[1]

The Rebellion in Canada.—In 1837, by a vote of seven to one, Parliament in England overruled the Lower Houses of each of the Canadian Provinces in a serious matter of taxation. A less serious act of tyranny from overseas occasioned the American Revolution. Lower Canada revolted, but the revolt was suppressed within a month. Toronto revolted but was subdued. Many refugees fled into New York State and tried to get support in their rebellion. On December 29, 1839, a Canadian force invaded the United States, captured the rebels' steamer, the "Caroline," and sent it blazing with fire down Niagara. Of course, the rebels had violated the neutrality laws; and President Van Buren dealt with the situation accordingly. In what he did, he was supported by the great majority both of Americans and of Canadians.

In 1838, the land system of the United States was changed into preëmption by actual settlers. Here Webster and Clay split, Webster following the Van Buren policy. It was a most fortunate change.

Osceola.—Finally to clear the Indians out of Florida and to put the survivors into the Indian Territory, cost $14,000,000 and years of effort and bloodshed. Their leader, a half-breed named Powell, calling himself "Osceola," was taken with a flag of truce and dishonorably sent to Fort Moultrie in Charleston harbor where he soon died,—after speeches regarding his Indian forebears that rang through the country and will ring through the ages. The story of the Seminoles and of Osceola, together with the great costs of the war of ambuscades and assassination, added another burden of unpopularity to Van Buren.

And there was the old yet ever fresh trouble over the Maine-

[1] See p. 344, *supra*.

New Brunswick boundary; and the Maine frontiersmen did not like the disposition of Van Buren to settle it by arbitration. Congress voted 50,000 volunteers and $10,000,000 of money for war.

More Financial Troubles.—In 1840, cotton fell to five cents a pound. Hundreds of plantations were abandoned, and their owners took the slaves and moved outside of the United States into Texas. There were wide fluctuations in international trade. In October, 1840, the Philadelphia banks again suspended. A few days later, Baltimore and many Western cities watched their banks go down like cards in a row.

Van Buren had seen the national expenses of 1839 reduced by $6,000,000 under those of 1838; and $11,000,000 more cut off in 1840. He saw now the grave crisis when the control of the House of Representatives turned upon the validity of the election of five New Jersey Congressmen. The Democrats finally seated their men, probably with right upon their side.

The Cabinet.—Toward the end of his administration, there were a few Cabinet changes so that the membership stood:

State,—John Forsyth of Georgia.

Treasury,—Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire.

War,—Joel Poinsett of South Carolina.

Attorney-General,—Henry D. Gilpin of Pennsylvania, who had succeeded Felix Grundy of Tennessee.

Postmaster-General,—John M. Niles of Connecticut.

Navy,—James K. Paulding of New York.

The first three served throughout the administration, Grundy two years and Niles three years.

Van Buren evidently got along well with his official household; but it did not contain any man of exceptional ability or reputation.

Whig Politics.—In December, 1839, ten long months before many of the State elections, the Whigs nominated William Henry Harrison, taking Tyler of Virginia to balance the ticket and to secure Southern votes. Thurlow Weed, the shrewdest politician New York State ever produced, had thrown Clay aside and taken General Harrison because he was "available" and "tractable." They said only the first, but they meant the second also; and they adopted no platform

lest some planks in it alienate some voters, other planks other voters, and so on until the election should be lost. To win,—that was their one aim. Winning meant getting into office.

Van Buren Stands on Solid Platform.—The Democratic convention met in May, 1840, at Baltimore, and adopted a straightforward platform opposing the deposit of public moneys in private banks, internal improvement paid from National revenues, National assumption of State debts, helping some industries at the expense of all others,—a policy known as a protective tariff,—and a National Bank. It supported slavery, and denounced the abolitionists. Van Buren himself favored the gag rule that Adams denounced.

It is wrong to judge Van Buren or the Democrats in the light of these later times. General Harrison himself hastened to deny the "slander" that he was an abolitionist, and to say that he favored slavery in the District of Columbia until Virginia and Maryland emancipated their slaves.

The Low Grade Presidential Campaign.—It was the lowest grade Presidential campaign in American history. The nation, Clay asserted, was "like the ocean when convulsed by some terrible storm." There was a cry for "change" voiced most loudly by Daniel Webster himself.[1] "The log cabin, hard cider whirlwind" was upon the nation. There were hitherto unknown public processions with log cabins, coonskins, cider, barrels, banners, torches, and songs.

"Tippecanoe
And Tyler, too,"

was cried everywhere.

Defeated.—The Electoral College vote was 234 for Harrison, 60 for Van Buren. The latter carried only Illinois, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, and Missouri. The popular vote increased over that of 1836 by 900,000, rising from 1,500,000 to 2,400,000. Van Buren actually polled 350,000 votes more than in 1836, and yet he was outvoted by 150,000. All the world had come to the poll to vote. The movement from the Democrats to the Whigs had been general, and there was no overwhelming majority in any State.

Dutch Thrift.—As Jackson had welcomed Van Buren to the White House, remaining there several days after the inauguration, so Van Buren welcomed Harrison. And it is a

[1] See p. 106, *supra*.

curiously significant fact that the latter retired from the Presidency, with savings of some $50,000 from the four years of the salary of $25,000 a year. He was now worth nearly or quite $200,000. Perhaps Dutch thrift accounted for this. "The Panic of 1837" had meant nothing personally to him. And yet since Washington, this thrifty widower with four grown sons had maintained the White House hospitality more adequately than any other President. There is a deal in good management. It was never proven that he benefited by bear operations in the stock market, or otherwise.

Tour of the South.—In 1842, Van Buren came out of his retirement at his noble hilltop mansion at Lindenwald and made a pilgrimage through the South, visiting Jackson at The Hermitage and Clay at Ashland. Every one supposed that he would be nominated in 1844. Tyler, who had succeeded to the Presidency on April 4, 1841, upon the death of Harrison,[1] was apparently his only rival for the Democratic nomination. The crucial test was what opinion Van Buren still held as to the annexation of Texas. "Old Hickory" was for it. The South was for it. So far, Van Buren had steadily opposed it; and he stood his ground and put his opinion in writing. Most of the delegates had been instructed for Van Buren. By a vote of 148 to 118, the Convention adopted the two-thirds rule; 58 Northern men with Southern principles voted with 90 Southerners. It was really a vote for Texas and for more slave territory and against Van Buren.

Two-thirds Rule Defeats Third Nomination.—On the first ballot, he had 146 votes, all others 133. The instructed delegates began to fall away from Van Buren. On the ninth ballot, New York turned its 35 votes to Polk, who then won. Polk was Jackson's second choice. He was the first "dark horse" candidate.[2] It is said that the historian, George Bancroft, head of the Massachusetts delegation, urged his name at the Convention.

Van Buren loyally supported Polk in the campaign that followed. In the years of his rival's administration, the Democratic party in New York State split into the anti-Texas, pro-Van Buren "Barnburners" and the "Hunkers" who "hankered" for office. The former were led by Van Buren's oldest

[1] See pp. 373, 374, *infra*.

[2] See pp. 55, 165, *supra*.

son, "Prince John"; the latter by William L. Marcy of "spoils" fame.[1] The death of Jackson in 1845 widened the schism. In 1848, the party split, the Barnburners becoming Free Soilers because of their support of the Wilmot Proviso,[2] while the Hunkers secured control of the Democratic party machinery. In May of that year, they refused to stay in the National Convention at Baltimore, which nominated Lewis Cass for President.

Free Soilers Nominate Van Buren.—In August, 1848, at Buffalo, the Barnburners or Free Soilers held their first National Convention. Martin Van Buren was their choice for President, by a vote of 159 to 129 for John P. Hale. Charles Francis Adams, son of John Quincy Adams and grandson of John Adams, future Minister to England by choice of Abraham Lincoln, presided at the Convention and was chosen as Vice-Presidential candidate. These mighty words closed their platform: "We inscribe on our banner, Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men; and under it we will fight on and fight ever until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions." To this day, soil and speech, labor and men have always been in peril.

There were good men among the Free Soilers,—David Dudley Field, later codifier of the laws of New York State; Joshua R. Giddings, Ohio's anti-slavery orator; David Wilmot, author of the Proviso that set man and man apart; Benjamin F. Butler, New York lawyer; Samuel J. Tilden, who drove Tweed to well-deserved ruin; Gerritt Smith, millionaire philanthropist and reformer; John A. Dix, destined to many high offices; and Charles Sumner, scholar, reformer, orator, political attorney for capitalists and fanatic.

Enter Zachary Taylor.—The Whigs, setting aside Clay and Webster, had nominated rich, war-loving and pious Zachary Taylor, hero and victim of the glorious raid into Mexico. In the campaign, such men as William H. Seward and Horace Greeley, professing to choose between Cass, Taylor, and Van Buren, supported Taylor; and Abraham Lincoln, fresh from his single term in Congress, stumped New England in favor of the slaveholding General. Oh, consistency! oh, intellect of man! They weren't sure of the sincerity of Van Buren; and

[1] See pp. 330, 331, *supra.*

[2] See pp. 394, 395, *infra.*

habit, the habit not to think but to repeat, mastered them. It saves us from what?—sometimes from progress.

Van Buren received not one electoral vote, but in the popular vote he led Cass, though not Taylor, in Massachusetts, Vermont, and New York.[1] In all, 300,000 voters went Free Soil that year; New York 120,000, Massachusetts 38,000, and Ohio 35,000. Free Soil pocketed big Lew Cass for the Presidency and let Taylor in at the front.

In 1860, a Douglas Democrat.—So ended the political career of Martin Van Buren. In his old age, he wavered in his loyalty to the great cause of human freedom, being deceived by the compromises of Clay. During the administration of Pierce he spent two years in Europe. In 1860, he opposed the election of Lincoln, favoring Douglas, but with the first signs of active war for secession and slavery came to the support of the President. On July 24, 1862, at nearly eighty years of age, he died of asthma and catarrh.

Martin Van Buren belongs neither among the mediocre nor among the accidental Presidents. He was a statesman, though in but a narrow field, that of governmental finance. He was a master of politicians. He was a popular man at the polls. But for the unwarranted and undemocratic Democratic two-thirds rule, he would probably have been a recurrent two-term President in the Cleveland style; and there certainly would have been no manifest destiny in 1845 to annex Texas and in 1846 to make a Viking foray into Mexico. He was a better man than Clay or Webster, and almost as able as any of the immortal trio,—Clay, Webster, and Calhoun,—who never reached the Presidency.

Among the Best Presidents.—In the cases of many Presidents, their terms do not constitute the best years of their record; but John Quincy Adams, who admired and hated him, is sufficient authority for the opinion that the Presidency of Van Buren was the true glory of his career. Let him have his due rank as not far below the best of our Presidents. He thought that he resembled Madison more than any other of his predecessors. Of later men as President, Cleveland was nearest the Van Buren performances though unlike him in manner and in method.

Personal Appearance and Character.—In person, Van Buren was small and strong, not heavy. His face was attrac-

[1] See pp. 394-396, *infra*.

tive, with keen, bright eyes, and a winning smile. His manners were easy, he knew the ways of the world. His temper was cool; his disposition cautious, through foresight and poise, not from fear. He cherished no enmities. No man was big enough for him to hate. He had none of the meaner qualities that mar so many men. Like McKinley, he was always amiable. Base calumnies followed him through life; few of them seem to have any foundation. He did have "gold spoons" at the White House. He did resemble Aaron Burr in person, in manner, in mind, but not in morals. He was "the bankers' friend." He was not perfect; but his conduct under calumny and strain has stood the verdict of history, which is that he was in all main matters blameless. In American national politics for an able man to be blameless is to be good and really great.

CHAPTER IX

William Henry Harrison

1841
1773-1841

26 States Population 18,000,000

An official accident—"any man to beat Jackson's man"—not of Electoral College grade—compared with Lincoln—early life—father a Governor of Virginia—Hampden-Sidney graduate—ensign in army—marriage—secretary and governor of Indiana Territory—Tecumseh—battle of Tippecanoe—Major-General U. S. A.—victory at Detroit—member of House of Representatives—Ohio State Senator—minister to Colombia—recalled—ran a whiskey distillery in his dark days—defeated for President in 1835—"Tippecanoe and Tyler, too"—President—office-seekers and climate killed the old man quickly—the honorable record of the Harrison family.

An Official Accident.—The ninth President was an accident. There were at least scores of other citizens more deserving, and as many more likely to render good service. For the first time, the Whig politicians were looking for a man who could be elected. Washington and Jackson had been war-heroes. Ergo, look for a war-hero. The cry of the Whigs was,—"Any man to beat Jackson's man." They feared

such a Jacksonian dynasty as the Jefferson had been. "An eye for an eye." The proscribed intended to proscribe, the despoiled to spoil.

"Any Man to Beat Jackson's Man."—Not that William Henry Harrison was an unfit man, a disgraceful choice. He was in fact less unfit than Jackson had seemed to be in 1824 and in 1828 before he was actually tried in office. Inferiority is relative. Harrison was not an inferior among Americans, but on the contrary decidedly superior. He was in fact an F. F. V. of Virginia. But he was relatively inferior not in morals or in mind but in training and experience,—less fit than any of his predecessors with the apparent exception of Andrew Jackson. He was such a man as the Electoral College of its own motion would never have considered, such a man as only emergency or craft calls forth.

It is well not to be too harsh in our judgments. In 1860 Abraham Lincoln was apparently much less fit for the Presidency than Harrison was in 1840.

Early Life; Educated at Hampden-Sidney.—William Henry Harrison was born at Berkeley, Charles City County, Virginia, on February 9, 1773. His father was a member of the Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was Governor of Virginia from 1781 to 1784; and in 1788 he opposed ratifying the Federal Constitution, supporting Henry and attacking Madison and Washington. He died in 1791. But in the mean time he had given to his third son a classical education at Hampden-Sidney College and had started him at medicine in Philadelphia. Except J. Q. Adams, no other President had so meritorious and distinguished a father.

In the Army Service.—Immediately upon his father's death, William entered the army as an ensign at Cincinnati. And the army was nearly all his career. He soon became *aide-de-camp* to General Anthony Wayne, whom Washington had sent into the Northwest Territory to subdue the Indians and to protect American treaty rights. In 1795 he married Anna Symmes, a daughter of a pioneer settler in the Big Miami valley. In 1798 he became Secretary for the entire Territory, and in 1799 delegate from the Territory to Congress. He took a prominent part in devising legislation to encourage the entrance of settlers into the fertile Northwest

territory, and in the disposal of the public lands; but no money ever stuck to his own hands, or lodged in his own pockets. In 1800 President Adams appointed him governor of the Indian Territory, where he continued until 1812.

Governor of Indian Territory.—Governor Harrison negotiated several important treaties with the Indians for the promotion of the settlement of the region by white families. For four brief months in 1804, he was also territorial governor of all the Louisiana Purchase. In 1809 the rising of the Indians under Tecumseh began.

Wins Battle of Tippecanoe River.—On November 7, 1811, the battle of the Tippecanoe River, near Lafayette, Indiana, was fought. This victory gave to General Harrison fame and ultimately the Presidency. In 1812 Kentucky appointed Harrison major-general of militia; not long afterwards he was made a Brigadier-General and later a Major-General, U. S. A. Not until 1813, after the victory of Oliver Hazard Perry at Lake Erie, did he accomplish anything effective for the American cause. Then in October he defeated the British and retook Detroit, which Hull had surrendered.

Representative in Congress.—From this time until 1816 Harrison was busy with Indian affairs, though he resigned his army commission. Then he was elected member of Congress, serving a term and a half, in which time he interested himself in pensions for soldiers, in Indian wars and treaties, and in public lands. He opposed the course of General Jackson in the Seminole War. From 1812 to 1821, he was a member of the Ohio Senate. Then, as a candidate for the House of Representatives again, he was defeated.

Senator.—In 1825 this habitual officeholder or office-seeker was elected United State Senator. He served three years, when President John Quincy Adams sent him as Minister to Colombia. But he was too democratic in nature for Bolivar the Liberator; and President Jackson recalled him. Now came dark days. To get cash to run his farm, he operated also a whiskey-distillery until he discovered that he was enriching himself from the impoverishment and degradation of his neighbors. Then he gave it up and was miserably dejected until a lucrative clerkship of the court of common pleas of Hamilton county came his way.

Defeated for the Presidency.—By 1835, reflecting upon his recall by Jackson, the country began to talk of Harrison as an anti-Jacksonian Presidential candidate. So true is it that a man is made by his enemies! Henry Clay was a Mason and a protective tariff advocate. The Whigs in 1836 took up the war-hero, and in the campaign he had 73 electoral votes to 170 for Van Buren.

Elected.—In 1840 they tried him again in combination with John Tyler of Virginia in order to get the Southern vote out. It was an extraordinary campaign with its "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too," its parades, log cabins and coon skins, and its indifference to political arguments. An Eastern Democratic editor said in type that Harrison would be more comfortable in a log cabin, drinking hard cider and wearing a coon-skin cap than in the White House. This remark helped to elect Harrison. Harrison took the stump, despite his years and his deficiencies as a public speaker. The country felt ripe for change, and the Whigs won easily.

Harrison had 234 electoral votes; Van Buren but 60.

His excellent Virginia ancestry, his education, his wonderfully picturesque and adventurous life, his repute as the man who killed Tecumseh,—which was not true,—his advanced years and his reputation for good judgment, the gratitude of the public for long years of service, his modest home-life, and above all his comparative non-committalism on all the political issues conspired to win votes against the President under whom had occurred the "panic of 1837" and its loud echo in 1839.[1]

Killed by Climate and Office-Seekers.—Once in office, with the new railroads and the spoils system, President Harrison was hounded by eager office-seekers. The spring climate of Washington, the sudden change in circumstances, the harassment of spoilsmen, brought on pneumonia; and the old man died April 4, 1841. He had chosen an able Cabinet, and had reason to expect a prosperous administration.

The Cabinet.—His official council was as follows, viz.:

State,—Daniel Webster of Massachusetts.
Treasury,—Thomas Ewing of Ohio.
War,—John Bell of Tennessee.
Attorney-General,—John J. Crittenden of Kentucky.
Postmaster-General,—Francis Granger of New York.

[1]See p. 358 *et seq., supra.*

Navy,—George E. Badger of North Carolina.

They were mostly young men, geographically well-distributed.

The Honorable Record of the Harrisons.—General Harrison was of the better type of American volunteer soldiers. He was a good executive; and as a legislator was wise enough to confine his activities to matters within his experience.

His wife, the mother of his six sons and four daughters, two years his junior, survived until 1864, to die at eighty-nine years of age, after seeing one grandson, Benjamin Harrison, become a Major-General.

In the Adams lineal descent, America has had two Presidents and a Minister to England, in three successive generations,—John, John Quincy, and Charles Francis. In the Harrison family, which has one source in the Indian girl, Pocahontas, America has had a signer of the Declaration and two Presidents,—Benjamin, his son, William Henry, and his great grandson, Benjamin. It is the very honorable record of a family evidently biologically fit to survive and intellectually superior.

CHAPTER X

John Tyler

1841-1845
1790-1862

26-27 States — Population 20,000,000
Admitted: Florida.

First Vice-President to succeed by death of chief—renegade or sorehead—early life—good family—educated at William and Mary—member Virginia House of Delegates—fought in War of 1812—marriage—Representative in Congress—Governor of Virginia—United States Senator—strict constructionist—a Calhoun Democrat and yet not a nullifier—held right view as to District of Columbia—supported National Bank—resigned after obeying his State Legislature—member Virginia House of Delegates—great popular triumph—not a spoils-

man—no Democrat, no Whig—and lost—death of wife—second marriage—President Peace Congress at Washington—an inconsequential person but agreeable.

A Vice-President Becomes President.—The first Vice-President to succeed to the Presidency during his term of office by reason of the death of chief was John Tyler of Virginia, whom the Whigs had nominated with William Henry Harrison of Ohio in order to be sure to win. They did win so overwhelmingly that every one saw that taking an anti-Jackson Democrat, temporarily a Whig on personal grounds, had been an unnecessary concession to expediency. They thought that as President of the Senate, Tyler would do no harm; they did not reckon upon the contingency of the succession, within thirty-one days! And now Tyler was President, without a party. The Democrats looked upon him as a renegade, the Whigs as a sorehead. It was a hard fate for a naturally agreeable gentleman, who was probably right in much of his distrust of Andrew Jackson and almost certainly right in being at heart a convinced Democrat.

Early Life.—John Tyler was born at Greenway, Charles City county, Virginia, March 29, 1790. William Henry Harrison was just removing from that county to Philadelphia at the same time. He was the second son of John Tyler, who was governor of Virginia later, from 1808 to 1811. The Tyler family, like the Harrisons, was of English descent.

Educated at William and Mary.—John Tyler went to William and Mary College, being graduated in 1807, and admitted to the bar in 1809. At twenty-one years of age, he became a member of the Virginia House of Delegates. He saw some militia service in the War of 1812. In 1813, while in army service, he married Letitia Christian, a lady of his own age, who lived until 1842, and was the mother of three sons and four daughters. In 1816 he became a member of Congress, serving until 1821. It was a career of easy, steady progress, such as sometimes characterizes the early life of well-born, industrious, agreeable men. In politics he was a consistent Jeffersonian. At this time, nearly all men of prominence were Jeffersonians. Tiring of life at Washington, he returned to the Virginia Legislature, and then was governor from 1825 to 1827.

GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA; SENATOR.—Before his term expired, he was elected to the United States Senate to succeed the brilliant, erratic, forceful but lonely John Randolph.

In the Senate, as a strict constructionist, Tyler voted consistently against all protective tariffs. He even voted against the "Force Bill" to enable the customs officers to collect the revenues, and was the only Senator to do so. He was more of the Calhoun Democrat than of the Clay or Whig. He tried to get the slave trade abolished in the District of Columbia, and yet illogically asserted the necessity of slavery there because of the contiguity of Maryland and of Virginia, both slave States. As a State's rights man, he argued that since Maryland and Virginia had ceded the lands to the United States for the District, this peculiar domestic institution could not be abolished without their consent; in other words, the United States is only a tenant by continuing free-will of the owners of the lands. We may adopt this view yet in order to create an American government there.

In respect to the National Bank, with Henry Clay and against the President, he stood for it. He was, in short, a free lance, with opinions that no one could safely predict. His predecessor, Randolph, had taught him this mood. The course of Tyler in 1836, when Senator Hugh L. White of Tennessee ran for President upon a split in the Democratic party, and when he himself ran for Vice-President, showed his capricious nature. Tyler had forty-seven votes, yet Van Buren and Johnson carried the State of Virginia against White and Tyler as well as against Harrison and several other candidates.

RESIGNS.—When the Virginia Legislature instructed the United States Senators to support Benton's resolution to expunge from the journal of the Senate the resolution of censure against President Jackson,[1] Tyler admitted the right of the Legislature to instruct the Senators but promptly resigned his seat on February 29, 1836. This act caused him to be counted a Whig, and probably more than any other gave him the Presidency, for it seemed to indicate him as a man with a working conscience and of independent judgment. In 1838 he became for the third time a member of the Virginia House of Delegates. As President of the Virginia Colonization Society, he began active work for the return of the

[1] See pp. 344, 345, *supra*.

negroes to Africa, a quixotic enterprise that fascinated many imaginative but ineffective men. The notion was strongly favored even by Abraham Lincoln. In 1839, Tyler ran for the United States Senate again but was defeated.

And now luck came his way. The Whigs picked him up as ex-Governor of Virginia, ex-United States Senator, and defeated candidate for the Vice-Presidency to run with the once defeated Harrison upon their ticket in 1840.

Elected Vice-President.—The two native Virginians of the same county made a picturesque pair. Harrison was now sixty-seven years old, Tyler fifty. Harrison was strong in the Northwest territory, and Tyler in the Lower South. Harrison was a military man, not a politician, though often in office; and he was a good administrator. Tyler was a politician, rather doctrinaire. Neither was in any proper sense in the Presidential or Vice-Presidential class. They made their appeal, however, directly to the people, in language that the people could not well avoid understanding. It was the era of the enfranchisement of the masses; and the new voters were not accustomed to judge either men or measures. Whether Tyler greatly strengthened the ticket is doubtful; but the victory was overwhelming. The Electoral College stood 234 to 60. The popular vote was:

Harrison 1,275,017, Van Buren 1,128,702.

This was the first election in which James G. Birney of the Liberty Party ran. He had, however, but 7,000 votes.

No Whig and No Democrat.—When Harrison died so suddenly, Tyler succeeded to the Presidency. He refused to follow the spoils system, and kept nearly every incumbent in office. The story of the Cabinet, however, tells how he satisfied no one and lived in political turmoil.

For the Department of State, Tyler began with

Daniel Webster, who lasted two years. Then followed two *ad interim* men. Next came

Abel P. Upshur, who stayed seven months; and last was

John C. Calhoun, who served six days.

For the Treasury, he began with

Thomas Ewing, but soon took

Walter Forward, who lasted half a year. After him came

John C. Spencer and George M. Bibb, each of whom served about a year.

For the War Department, he had, first,
John Bell, then John McLean, then John C. Spencer, of whom the third stayed a year and a half. Then
James M. Porter and William Wilkins served about a year each.
His Attorney-Generals were
John J. Crittenden, a brief incumbent,
Hugh S. Legaré, who stayed two years as head of the Department of Justice, and was succeeded by
John Nelson, who served about two years.
In the Postoffice, he had
Francis Granger for a little time, then
Charles A. Wickliffe, and last,
Selah R. Hobbie.
For the Navy,
George E. Badger soon gave way to
Abel P. Upshur, who after two years, was succeeded by
David Henshaw, a man of a half year; and then came
Thomas W. Gilmer, for a brief time. Last was
John Y. Mason.

Tyler could scarcely find any man who would serve him long and whom he liked. He improved in his knowledge of men during his term; but he seems to have been a poor judge of human nature,—that is, of men. He was more fortunate in his choice of domestic helpmeets.

His Difficulties.—President Tyler vetoed the fiscal corporation, an alias for a new and third National Bank, a curious move in view of his former course.[1] This angered the bankers and large capitalists who said that he had the limited view of an ignorant planter. He stood between the two parties and was supported by neither. He whipsawed back and forth unhappily, even distressfully. He forwarded the Webster-Ashburton Treaty; whereas, if he had been either a hothead or a jingoist, he might have begun a third war with England, for Congress was ready to declare war. The Treaty conceded to us only half of the 12,000 square miles claimed by Maine. It was a reminder of Jay's Treaty, of half a century earlier. For no greater reason, Clay had set on foot the "War of 1812"; and for no reason at all, Polk was to stir up soon the Mexican War. But John Tyler was no Clay and no Polk.

[1] See p. 374, *supra.*

State's Rights in the North.—In 1842 the Supreme Court decided that under the statute of 1793, the States need not order their officers to arrest and to return runaway slaves. In New York State Governor William H. Seward refused extradition papers respecting men who had stolen slaves in the South. In Congress, J. Q. Adams was one of thirteen members to publish a statement that the annexation of Texas would fully justify dissolution of the Union. South Carolina answered in mass-meetings that "to be out of the Union with Texas was a finer prospect than to be in the Union without Texas."

Incidentally, in this same period, Rhode Island was in the throes of the travail of the new idea to her people of universal "free suffrage." Dorr's Rebellion was a civil war, but without bloodshed.

The End of Tyler as President.—Van Buren, maneuvering behind the scenes, said that Tyler was surely no Democrat; he kept the Whigs in office. Clay repudiated him as no Whig because he was anti-bank, anti-tariff, and anti-internal improvements.

But Tyler had favored the annexation of Texas; and a nomination for the Presidency was actually given to him by a special convention of Democrats at Baltimore in May, 1844; its members were mostly office-holders, a situation that no longer embarrasses ambitious Presidents.[1] Upon reflection, after the nomination of Polk by the regular Democratic party convention in August, Tyler withdrew from the campaign.

His last official act was to dispatch, on March 3, orders to annex Texas.

Domestic Vicissitudes.—It is unavoidable to see that the death of his first wife early in his administration affected seriously the course of John Tyler. Two years later, almost of necessity, owing to his large family of children, he married Julia Gardiner, a lady who was thirty years his junior. Anxiety, death and loss, courtship and wedding filled three of the four years of his term. Vicissitudes unbalanced a judgment never secure and consistent. A young wife's enthusiasm and the

[1] In the convention that nominated Roosevelt in 1904 were 67 office-holders, and in that which nominated Taft in 1908 were 156.

support of Federal office-holders led to the mistake of the Baltimore nomination.

Once out of office, Tyler retired to his plantation and set out to acquire property. The former President, however, appeared frequently as a speaker upon public occasions.

President of the Peace Congress in 1860.—In December, 1860, when South Carolina seceded, John Tyler opposed the measure. Two months later, he presided over the Peace Congress at Washington, which was called at the instance of the Virginia Legislature. But as the secession movement proceeded, he was swept into its current. Through all of 1861, though past three-score and ten, he served in the Virginia Convention at Richmond. He was active in the work of organizing the Confederacy, and when he died was a member of the Confederate Congress. The date of his death was January 18, 1862; and the cause, as popularly reported, "a bilious attack." His second wife, the mother of five sons and two daughters, survived until 1889.

He Did Nothing Great and Little Ill.—John Tyler was an inconsequential person, of charming manners, who never led. Fate placed him in a position where men sometimes do great harm or great good. It may be thought that the Presidency was higher than his abilities and character warranted. This is on the hypothesis that a President should rule. Quite a different view of a democratic governor may be supported with strong argument. Yet Fate dealt unkindly with Tyler in placing him in contrast with Jackson and the Adamses. It dealt with him unkindly in the misfortune whereby his life was broken in two at its middle by the death of his first wife. By editing his speeches and writing a biography, a loyal son of his second wife did much to make a genuinely respectable man seem worthy of some admiration. But in fact the immortality of John Tyler is due solely to his association with real immortals in the list of the Presidents of the people of the United States. He did little ill; he did some good; but he did nothing great. The space from Richmond to Washington measured most of his life; and it is by no means clear that he knew which was really greater, Virginia or the United States.

Nor may the candid historian ignore the fact that as the father of fourteen children, the memory of John Tyler is

quite as secure as though he had been a far abler man. There is a biologic fitness that the Tylers, like the Harrisons, amply manifest.

THE SOVEREIGNTY.—At first, his neighbor, Robert E. Lee, who might have led the Union armies, was almost as much in doubt. It was a trying time for younger men than old John Tyler. Perhaps, the city of Washington is a little too near for Virginians to see it in full and true perspective. Yet those who live nearest to Washington, unless they have investments there, are seldom centralizationists. Eternal truth rests in decentralization, for the community is the true social mind of the individual, who is eternal. State's rights in the terms of universal history is near to individual freedom and responsibility.

The simple question is whether or not State's rights were suitably invoked in the cause of negro slavery. To less excited times, it appears that when the South pushed for the expansion of slavery under the Constitution, it invoked centralization; and pleaded State sovereignty only when, fearing defeat under the Stars and Stripes on the moral issue, it undertook secession.

Very likely, the Compromise of 1850, which the former President favored, was in part unconstitutional; and a slave once out of the sovereign State in which he was held in slavery became free. Such was the law of civilization through several thousand years. But the issue itself is dead. And save for such enlightenment as history may afford for the future, it is well to "let the dead past bury its dead."

CHAPTER XI

JAMES KNOX POLK

1845-1849
1795-1849

27-30 States Population 22,000,000
Admitted: Texas, Iowa, Wisconsin.

Polk seen as black or white—early life—educated at North Carolina State University—compared with Tyler, with Clay and with Washington—member Tennessee Assembly—married Sarah Childress, a lady of

wealth—member House of Representatives—Speaker—office compared with Presidency—Governor of Tennessee—defeated for reëlection—"dark horse" nominee—George Bancroft of Massachusetts—issues of campaign—error by Clay—President—charges of fraud and bribery—how Texas was annexed—compared with Cass—how Polk provoked the Mexican War—Zachary Taylor—the independent Treasury—a broken campaign promise—Oregon boundary—why the South desired Oregon—opposed by Cabinet—three States admitted—Mexico avenged—died in Nashville—a meteoric career.

Black or White.—Like Jackson, Polk invited partisanship. Jackson seems either a beneficent force, conveying for the first time to the people their right to rule themselves without experts or as a maleficent force, tearing down the institutions of the fathers. Polk likewise seems either an expansionist promoting our manifest destiny under pressure of economic determinism or a slaveholders' tool trying to spread wider a foul labor-system.

Several Presidents were unfortunate in surviving so long out of the office. This is true of John Adams and of John Tyler. Of other Presidents, their deaths near the close of their terms seem fortunate in silencing, or at least hushing, criticism. As far as men can see, it was fortunate for Abraham Lincoln that he died soon after Appomattox; for George Washington that he died soon after writing the Farewell Address; and for James Knox Polk that he was not left many years to wrangle about the merits and the demerits of his single term. Now in the cooler air of two generations later, seeing the difficulty, we may perhaps pass upon the policies of Polk without partisanship.

Early Life.—James Knox Polk was born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, November 2, 1795, the first elected President whose birth postdated the beginning of the National Period of our history. It was a backwoods community, yet not so lost to civilization as the natal spot of Andrew Jackson.

Educated at North Carolina State University.—In that remote country, Polk lived until he was eleven years old, and then like Jackson, he went into Tennessee, though not as an orphan but with parents, who prospered and at length were able to send him back to North Carolina for education at the State University, where he was graduated in 1816, at twenty-one years of age. He was admitted to the bar in 1820.

Compared with Others.—James K. Polk had three characteristics,—first, personal force, with the usual accompaniment of self-assertion; second, long views with intense purposes; and third, trickiness. He was no inconsequential person full of excellent words and equipped with casuistry like John Tyler. He was also no shortsighted compromiser like Henry Clay, successively upon all sides of questions. He was something like Washington, however, laboriously and manfully going forward to an announced goal. He was driving, purposeful, shifty, both a statesman and a politician. He was wealthy, and independent. His wife was beautiful, religious, exclusive. His college education, his wealth and his wife saved him from being erratic like the other Tennesseean Presidents, Jackson and Johnson, whom temperamentally he closely resembled. He had no children and but little family life, so that he was free to devote an ardent soul to the development of the territory of the nation, and incidentally to ruin his health by overwork.

Marriage.—At twenty-seven years of age, Polk was elected to the House of Representatives in Tennessee. On January 1, 1832, he married Sarah Childress, eight years his junior, daughter of a merchant and capitalist of his adopted State. A few months later, he went to Congress, where he served seven terms, for the last two of which he was Speaker of the House.

Speaker of the House of Representatives.—This distinctive honor lifted him above all ordinary politicians. An office that Henry Clay was proud to hold for six terms does not come twice to really mediocre men. The three great offices of the American Government are the Chief Justiceship, the Presidency, and the Speakership of the House. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr made the Vice-Presidency a function like the Speakership of the British House of Commons. Fame attaches to the Presidency more than to the Justiceship, and to the Justiceship more than to the Speakership; and the three offices require different kinds of ability. But incommensurate as are these kinds of ability, taking the short list of the Chief Justices, and the much longer lists of the Presidents and of the Speakers, one does not find the average of ability, as estimated in common opinion, greatly in favor of any one list as over against the others.

Polk was the first Speaker of the House ever to become

President. Speakers usually create too many antagonisms to be successful candidates for the Presidency.[1] His term as Speaker covered the last two years of the rule of Jackson and the first two years of the struggle of Van Buren, very unhappy times. In 1839 Polk was glad to retire to become governor of Tennessee. He was the Jackson leader for the State; but the Whigs defeated him for reëlection in 1841 and again in 1843.

Dark Horse Nominee.—Often and often, however, in men's lives a defeat or several defeats prove the necessary road to later victory. It is sometimes necessary to lose battles in order to win a campaign. In the life of Polk, this was now to be demonstrated brilliantly. The leaders had fixed upon him as candidate in 1844 for the Vice-Presidency, almost irrespective of who the Presidential candidate should be, though nearly all expected to see Van Buren win the nomination. The President did secure a fair majority of the convention, but not the requisite two-thirds. As the vote of Van Buren dwindled upon the next few ballots, because of fear that the "panic" President would not run well against the Whig candidate, Polk was brought forward as a dark horse. As Jackson in his day had been brought into political importance by his personal friends, so now Gideon J. Pillow, later to became a minor hero of the Mexican War and the first victim of Grant's audacious campaigning,—he was the Pillow of Fort Donelson to whom Grant sent the famous telegram: "No terms but unconditional surrender,"—urged the claims of the former Speaker of the House and Governor of Tennessee. The historian, George Bancroft of Massachusetts, led his delegation to the support of Polk. This was the man who gave the color of Northern Federalism to all of our early history,—falsely and yet deliberately for political ends.

The Issues in 1844.—Clay was the opposing Whig candidate. So far as there were any issues, they were four. Of these, the first was the annexation of Texas; the second, the proper boundary of Oregon; the third, the tariff; and the fourth, the Jacksonian dynasty. The Democrats meant to add Texas, to get a great Northwest territory, to lower the tariff, and to keep the government Jacksonian in spirit, for Polk was the second choice, perhaps first, of "Old Hickory," now in retirement at the Hermitage. Henry Clay and the Whigs

[1]See pp. 313, 371, *supra*, and 535, *infra*, as to Speakers Clay and Blaine.

desired to get office and vacillated in their policies; Polk and the Democrats stood on firm ground. The vote in the Electoral College stood:

Polk 170, Clay 105.

And the cry went up all over the North: "Who is Polk?" sometimes varied to the form: "Who the devil is Polk?" They meant thereby to bedwarf Polk in comparison with Henry Clay, who was already sixty-four years of age and was famous among two generations of men.

The fact was that in many ways James Knox Polk was just as "big a man" as Clay. Morally, he was far superior to Clay; he took no retainers from manufacturers for official work done in Congress; he did not gamble, and he did pay his bills; he was strictly obedient to the Seventh Commandment. But he was a younger man; and he was not an orator.

How Polk Defeated Clay.—As a political proposition, Clay should have carried New York and Pennsylvania. He lost New York by 5,000 votes because his Kentucky friend, James G. Birney of the new Liberty party, had 15,000 votes in that State, nearly all taken by the abolition leader from Clay because of a certain letter written by him to an acquaintance in Alabama, in which he made concessions to the Texas annexationists. In this letter, Clay made the serious mistake of trying to gain Southern votes, whereby he lost Northern votes in the critical States. The abolitionists knew that the annexation of Texas meant the extension of slavery. Herein Clay made what was politically a false move.

But he lost Pennsylvania in part because of the trickery of Polk and the Democrats. Polk in a letter to a Pennsylvanian said that he was in favor of laws for the protection of manufacture, agriculture, commerce, everything else. With campaign transparencies marked "Polk! Dallas! and the tariff of 1842!" the Democrats convinced the Pennsylvanians that they were better protectionists than Clay and the Whigs, which was false, as early developments proved. Polk was a free trader.

And there were minor causes. Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, the Whig nominee for the Vice-Presidency, was an ardent anti-Catholic, frightened by the fact that a million and a half of immigrants were arriving from the Old World in every decade at this period of industrial expansion. The recently naturalized citizens voted against the Whigs. There

were charges of wholesale Democratic stuffing of ballot-boxes, intimidation and bribery of voters, and other frauds, as to which the truth now appears to be that the frauds, though committed, were not large enough to affect the result.

A Political Error.—Henry Clay was a Southern man with some Northern principles, such as high protection and internal improvements. Because he was a Southerner, he always lost votes in the North. Because he had Northern policies, he always lost votes in the South. He was a man with a bad moral reputation—and character. The older he grew the more the truth came out. And the Whigs were divided, not harmonious. They were fairly scrupulous in their methods; their frauds did not offset the Democratic.

Polk a Factor in a Crisis.—The election of 1844 was one of the most important in our history. Had Clay been elected, we should not have annexed Texas and a war at the same time; nor would slavery have spread so fast as it did westward. What would our history have been without the annexation of Texas in 1845 and the Mexican War in 1846-7!

In the lives of some Presidents, such as Washington and John Adams, the Presidency has been the final phase and relatively not important. In the lives of several Presidents, it was all-important. Such is the case with James Knox Polk. Moreover, the Presidency of Polk proved to be an overwhelmingly important matter to the American people,—not because he was a great and noble character, whose influence was wholly for good, but because he was what he was,—energetic, purposeful, unscrupulous, and successful accordingly. Like Jefferson and Jackson, he dominated his Cabinet and managed Congress.

His Secretaries.—For his executive colleagues, he chose men of considerable distinction. The record was this, viz.:

State,—James Buchanan of Pennsylvania.

Treasury,—Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, an able man of good right, for he was a grandson of Benjamin Franklin.

War,—William L. Marcy of New York.

Attorney-General,—General John Y. Mason of Virginia, a year and a half; Nathan Clifford of Maine, nearly two years; Isaac Toucey of Connecticut, not quite one year.

Postmaster-General,—Cave Johnson of Tennessee.

Navy,—George Bancroft of Massachusetts, year and a half; John Y. Mason, two years and a half.

Nearly every man was of excellent quality, as their later careers showed.

Texas Annexed.—The annexation of Texas was nearly accomplished before Polk actually took office, and the business was characterized by a scandalously unconstitutional method. The annexation should have been by treaty requiring two-thirds vote in the Senate. It was accomplished by a joint resolution of both houses of Congress, requiring only majorities. On March 3, 1845, President Tyler dispatched a commissioner to Mexico who later reported a treaty agreeing not to settle the Texas question save with the consent of Mexico,—which treaty President Polk repudiated. Moreover, this country took advantage of a revolution in Mexico to cheat that smaller nation of other treaty rights. We were expansionists, whose law is "Might makes right." And yet when Texas came in as a State, she greatly disappointed the slavery enthusiasts by refusing to split into four States and thereby giving to the South eight new pro-slavery Senators. Her pride in that for a time she had been an independent nation, courted by England, who hoped to see added to the world's powers one more non-slaveholding people (for abolition was then strong in Texas) was such that she would not consent to being broken into fragments. In 1910, Texas, the first State in area, was already the fifth in population and correspondingly powerful in national politics, though with eight Senators, from North, South, East and West Texas the province might be more powerful still. For one-fourth the area, the province of New England has twelve Senators.

What Polk Did.—James Knox Polk provoked the war; the full story of the intrigues would make a considerable book. When we annexed Texas, the moving spirits in that region were themselves Americans. They occupied it with scattering settlements along the Gulf Coast as far south as the Nueces river, between which and the Rio Grande was a section a hundred miles wide without much population save a settlement of Mexicans on the east bank of the Rio Grande. This section belonged of right to Mexico still; but the Rio Grande runs a thousand miles northwest, and would make a far better boundary, a more natural boundary than the comparatively small Nueces. Besides, the Texans desired the land down to the Rio Grande. Polk sent General Taylor thither to get it.[1] How

[1]See pp. 392 *et seq., infra.*

they got it and how Abraham Lincoln, then in Congress, exposed how Polk used Taylor in getting it, belong rather in their lives than in that of Polk. But the gist of the matter came in the order of the President to the General to defend Texas from invasion from Mexico, and, if need be, to cross the Rio Grande and to attack the Mexicans there. This Taylor somewhat reluctantly did. After blood had been shed, blood rose on both sides; and in the United States, it became patriotic to vote men, supplies and money. Many Senators and Representatives who did not believe in the War voted to support it. Polk had kindled a backfire among the people that forced their delegates into his camp.

The Independent Treasury Established.—To Polk we owe the final establishment of that independent treasury system which Van Buren first urged. It was a matter of transcendent importance; by it all talk of another National Bank became, as Henry Clay said, "obsolete."

A Broken Campaign Promise.—In 1846 came the Walker Tariff Act by which the duties were greatly lowered, and the Pennsylvanians learned that the promises of campaign days are made for campaign purposes. Polk never meant to keep them. They are like the summer flirtations ending in summer engagements; ending there, and meaning no more. But for the prospective war, this betrayal of the protectionists would have done the administration immediate damage; but as with Kings so with Presidents, foreign war is a counter-irritant to domestic distress and discontent. The protected manufacturers now had an army to equip with their productions.

"54° 40′ or Fight."—In 1846 the Oregon boundary was settled. Polk, Cass and all the other expansionists meant to "reöccupy" the Northwest and "Oregon," way up to 54° 40′ because that was the southern line of the possessions of Russia in America. They intended thereby to shut Great Britain off from the Pacific. But British diplomacy and opposition in Congress forced Polk to accept the present boundary of 49°. The cry "Fifty-four forty or fight" availed nothing more than to hasten the settlement and to save what is now the State of Washington. The more sensible men in Congress did not propose to annex all the Northwest and another war with Great Britain. If Henry Clay had been President, probably we should have secured more of the Northwest, but not have

gained California, which was the real objective of the plans of Polk.

Nearly all expansion leaders looked upon the Columbia river region as far more desirable than the arid deserts of the Southwest. Even the Southerners understood that the mild climate of the Puget Sound country was more like their own Gulf country than the Southwest was. And yet Polk never dreamed of slavery beyond the Rocky Mountains. He was far more of an expansionist than slavery advocate. He proposed to get the land. After that, we could settle and rule it as we chose. Herein, he had the historically correct view. Land is permanent. Slavery proved ephemeral.

Highly Efficient.—There is little enough to be said in defence of the Mexican War. Perhaps in all our history, we have had no other President who would have hurried us into it. Polk was an efficient War President, prosecuted the War with vigor, and got the ugly business done with in two summers of campaigning. He was a far better man for the realization of America's alleged imperial destiny than Madison in his time, or McKinley half a century later. Taylor in the first season and Scott in the second, against the odds usually of vastly greater numbers, swept forward till Mexico City was in American hands. Men of Spanish and Indian blood were unavailing against the "Anglo-Saxon." It is quite likely that with a little patient diplomacy within a few years we might have bought upper Mexico. Hasty men, however, do not stop at bloodshed.

The Cabinet Desires All Mexico.—At the close of the War, the Cabinet was for holding all Mexico; and a strong party in the Senate, including some Northerners, favored this. But Polk, in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, gave Mexico really liberal terms such as no defeated nation ever before knew; he sliced off lands that Mexico was ill-fitted to govern and paid $15,000,000 in gold, besides assuming some $3,000,000 of claims of Americans against Mexicans.

Naval Academy at Annapolis.—To George Bancroft, the historian, Secretary of War in this administration, is due the final success of the plan of President John Quincy Adams to have a Naval Academy at Annapolis equal with the War Academy at West Point. This was begun in 1845. In that same year, assisted by the new railroads, rates of postage for

letters were greatly reduced, becoming 5¢ for less than 500 miles, 10¢ for more.

The North Gains in the Senate.—The administration of Polk was marked by the admission of three States into the Union,—Texas with 265,800 square miles as "rectified" later, and Iowa and Wisconsin each with 56,000. It was again "bad politics," for the South might have had six, eight, even ten new Senators to stand against the Northern four. Instead, the South had two less.

The time will come when the West will see the point,—will see that the East averages two Senators for every 20,000 square miles while it averages three times as many. On the New England scale, Illinois should have ten Senators.

The year 1846 saw the first successful sewing-machine and power-loom. Then also anæsthetics were brought into use in America. A year later saw the first rotary-press for printing. And in the year 1847 the Mormons occupied Utah.

Not Even Renominated.—Now came punishment the avenger upon Polk the politician. He had earned the reward of a reëlection. He had been an efficient War President and faithful to those who made him. But he did not get even a renomination by his own party. He was in fact too ill with malaria to care for a renomination. Because of his evasions, he had become known as "Polk the Mendacious." The sins of his slave-party were visited upon him, as the scapegoat. All through his term he had been taunted with the fact that the nomination of Silas Wright, the friend of Van Buren for Governor of New York, had pulled him through. Moreover, he had been a working President, while in his own party Cass, the great Senator, had played politics against him. And finally his backer and maker, Andrew Jackson, was dead; and he himself had never made friends among national politicians though not for want of opportunity. In May, 1848, upon the fourth ballot at the Baltimore Convention, Lewis Cass was nominated for the Presidency. He was political boss of Michigan; the leading opponent of the Wilmot Proviso; and the first organizer of the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty. But Taylor defeated him, to his vast surprise,—Taylor whom Polk had made and then, after his Buena Vista victory, broken.

Died Unhappy and Childless.—And James Knox Polk left office in March, 1849, after adding a territory to the

United States equal to all New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, the Virginia of 1847, the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi together, by his descent upon distracted Mexico. He left office ruined in health by the malaria of the Potomac valley and broken in heart by the ingratitude of those who had used him and by the condemnation of more patient and scrupulous citizens; and soon afterwards, on June 15, 1849, died unhappy and childless at his mansion in Tennessee. His widow survived until 1891, being then eighty-eight years old.

A Meteoric Career.—Without the grace of Clay or the ponderous eloquence of Cass, or the mighty, though partly mistaken, patriotism of Webster, or the terrible convictions of Calhoun, or the keen insight of Benton, Polk was at least a vigorous executive and a politician who won his immediate ends. Polk shortcircuited a nation to a quick triumph. He took upper Mexico and hastened the day of the InterState War. He taught war to a generation that might otherwise never have known it. He made bloodletting a little less horrible because somewhat familiar; and only fourteen years after the Mexican War were to pass before Sumter fell. Soldiers of that War led the armies South and North. A soldier of that War was President of the Confederacy. Another soldier of that War became the foremost leader of the Union armies.

James Knox Polk played a great part, not the less great because so much of it was discreditable that his own party rejected him and he became doubtful of the rectitude and wisdom of his own course. His was a strange career, like that of a far-thrown, aerial bomb bursting in lurid terror in a starlit, windy night.

CHAPTER XII

Zachary Taylor

1849-1850
1784-1850

30 States 1850—Population 23,191,876

The Virginia stock—lieutenant U. S. A.—marriage—colonel—Black Hawk War—Brigadier-General U. S. A.—Indian fighter—acquires wealth—Mexican War—"Spot Resolutions" of Abraham Lincoln—three gold medals—Buena Vista—"Old Rough and Ready" resigns—popular hero—nominated for President by Whigs—the Wilmot Proviso—Cass invents "squatter sovereignty" doctrine—the South goes Whig—Clay returned by Kentucky to United States Senate—Taylor a "traitor to the South"—Webster delivers "Seventh of March" speech—issues of Compromise of 1850—Washington Monument dedication leads to death of President—change of course of events—his simple and positive mind and character.

The Virginia Stock.—The twelfth President of the United States was General Zachary Taylor, "Old Rough and Ready," hero of the early period of the Mexican War. He came of the same Virginia stocks that had already given to the nation Tyler, Harrison, Monroe, Madison, Jefferson, and Washington. Polk, though a native of North Carolina, was of the same Saxon strains, but Jackson was partly Celtic. Like William Henry Harrison before him, Zachary Taylor had a distinguished father, Colonel Richard Taylor, veteran of the Revolutionary War, and also like Harrison, Taylor came to the Presidency late in life, for he was born September 24, 1784, and was therefore sixty-four years of age at his inauguration. He was in vigorous health. But neither age nor state of bodily health has as much to do with a vigorous administration as temperament has. Jackson was both old and feeble physically. Yet he completed two terms and survived for years.

No other man ever came to the American Presidency with so little preparation and of so little right as Zachary Taylor. His claims consisted in being the hero of a great victory and the victim of an outrage. Out of these materials, Thurlow Weed made him President.

EARLY LIFE.—In 1785 Colonel Taylor moved his family from Orange County, Virginia, to a farm near Louisville, Kentucky. Upon that stirring frontier, amid its Indian struggles and its pioneer hardships, Zachary Taylor grew up, not indeed in the desperate poverty of Abraham Lincoln, a quarter of a century later in middle Kentucky; but at best the advantages were few and the trials many. Though the family prospered, Taylor had almost no schooling. He grew to be a large man, energetic and self-reliant. We know little about him until at twenty-three years of age, in 1808, he became first lieutenant in the Seventh U. S. Infantry.

MARRIAGE.—With this position in life secured to him, Lieutenant Taylor went back East to Maryland, and took to wife Margaret Smith of Calvert County, then twenty-two years old, who had good family connections, a small dowry, and immense faith in her husband's future. This event took place upon June 18, 1810. Two years later, Taylor rose to a captaincy.

OFFICER U. S. A.—In the War of 1812, Captain Taylor distinguished himself in the gallant defence of a stockade known as Fort Harrison in central Indiana, successfully keeping out the Indians. When the fighting ended, he received a major's commission, and then was reduced to a captaincy, which caused him to leave the service in disgust. But in 1816, he became major again, and, in 1819, lieutenant-colonel. Thirteen years later, he was raised to command as colonel and took an important part in the *posse comitatus* known as the "Black Hawk War," being the very officer to whom the Indian chief surrendered. Abraham Lincoln, then twenty-three years of age, was a volunteer captain of militia in this same short war against the Sacs. Just as reputed killing Tecumseh had helped to make Harrison, so defeating Black Hawk helped to make Taylor. Jackson, Harrison, and Taylor were all "Indian fighters." Taylor soon became Indian agent for the upper Mississippi Valley. In June of 1835, he gave his daughter Knox in marriage to Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, who had served as lieutenant under him in the Black Hawk War. That fall both the young man and his wife had cholera; and she died.

INDIAN FIGHTER.—In 1836 Taylor went from Wisconsin to Florida to fight the Seminole Indians. On Christmas Day in 1837, he gave to them a crushing defeat at Lake Okee-

chobee. And then for four years, he chased the remnants about in the Everglades. He became brigadier-general and was placed in command of the First Department of the Army, with headquarters in Louisiana.

Acquires Wealth.—By this period in his career, General Taylor had already accumulated a great property, including a plantation in Mississippi with more than a thousand slaves. The exact processes of his increase in wealth do not bear too close an inspection. The Southern Indians were negro thieves and smugglers. And white Indian agents and fighters had several ways of profit-getting. Early in 1845, General Taylor received orders from President Polk to proceed into Texas as soon as that State should accept the terms of the Joint Resolution.[1]

The Mexican Boundary.—By the spring of 1846, General Taylor was upon the west bank of the Nueces river, ready for war. He was now ordered to advance upon pitiable Mexico, torn with the dissensions of Santa Anna, Poredes, Herrera and still other leaders and revolutionists. If the United States meant to maintain the Rio Grande as the boundary, Taylor must proceed to it. Here he built Fort Texas, since known as Brownsville, opposite Matamoras. The Mexicans now demanded that he retire behind the Neuces; being under orders, he, of course, refused. On April 24, the Mexicans ambushed and captured a small American party under Captain Seth B. Thornton. At once Polk rushed a message to Congress urging war; said he, war exists "by the act of Mexico herself," for she "has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil."

The "Spot Resolutions."—Whereupon rose Abraham Lincoln in the House of Representatives and demanded that Polk name the spot where the blood was shed. But Jefferson Davis in the Senate did not bother with replying to this famous "Spot Resolution"; he promptly resigned and entered the army under Taylor, who welcomed him heartily.

Taylor Disagrees with Polk.—May 8, 1846, saw the battle of Palo Alto, eight miles northeast of Brownsville, and the next day saw the battle and victory of Resaca de la Palma, four miles north of Brownsville. Ten days after Palo Alto, General Taylor was at Matamoras upon Mexican soil.

[1] See p. 377, *supra.*

But Mexico still refused to enter into treaty negotiations respecting the Texas boundary; and Polk ordered Taylor to go forward. In September he occupied Monterey, capital of the Nuevo Leon State. There he made a truce with the Mexicans, which Polk resented as pusillanimous. Taylor was ordered to go forward, which he did, occupying all northeast Mexico. He was now major-general and possessed three gold medals ordered by Congress. The question now arose whether to proceed overland from the north against Mexico City or by sea to Vera Cruz and thence eastward to the Capital. Taylor disliked the first plan and would not endorse the second. He was sixty years old and rich; he had settled the boundary question. It was enough. He was a soldier of civilization, pious, not bloodthirsty.

Polk then put Winfield Scott in command of the Vera Cruz campaign, though he disliked Scott; and the naval force was ordered to let Santa Anna from his exile in Cuba get through into Mexico in the hope that increased internal dissensions would weaken the enemy.

Buena Vista Won.—From Taylor, the President withdrew all but 5,000 troops. General Santa Anna, who at once had secured the Presidency of Mexico, rushed 20,000 troops northward and, on February 22, 1847, fought Taylor at Buena Vista, near Saltillo. The scene was a narrow mountain pass; the issue, victory for Taylor. Within a month, Taylor was the people's own choice for Presidential candidate. "Old Rough and Ready" the soldiers called him. And now he became hateful in the eyes of Polk. Party lines were to disappear. Though Taylor was more Whig than Democrat, he was to be, like Madison and Monroe, "President of the whole people." He had been too busy fighting and making money ever to vote. He was no party-man. The South liked him because he was a great slaveholder; the West because he was both a Western and a Southern Indian fighter. Only the East, the upper East of New England and New York, held back. Taylor political meetings and Taylor newspapers appeared "everywhere." At first Taylor disliked the idea; but the party politicians saw in him Whig salvation and the recovery of the long-lost offices. Taylor soon resigned from the army.

Senator Lewis Cass.—The Democrats felt the pressure and knew that the stampede was on. They had put General

Jackson forward in such a stampede and had seen General Harrison crush Van Buren. They decided that rich Lew Cass, ex-minister to France, United States Senator from Michigan, "Father of the Northwest," in his youth a hardy and brave adventurer, was the man to block the stampede, and in May at Baltimore they nominated him upon the fourth ballot. At one period in the balloting before the nomination of Polk, in 1844, he had a clear majority. But Polk would not again allow his name to be presented. He had sown the wind, and would escape the whirlwind; in the wind of war arose the whirlwind of Taylor politics. Polk had used and misused "Old Rough and Ready" and fled to his cyclone cellar in Nashville. Upon his conscience was the first "army of occupation" under Taylor; and the second "army of invasion" under Scott. Conscience had made him a coward; and the Potomac river valley fog had made him an invalid.

"Old Rough and Ready" Nominated.—Next month at Philadelphia, the Whigs met. The candidates for the nomination were Taylor, Clay, Scott, and Webster,—from which fact much later history arose. The vote was on the

First ballot, Taylor 111, Clay 97, Scott 43, Webster 22.
Fourth ballot, Taylor, 171, Clay 32, Scott 63, Webster 13.
Necessary for a choice 141.

The military heroes led, the statesmen took the rear. It was "anything for votes." With Taylor for President, Millard Fillmore of New York State was put up for Vice-President. He had seen some useful legislative service, but was scarcely more of the Presidential class than John Tyler.

The Wilmot Proviso.—There was but one issue in the campaign, which was whether the new western territory should be slave or free. America was bound to grow, but how? Was slave labor or free labor to be the American system? Several answers were proposed, but all turned upon the Wilmot Proviso, a rider upon an appropriation bill upon which politics had been turning for years. There might have been some confusion in 1844 as to the annexation of Texas; there was to be none now as to the domestic institutions within the newly acquired regions of Texas, California, and Oregon as well as within the Louisiana Purchase. Some voters honestly believed that if we did not annex Texas, some European power, probably England, would seize the little nation. But the new issue

had no connection with the Monroe Doctrine. It was a perfectly simple question—to every voter. "Are you for or against the extension of slavery?"

"Squatter Sovereignty."—And yet there was great effort to confuse the voters. One of the three candidates was himself not wholly clear. He put forward the Democratic doctrine of State's rights:—Let the people of each State decide; for "Squatter Sovereignty" is local option, decentralization, immediate liberty. This statesman who ducked the issue was Lew Cass, who had outlived his real usefulness, Lew Cass, who was in his day as brave a man as George Washington and as necessary to the development of the Northwest as Washington had been to the West of his day. Cass had been born in New Hampshire in 1782, the same year as Martin Van Buren, John C. Calhoun, Thomas Hart Benton, and Daniel Webster. He was now nearly sixty-six years old,—two years older than Taylor, but five years younger than Clay.

Said Cass,—in the critically important Nicholson letter of December 24, 1847,—"If the relation of master and slave may be regulated or annihilated, so may the relation of husband and wife, of parent and child, and of any other condition which our institutions and the habits of our society recognize." Let the Territories become States and in their Constitutions settle the affair. But the Wilmot Proviso took a different view.

David Wilmot was a youngster in politics,—a Pennsylvanian, born in 1814. He had been in Congress just one year when in August, 1846,—he was then thirty-two years old,—he moved an amendment to a bill appropriating $2,000,000 for the purchase of a part of Mexico,—"That, as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the republic of Mexico, by the United States, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of the territory." The House passed this; but the Senate defeated it. At the time, Cass had said that he was sorry for the defeat. The remark, revived and quoted everywhere, cost Cass many votes in 1848. In this year of crisis, Wilmot was supporting old Martin Van Buren in the best cause that wise politician ever advocated.[1]

The South is Split.—When the votes were counted, it appeared that Taylor had carried eight slave States for Whig-

[1]See p. 365, *supra.*

gery and Cass but seven of them for Democracy. The Southerners had trusted the Whig Southern slaveholder without a political record rather than the Democratic Northern "Squatter Sovereignty," wage-labor, rich man, for all his pro-slavery record. They knew that Cass believed that in the new States free-labor would drive out slave-labor and that simply in order that he might win the Presidency, he had advocated letting each State decide. In the Electoral College, the vote stood:

Taylor 163, Cass 137.

Martin Van Buren, Free Soil candidate, former Democrat and to be a Democrat again, had taken enough votes from Cass in New York and Pennsylvania to defeat him.[1]

The Control of the Senate.—Already California was seeking admission into the Union, and the South was greatly worried. The political fulcrum of the South was the control of the gerrymandered Senate, in which they had been outplayed by the North with its smaller States, for despite all the allowance of 3/5 of the slaves in the voting representation, the North controlled the House of Representatives. In his last message to Congress, Polk advocated stretching the Missouri Compromise line westward to the Pacific and organizing New Mexico and California as territories. In January, 1849, Michigan reëlected Lewis Cass as United States Senator, for he had resigned in order to prosecute vigorously his Presidential candidacy; but the vote was close, 44 to 38, and Free Soil was near to victory. The return of Cass to the Senate greatly affected the next turn of events.

Business Men Pay the Debts of Henry Clay.—In the same year Henry Clay, who for several years had been in retirement upon his farm at Ashland in Kentucky, was sent, with all his debts paid by generous admirers in the business world, conspicuous among whom was John Jacob Astor, German expatriate, back to the United States Senate by the Legislature on unanimous vote. He was now past seventy, his birth year being 1777. A marvellous conjunction of legislation and of judicial decision by old men who could not see the new issues was about to take place.

Taylor Chooses a Bi-Sectional Cabinet.—Zachary Taylor took the Presidential office upon March 5th, for the 4th fell upon Sunday. For his Cabinet, he chose four Southern and three Northern Whigs. Its membership was as follows:

[1] See p. 366, *supra*.

State,—John M. Clayton of Delaware.

Treasury,—William M. Meredith of Pennsylvania.

War,—George W. Crawford of Georgia, who was succeeded in 1850 by Edward Bates of Missouri.

Attorney-General,—Reverdy Johnson of Maryland.

Postmaster-General,—Jacob Collamer of Vermont.

Navy,—William B. Preston of Virginia.

Interior (just created),—Thomas Ewing of Ohio.

General Taylor hoped by an honest admission of sectional feeling to reconcile both sections and thereby to promote harmony. It is a pleasant theory. Minority representation is part of it. By it, responsibility is lost.

California Comes In.—In the fall of 1849, the Californians adopted an anti-slavery, Free-Soil Constitution in convention, which the people, fearing lest negro slavery should be established in their new gold and silver mines as proposed by Southern leaders, ratified by 12,000 votes to 800. Next month Henry Clay arrived in Washington to be Senator again. At heart, he favored the Wilmot Proviso; and the South was now terribly afraid of him.

"Traitor to the South."—For three weeks, the House of Representatives was in turmoil over the election of Speaker, in the end electing a man of thirty-four years, Howell Cobb of Georgia, a strong proslavery politician. Suddenly, President Taylor found himself charged with being "a traitor to the South" because he advocated admitting both California and New Mexico, though they proposed to exclude slave-labor. Fierce talk and fierce articles urging the South to disunion raged from Baltimore to Corpus Christi.

Our Greatest Senate.—And now in the greatest Senate that American history ever saw, Henry Clay found himself the unquestioned leader, working harder and more successfully than ever before. With him were Webster, Calhoun, Benton, Sam Houston, Jefferson Davis, Cass, Dickinson, Douglas, Corwin, Hamilton, John P. Hale, Seward, and Chase:—to mention less than half of those already famous or soon to become so. Late in January, 1850, Clay proclaimed the outlines of the famous Compromise, his last exploit in statesmanship. A few days later, he made his wonderful two-days' speech. Then came, early in March, Calhoun's last effort,—so weak was he that Senator Mason of Virginia read the

speech for him. Next fell the doom of Webster's Seventh of March Speech, which shut him forever out of the Presidency, delayed the civil war eleven years, according to his critics, marked him down from the blessed immortals of American history, and revealed how weak at best the great may be when they cherish personal ambitions. On the 11th of March, Seward proclaimed his "higher law" doctrine, while Webster sneered and Clay lamented. March 31, 1850, John C. Calhoun died, and all the South was wrapped in gloom for their faithful, fallen leader, the statesman easily chief of the "Cause."

Issues Great and Small.—There were several matters in issue,—the admission of California as a free State, still further reducing the power of the slave-holding South in the Senate; the territorial governments of Utah and New Mexico, with or without the Wilmot Proviso; the slave trade and slavery in the District of Columbia; rendition of fugitive slaves escaped into the free States; the boundary line between Texas and New Mexico.

Taylor on the Compromise of 1850.—Now Zachary Taylor spoke. His words were of alarming power. The General spoke, not the politician. "Old Rough and Ready" had thought it over, and made up his mind. His simple nature was not bothered with confusions or hesitations. First, let California in now. Second, let New Mexico hold a Constitutional Convention and decide what she pleases. Third, let Texas keep her militia out of New Mexico, or I will go down there myself with the United States Army. Fourth, let the South once proceed to armed disunion, and I will arrest the seceders for treason, and execute them according to military law. Clay called the situation "the five bleeding wounds,"—California, the territories, the Texas boundary, the fugitive slaves, and the slave trade at the Capital.

Dedication and Death.—In this crisis,—Taylor, Benton, and Seward on one side, Clay and Webster on the other,—in the dreadful summer climate of Washington, on the Fourth of July, Zachary Taylor drank copiously the water of that infected region, had a sunstroke, developed typhoid fever and on the 9th instant, died. It was a strange omen for the Washington Monument at whose corner-stone laying the President had officiated. Years later, it was necessary to go down deeper

and wider, and to make far stronger foundations. It was a grievously hot day,—the Southerners present complained that it was never so hot at Savannah or Mobile or Charleston or Atlanta.

Taylor was survived by his wife, the mother of his son and five daughters. She died two years later.

The death of Zachary Taylor was one of the worst misfortunes that ever befell the American people, South and North alike. It was another item in that endless bill of costs due to the compromise of Alexander Hamilton by which the Capital was located where George Washington, Daniel Carroll, and Robert Morris might conveniently make some money.[1]

Simple and Positive Character of Zachary Taylor.—Of course, those who think that whatever has happened has been necessary and inevitable and those who think that the slavery question could have been settled only by war are not likely to agree that the death of Taylor was of vital importance. But others see in it the driving hand of destiny. Had Taylor lived to finish his term, in other words, had the Capital of the United States been in a cool hill country fit for summer habitation, the Compromise of 1850 might have been—vetoed. Zachary Taylor had sufficient character to veto an Omnibus bill that was full of miseries for this country; and the Thirty-first Congress would not have carried the bill over his veto.

CHAPTER XIII

Millard Fillmore

1850-1853
1800-1874

30-31 States Population 25,000,000
Admitted: California.

A test of greatness—early life—school teacher and law clerk—marriage—a great law firm—State Assemblyman—Representative in Congress—the telegraph—State Comptroller—Vice-President—second to succeed to Presidency by death of chief—favors Compromise of 1850—

[1]See p. 239, *supra*.

his Cabinet—New Mexico votes for slavery—the fatal Fugitive Slave Act—another "era of good feeling"—prosperous international relations —second marriage—a hand-to-mouth politician.

Early Life.—On February 7, 1800, in the last year of the eighteenth century, Millard Fillmore, to become typical New York State politician, was born, to represent an old era upon the threshold of a new. He heard the voices of Clay and of Webster, not of Seward and of Giddings, not of Stephens and other Southern statesmen.

His birthplace was Summerhill, Cayuga County, where four years before his father had made a clearing. There were no schools in the neighborhood, and his father and mother were his only teachers. At fifteen years of age, with the increased population, there was a call for an apprentice to a fuller and clothier, and Millard was indentured as a maker and dyer of cloth. Four years later, his master released him—for a promissory note of $30—and Fillmore took up the study of law. It was a scarcely more auspicious beginning of life than was to befall Andrew Johnson. But Fillmore made his way to Buffalo, a hundred and twenty miles west, and in 1820 became a school-teacher, of a kind, and a clerk in the postoffice of the village. In 1823, having been admitted to the bar, he went to Aurora to join his father.

Marriage.—There in 1826, he married Abigail Powers, two years his senior, a lady descended from that famous Henry Leland who, coming early to Massachusetts Bay Colony, in 1850 had 9624 descendants. Such a stock has immense powers of adjustment and of success, as its progress testifies.

In 1830 Fillmore went back to Buffalo, which was thriving with the new business of the Erie Canal, and soon became a partner of a firm, three of whose members,—himself, A. G. Haven, and N. K. Hall,—later became members of Congress. The firm prospered, and though Fillmore never grew to be a distinguished lawyer like Van Buren, he did make money.

In Congress.—From 1829 to 1832, Fillmore served in the New York State Assembly as an independent Democrat. Then he was elected Representative in Congress as an Anti-Jackson Democrat, serving one term. For two years thereafter, he devoted himself again to his law practice; but, in 1837, he was back again in Congress, to serve three consecutive terms as a

Whig. He opposed the annexation of Texas in the early years of the agitation. The Democratic theory was, first, that Texas was really a part of the Louisiana Purchase and, second, that J. Q. Adams had let Texas go in order to get Florida.[1] The Democrats called their theory the "reoccupation of Texas," which was plausible and patriotic expansionism. Fillmore advocated internal improvements at Federal Government cost, supported Congressman J. Q. Adams in maintaining the right of offering in Congress the anti-slavery petitions, favored prohibition of the InterState slave trade and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In all this business, he was moderate and dispassionate.

THE TELEGRAPH.—In the Twenty-seventh Congress, he was made Chairman of the highly important Ways and Means Committee, and in that capacity, against great opposition, carried an appropriation of $30,000, contrary to the Constitution, for the assistance of Samuel F. B. Morse in his new telegraph.[2] His idea was to make the telegraph a government affair like the mails. This was an event of major importance in government and politics, for the instantaneous transmission of news and orders has revolutionized the conditions of political as well as of commercial and nearly all other affairs. Government used to be weak at the periphery of its jurisdiction. It is now equally strong everywhere. But for Fillmore's timely assistance to this invention, its success might have been delayed many years. Fillmore also reported the Tariff Bill of 1842 with its small concessions to the South and to free trade.

NEW YORK STATE COMPTROLLER.—In 1844 Fillmore was defeated for the Governorship of New York State; but in 1847 he became a candidate for the lesser State office of Comptroller and was successful. His nomination for Vice-President was upon the plan that the Vice-Presidential candidate should come from the opposite wing of the party from the Presidential candidate in order to win and hold all the votes of the party. Seward was, in fact, the most popular Whig in New York State at the time; and the backers of Taylor would have preferred him. But he was not politically available to balance the pair.

SUCCEEDS TO THE PRESIDENCY.—Millard Fillmore did not

[1] See pp. 311, 312, *supra*.

[2] See p. 333, *supra*.

add to or detract from the ticket. Theoretically, he was far better prepared for the Presidency than Zachary Taylor. But the next three years practically disposed of the theory. On July 10, 1850, he took the oath of office as President. He had presided over the Senate and had listened to the Compromise bills and debates. Experience, ingenuity and eloquence were upon the side of Clay. Moral enthusiasm was on the side of Taylor, Benton, and Seward.[1] Fillmore was always judicious and cautious and moderate. Moreover, he disliked Seward. He disliked even more Martin Van Buren, who had led the Free Soilers in 1848. The Free Soilers were not compromisers.

Volte Face.—At once, upon the entrance of Fillmore, the policy of the executive branch of the Government changed *volte face*. He appointed a new Cabinet, taking as Secretary of State that Daniel Webster, half of whose income came from rich admirers and tariff beneficiaries in free gifts,—to help him live comfortably in Washington. We call this corruption nowadays. But then not a few of the eminent men of the past would have served terms in Federal and State penitentiaries, if the moral standards of our day had suddenly been applied in theirs. In 1852, Webster was a fit patient for a modern sanitarium. It was not his fault wholly; he had known bitter domestic affliction and calumny in large part pure fiction; and the times were different.

Peaceful Cabinet Days.—The Cabinet of Fillmore was as follows, viz.:

State,—Daniel Webster, two years (until his death); Edward Everett, both of Massachusetts.

Treasury,—Thomas Corwin of Ohio.

War,—Charles M. Conrad of Louisiana.

Attorney-General,—John J. Crittenden of Kentucky.

Postmaster-General,—Nathan K. Hall of New York, two years; Samuel D. Hubbard of Connecticut.

Navy,—William A. Graham of North Carolina, two years; John P. Kennedy of Maryland.

Interior,—A. H. H. Stuart of Virginia.

The Compromise Bills Carried and Signed.—The Clay Omnibus bill was itself defeated, but all of its component measures with several allied bills were passed by rather close votes. The proposition to split California into two parts, the

[1] See p. 394, *supra*.

north free-labor, the south slave-labor, at the extended line of the Missouri Compromise 36° 40′ was defeated; and the whole State came in free. Its division into two or more parts, with slavery in neither, would have been better. But it was agreed that Deseret (Utah) and New Mexico were to be organized as territories without the Wilmot Proviso.

In 1849 the New Mexico territorial legislature voted to permit slave-labor, though, under the Constitution of Mexico, slavery had been forbidden—on paper. It was a strange retrogression for a territory added to "Columbia, the home of the brave and the free." The slave-trade was forbidden in the Capital of the United States; this was the second offsetting gain of the abolitionists. But Texas, a slave State, received $10,000,000 for a mythical loss in adjusting the boundary with New Mexico. And, worst of all, a new drastic Fugitive Slave Law was passed. This denied to the man arrested the writ of *habeas corpus* and terrorized all free negroes. This futile and wretched law angered thousands and tens of thousands in the North and was itself one of the potent causes of the rise of the Republican party. It set in operation the underground railroads by which slaves escaped from the Southern States into Canada. It suggested to Harriet Beecher Stowe the writing of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which was published in 1852, and made world-wide mischief. Not Machiavelli himself could have devised a more perfect boomerang for the slaveholders. What slavery needed was time, time with silence. The law was unnecessary, for the common law and earlier statutes dealt sufficiently with the matter. Under the new act, moreover, it usually cost as much as a slave was worth to get him back. Despite all the protestations of his neighbors and of many leading Northern politicians, Fillmore signed this bill; it was the political death-warrant of himself and of the slavery system.

The Second "Era of Good Feeling."—But now from over all the land arose the cry, "Peace, peace." After the Compromise, for three years, there was a peace like that of the Era of Good Feeling in the time of Monroe.[1] Everything was now finally settled! Webster's Seventh of March Speech was justified. The nation was permanently saved. Fillmore had time to do several good things. He blocked the filibustering in Cuba that aimed both to add a slave island with several

[1] See p. 298, *supra*.

States to the Union, and to get part of northern Mexico for the same purpose. The expedition of Perry, who opened Japan to the world, came in this epoch, and our army explored the Amazon valley.

Disappears from Politics.—But important internationally as were these several matters, nothing could now secure a renomination by the Whigs,—Fillmore was politically dead. He tried again, four years later; and when in Europe received the nomination, first, of the Know Nothings or Americans, who meant to keep out foreigners,[1] and, second, of the Whigs; but both Know Nothingism and Whiggery were dead. In the Electoral College, only Maryland voted for Millard Fillmore in 1856 for President. He had lost his opportunity. He was never heard of again in politics anywhere. He had lived upon the crater of a volcano and had called it cool and solid rock.

Domestic Affairs.—Fillmore married, first, Abigail Powers in 1826, who was the mother of his two children, a daughter and a son. She died in 1853, the year that he went out of office. In 1858 he married a widow, Mrs. Caroline G. McIntosh, thirteen years his junior, who survived him seven years until 1881. He died without other known cause than the general debility of old age, March 8, 1874, having been politically silent through the fatal years of the InterState War, and in these last years displaying abundant evidence that he was by nature dependent upon his surroundings and upon his friends. He was no leader or prophet or statesman. He had been safe, sane, and mistaken; but he was no hypocrite,—simply blind.

A pleasant glimpse of him comes from an incident in February, 1861, when President-elect Lincoln stayed overnight at his house in Buffalo. They went to church—a Unitarian church—on Sunday,—and when they stood up together they were shoulder to shoulder, though Lincoln was the taller. Fillmore, though then sixty-one years old, and nine years the senior, looked the younger man. This hospitality cheered Lincoln not a little. Fillmore acquired a comfortable and adequate but not large property.

Lived for the Day.—In his day, he was scarcely above political chicanery and hand-to-mouth, day-by-day trades. Unfortunately for his fame as well as for his character, ethical

[1] See pp. 109-110, *supra*.

laws rule nations and individuals; and principle, not expediency, guards the door to the pantheon of final human glory. To him, this idea was almost meaningless.

CHAPTER XIV

Franklin Pierce

1853-1857
1804-1869

31 States Population 27,500,000

Great men in history—early life—a distinguished and continuously helpful father—Nathaniel Hawthorne—educated at Bowdoin—lawyer—State Assemblyman—Speaker—marries daughter of President of Bowdoin—Representative in Congress—United States Senator—private law practice—United States District Attorney—personal appearance—Mexican War private—brigadier-general of volunteers—President State Constitutional Convention—dark horse Presidential candidate—the two-thirds rule—ebbtide in national life—a notable Cabinet—a spoilsman—Kansas-Nebraska Act—old parties both proslavery—South for centralization temporarily—international successes—Gadsden Purchase—"Bleeding Kansas"—not renominated—life in Europe—supports Vallandigham—his failure as President.

Great Men in History.—There is a theory much exploited in the last two centuries that "social forces make history" and that "individuals don't count." This theory is sometimes qualified by the admission that occasionally a social force plays in an individual and in him only; through him, it smashes into history. It is an ingenious theory entrancing to mechanical minds incapable of rising above conceptualism into the higher, colder and thinner, yet earth-embracing and star-reaching ether of the rational.

Certainly, the history of the United States under President Pierce is an admirable illustration of "economic determinism." He let work whatever would work. Where a Jackson would have struck and a Lincoln would have contrived, Franklin Pierce benignantly waited to see things happen. Well,—the

people have usually reëlected the interfering men of genius; but they dropped Pierce like an inconsequential clerk. He was never thought of even for renomination.

Early Life.—The fourteenth President of the United States was born November 23, 1804, at Hillsborough, New Hampshire. He was the first of the Presidents born in the nineteenth century and the third and the last of the New England Presidents, all of them one-termers.[1] Like the Adamses, he had an excellent education. His early life had some resemblance to that of William Henry Harrison, for his father had served with distinction all through the Revolutionary War, had been, for four years, a member of the New Hampshire Legislature, and had served a term as governor of the State, 1827-9.

Educated at Bowdoin.—General Pierce gave to his son a thorough education, completed at Bowdoin College in 1824. There was begun his lifelong friendship with the novelist, Nathaniel Hawthorne, no unimportant feature in his career, for it was Hawthorne's eulogistic campaign biography of his college-mate that helped make Pierce President.

Speaker of State Assembly.—The college graduate, son of a famous father, at once proceeded to study law at his home village; and in 1827 was admitted to the bar. When he was but twenty-five years of age, he became a member of the State legislature, and from 1831 to 1833 was Speaker. Much of the product of our State legislatures is amateur and puerile because so many of the members are not yet out of the last stages of adolescence.

Gains Social Prestige by Marriage.—In November, 1834, Franklin Pierce married Jane Means Appleton, two years his junior, daughter of the President of Bowdoin College. This marriage added to his social prestige as well as to his happiness. He was soon in Congress as Representative, urged there by his father, who had become governor of New Hampshire. Franklin Pierce worked hard in committee as a supporter of the policies of Andrew Jackson. This was the period in New Hampshire politics when the State sent that enterprising journalist, Isaac Hill, to the United States Senate, and Jackson made him a favored member of his kitchen cabinet. Franklin Pierce was always the creature of others both

[1] See p. 58, *supra*.

in State and National politics. To-day, we would call Hill the State "boss" and Jackson the National one.

United States Senator.—In 1837 Pierce was made United States Senator, serving until 1842, when he resigned. In 1839 his father died, and for financial reasons, Pierce removed to Concord, the State Capital, and for several years gave himself wholly to his law business, refusing the governorship, but accepting in 1845 the post of United States District Attorney, which he held for two years. In 1846, President Polk offered him the post of United States Attorney-General, but he declined.

Personal Appearance and Temperament.—A prosperous career of this kind displays an alert, versatile, happy, agreeable and industrious man. Franklin Pierce had all the minor virtues save one,—moderation in respect to intoxicating drink. He had talents also. His personal appearance was fascinating, his manners courtly; his personality was that of a poet. And, within his nature, he had no small element of the spontaneous and unchecked impulse of the poet, as the next important event of his life indicated, for in February, 1847, he abandoned the law and enlisted as a private in the army for the Mexican War.

Brigadier-General.—But by August the son of General Pierce was colonel of the Ninth Regiment in the army of General Winfield Scott; and in March, 1848, he became a brigadier-general of volunteers. At the battle of Contreras, August 19, he was thrown from his horse and badly injured.

President of State Constitutional Convention.—At the end of the war, General Pierce went home to Concord, and in 1850 presided at a Constitutional Convention of his State, unsuccessfully advocating on the floor the removal of the disabilities of non-Protestants in respect to the suffrage. This convention held its session for nearly two years, keeping Pierce prominently before the State. In January, 1852, the New Hampshire Legislature by resolution proposed him for the Presidency. And in June of that year, in the Democratic National Convention, New Hampshire brought forward his name upon the thirty-fifth ballot.

Dark Horse Nominee.—The contest in the convention had been between Lewis Cass, the defeated candidate of 1848,

William L. Marcy of New York, and James Buchanan,—veterans all of them. The vote on the first ballot was—

Cass 116, Buchanan 93, Marcy 27, scattering 27. On the thirtieth ballot, Stephen A. Douglas had 92 votes. On the thirty-fifth, Cass had 131. But the two-thirds rule made 180 votes necessary to a choice. Even as late as the forty-fifth ballot, when Pierce was being voted for, Marcy had 97 votes. On the forty-ninth ballot, Pierce won.

The South in the Convention.—There were several reasons and causes for the selection of Pierce. One reason was that in peace and war he had always been popular and successful. Another reason was that he was a good Democrat in a Northern State. But the main causes were three:—first, the public already knew too much of Cass, of Marcy, and of Buchanan; second, the party leaders were forced to compromise upon some one with a colorless record as to statesmanship; and, third, the two-thirds rule gave to the Southerners virtually a veto upon proceedings, for it was easy, as the ballots showed, to hold a minority of a third and more against every national politician. A "dark-horse" candidate again had won.

With Pierce for President, the South named for the Vice-Presidency William R. King, of Alabama, who had been in the United States Senate thirty-two years and was already sixty-six years old. He survived but two years longer.

The Whigs Try to Come to Life Again.—The Whigs were in great distress as to their proper course for coming to life again. Their candidates before the convention were Scott, Fillmore, and Webster. Even under the ordinary rule of the majority vote, it required fifty-three ballots for them to decide upon Scott. Thus, a brigadier-general of the Mexican War was pitted against a major-general of the same war. From the first, victory inclined to the Democracy. The Barnburners of New York, with Martin Van Buren at their head, returned to their Democratic allegiance. In the Electoral College, there was a landslide, the vote standing:

Pierce 254, Scott 42.

Democratic Landslide.—The Whigs had carried only Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

The Compromise of 1850 had put the country to sleep. Only

James Monroe had secured a greater Electoral College victory. And yet the popular plurality for Pierce was but 215,000. The Free Soilers had lost ground. In 1848 they had cast 291,000 votes for Van Buren; in 1852 they cast only 156,000 for J. P. Hale.

PERSONALITIES.—With the victory of Pierce over Scott, personality had much to do. Scott was big, lazy, pompous, uncouth, grandiose, servile. Taylor had made him unpopular with the people. Official Washington held him in humorous and ribald contempt, talking of him as a soldier stuffed for dress parade. Pierce was active, gracious, clean, apparently independent. In personal morals and in ability, Hale excelled each of them;[1] but this nation votes by habit, which saves thinking and keeps it in a relatively fixed course.

THE CABINET.—Ebbtide lasted for four years. Pierce chose a Cabinet, every one of whose members remained in office throughout the administration. It continued low tide and calm all over the surface of political society. The youngest President to that time handled the Presidency smoothly and skillfully.

The Cabinet was notable:

State,—William L. Marcy, author of the saying, "To the victor belong the spoils."

War,—Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, grown rich and philosophical.

Treasury,—James Guthrie of Kentucky, first president of the Louisville and Nashville railroad.

Navy,—James C. Dobbin of North Carolina.

Interior,—Robert McClelland of Michigan.

Postmaster-General,—James Campbell of Pennsylvania.

Attorney-General,—Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts, who had been envoy to China and was at the time on the bench of the Supreme Court of his State.

It was an able Cabinet, not wholly proslavery, for Cushing was an abolitionist. In one respect, the Secretary of State dominated it, for Pierce set about replacing Whigs with Democrats, though as Senator he had himself objected to the spoils system.

DOMESTIC SORROW.—Scarcely had Pierce been elected President, when his only surviving son was killed in a railroad accident. This sorrow affected his own health and made his

[1]See p. 109, *supra*.

wife an invalid. The parents never regained their former interest in life.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act.—The great domestic issue of the administration of Franklin Pierce was the Kansas-Nebraska bill, with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The Free Soilers were quite right.—The Democrats and the Whigs were the two wings of the great proslavery party; and Fillmore the Whig was no more strongly abolitionist than Pierce the Democrat. Both were Northern men with Southern principles.

In January, 1854, Senator Douglas introduced the Kansas-Nebraska bill. It provided that the people of each territory should decide whether or not to admit slavery. The two territories lie north of the Missouri Compromise line. The doctrine was one of the non-intervention of the National Government in the domestic affairs of the territories. The public called it "Squatter Sovereignty" because so many of the early settlers held their lands not by deed but by mere possession. Transients, adventurers, renegades, rascals, might decide the future of the trans-Missouri country.

The South Abandons Its Historic Ground.—In the Senate, Cass favored the bill, and upon its passage in May, Pierce signed it. The South had now retreated from its sectionalism and was asserting its right to compete on equal terms everywhere in the territories that the Constitution of the United States ran. The Fugitive Slave Law had given to Southern slaveowners full right above Mason and Dixon's line to hunt slaves with the assistance of Federal and State courts, police, constables and militia. Now the Kansas-Nebraska Act wiped out the Missouri Line.[1] A new day was dawning. Few saw the storm in its wings.

International Successes.—As Fillmore had done creditable work abroad in international diplomacy, so did Tyler likewise. The Koszta affair of 1853 showed that the United States meant to protect its naturalized citizens abroad. In 1848, Martin Koszta, Hungarian revolutionist, temporarily resident in this country, had taken out papers declaring his intention to become a citizen; but, in 1853, he went on personal business to Smyrna, where the Austrian consul seized him, despite his American passport, and held him prisoner upon an Austrian brig-of-war. When an American captain

[1]See pp. 297, 303.

of a naval ship threatened to seize him, the Austrians turned him over to the French consul. The matter was then referred to the Austrian Ambassador Hulsemann and to Secretary of State Marcy. Eventually, Koszta was released, a fact that greatly increased the popularity of Marcy with the two and a half millions of immigrants of the last two decades.

When during the Crimean War, the British government persisted in trying to secure recruits in the United States, Pierce gave to the minister, John F. Crampton, his passport and revoked the exequaturs of the British consuls at New York, at Philadelphia and at Cincinnati; which dignified course put an end to the treatment of this nation as a British dominion. Thereby, we kept out of the broils of France, Turkey, Sardinia and Russia.

A treaty was negotiated with Japan in 1854, the outcome of Commodore Perry's expedition.[1]

Being like Polk an expansionist, in 1855, Pierce encouraged the Walker filibustering expedition into Nicaragua. Walker, poor fellow, when but thirty-six years of age, was court-martialed and shot in Honduras in September, 1860! Pierce was no Cleveland or Roosevelt to interfere with a roar like war.

The Gadsden Purchase.—The President favored the Gadsden Purchase of 45,000 square miles for $10,000,000, considerably increasing our lands by cession from Mexico. He also urged the survey of three routes westward for transcontinental railways, which many supposed would be built and operated by the Federal Government.

"Bleeding Kansas."—But of what avail were all the clever and all the brave acts of international diplomacy[2] in the face of the facts that the Democratic party was splitting into two parts, a Northern and a Southern; and that the Northern now distrusted him and the Southern had used, and was now wearied of him? Four proslavery men had been territorial governors of Kansas, only to become "Free State" men from force of bitter experience. One set of men, struggling to hold Kansas, were styled "Black Republicans," the other "Sons of the South" and "Border Ruffians"; sieges, arsons, murders,

[1] See p. 404, *supra.*

[2] For the Ostend Manifesto, see p. 415, *infra.*

battles, had changed the fruitful prairie into "Bleeding Kansas."

In Retirement.—Pierce had no more chance of a reëlection to the Presidency than had Tyler or Polk or Fillmore, each in his respective day. He had less chance than Van Buren. He was not renominated, or even seriously considered by many for renomination. In 1860, some Southern Democrats talked of renominating him; but he was then in Europe and refused to allow his name to be used,—wisely, for he could not have won even a renomination then. He remained abroad for three years when he returned to Concord. In 1863 he made his most famous oration, that in which at the New Hampshire Capital he lauded Vallandigham as "that noble martyr of free speech."[1] In this same year, his wife, the mother of his three sons, died.

A Mediocre Man Cannot Be Expanded into a President.—Pierce died of alcoholic inflammation of the stomach October 8, 1869. He left an estate of fifty thousand dollars, partly inherited. He had been a good lawyer, a fair legislator, and a patriotic soldier. He had failed to measure up to the Presidency. He had no large ideas, no foresight, no intense convictions. He grades with Fillmore, and scarcely above Buchanan. Goodness is not an essential in a President,—that is, the small goodness of private life. He might have done so many other things, so many greater things. The good ship of state needed a captain. Even a pilot would have served. A ladies' salôn master of ceremonies let the ship drift toward the rocks and the breakers of war.

CHAPTER XV

James Buchanan

1857-1861
1791-1868

31-34 States 1860—Population 31,443,321
Admitted: Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas.

Many surviving Presidents among contemporaries—ancestry and early life—educated at Dickinson College—State Assemblyman—loses fiancée—Representative in Congress—impeachment of Judge Peck—

[1] See pp. 461, 462, 464, 466, *infra*.

the dogma of judicial infallibility—opposes State's rights—ambassador to Russia—United States Senator—in private life again—Minister to Great Britain—the Ostend Manifesto—Republican party formed—a veritable Cave of Adullam—President—a weak Cabinet—the Dred Scott decision—its *obiter dicta*—the Supreme Court—a perpetual sovereign—all the country to be slave-labor—the Democratic party's *volte face*—Border Ruffians and Black Republicans—the main issue—the various leaders—the Panic of 1857—John Brown—Helper's Impending Crisis—the pitiful fate of Virginia—Personal Liberty Acts in Northern States—the various political conventions—the fatal *interregnum*—the opinion of Attorney General Black as to secession—Southern and Northern opinions of Buchanan—a divided North—the Confederate States of North America organized—"On to Washington!"—the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln—Buchanan too old—a War Democrat.

SEVERAL FORMER PRESIDENTS SURVIVED TO HIS ADMINISTRATION.—The fifteenth President of the people of the United States was born near Foltz, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, on April 23, 1791. At the time of his inauguration, he was sixty-five years old. Four former Presidents were still alive, and they were all friends of his. None died during his term, and the younger two survived him. Van Buren, who had left office in 1841, was seventy-five years old; Tyler, retiring in 1845, was sixty-six; Fillmore, out in 1853, fifty-seven; and Pierce but fifty-two.

With most of their policies, James Buchanan was in agreement,—a heavy handicap. He belonged indeed to an elder age. A pitiless misfortune befell him in that he lived too long and was raised too high by the favor of the politically mighty.

ANCESTRY; EARLY LIFE; EDUCATION.—The parents of Buchanan were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. His was the same racial stock that has given to us perhaps half our statesmen. He had a good elementary education, was graduated by Dickinson College at Carlisle in 1809, and then studied law in Lancaster. On coming of age in 1812, he was admitted to the bar. At twenty-three years of age, he went to the State Legislature for a term. After this service, he practiced law steadily and profitably. In this period, his fiancée died, and he remained faithful to her memory throughout life.

Representative in Congress; Impeachment of Judge Peck.—In 1821, he was elected a member of Congress, serving five consecutive terms. As chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Buchanan led a movement to impeach Judge James H. Peck of the United States Circuit Court. The judge had rendered a decision, whose substance is immaterial. An attorney, Lawless by name, was counsel for the defeated party. He saw the decision in a newspaper and answered it in the same newspaper—to relieve his feelings. Judge Peck then held Counselor Lawless in contempt of court and literally lawless and outlaw, suspending him from practice for eighteen months. Upon the impeachment trial, the Senate, by 22 to 21, voted to acquit the Judge. President Jackson favored acquittal in order to damage Buchanan, whom he disliked and feared. It was another stage in the making of judges sacrosanct to all non-judges. In present public opinion, they are infallible, except when criticized and overruled by one another. Like Roman augurs chattering and incanting over the entrails of dead animals, how must judges chattering and incanting over the opinions of dead ages, sometimes feel like covering their faces lest they openly laugh at one another behind the bench and their huge law-tomes! Even the errors of judges are errorless law—until discovered by other judges. Well-a-day, 'tis an unwearied old world, with perhaps some way out of its maunderings! Surely, the superstition of judicial infallibility will pass away in the course of time. It is a cheerful hope. And yet, judge-law is far better than mob-law or no law at all.

Buchanan Opposes Van Buren.—Buchanan also endeavored to have Congress increase the number of Supreme Court justices and to relieve them of their circuit duties. Van Buren, then in Congress, supported the first proposition but opposed the second, for two reasons,—first, that weak men sitting *en banc* could lean upon their fellows and escape exposure; second, that judges needed to get away from the political atmosphere of Washington and out among the workers and leaders of industry and commerce and all other affairs outside of government.[1] Both movements were blocked successfully. The first, however, was right, the second wrong. Making any city purely political is to narrow its mankind into imbecility; such are the Washington helots.

State's Rights.—Buchanan opposed the proposition to

[1]See p. 202, *supra*.

take from the Supreme Court its jurisdiction in respect to collisions between national and State laws, especially in connection with treaties. Here Buchanan was successful in defeating a State's rights measure. It is difficult to see how in part at least the proposition was really feasible. Equality between States and nation in respect to treaties with foreign nations is inconceivable as well as unconstitutional; and superiority of any or even many States would simply destroy the national government as such internationally.[1]

Ambassador to Russia.—At first a Federalist, Buchanan came into associations with Jackson and Van Buren, and succumbed to the influences of their stronger natures. In recognition of his allegiance, Jackson in 1832 sent him to St. Petersburg as ambassador and minister plenipotentiary. There he negotiated an important commercial treaty with Russia. In 1834, being at home again, he became United States Senator and served until 1845, when Polk made him Secretary of State. Throughout the administration of Taylor and Fillmore, Buchanan stayed at home in private life; but in 1853 he accepted the call of Pierce to go as Minister to Great Britain.

The Ostend Manifesto.—A single act of his while abroad brought him more fame than all that he had done before. On October 18, 1854, three of the American diplomats abroad,—Buchanan, J. Y. Mason, and Soule,—issued from Ostend a manifesto respecting alleged Spanish injuries to American commerce with Cuba. In this Manifesto, they asserted that "Cuba is as necessary to the North American republic as any of its present members." They said that they did not intend Cuba to be "Africanized" and hoped that the United States would purchase the island from Spain. The Manifesto ended with the remarkable declaration that if Spain would not sell Cuba and if she could not rule the island properly, then "by every law human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it" from her. President Pierce promptly disavowed the Manifesto; but it had accomplished the purpose. By living abroad, Buchanan had kept out of the Kansas-Nebraska quarrel, and by this Manifesto he had won the heart of the South. He resigned his mission in 1856 and came home as an active candidate again for the Presidential nomination of his party.

Expansion of Slavery Causes New Party to Form.—The times had moved forward. The South had grown des-

[1]See p. 63, *supra.*

perate and more aggressive. The North with its Kansas Colonization Society and its many abolitionists saw things more clearly. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" had been sold by millions of copies. The Republican party, a veritable Cave of Adullam, was growing into shape, composed of many elements,—"Conscience Whigs," Know Nothings, Free Soilers, Liberty men, Anti-Masons, constitutional abolitionists, graded emancipationists, high protective tariff advocates, strong centralizationists.

In the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati in 1846, Buchanan was at once the leading candidate Cass declined to allow the use of his name. On the fourth ballot, Buchanan was nominated, and with him for the Vice-Presidency J. C. Breckenridge of Kentucky.

Over against these men, the Republicans set up the explorer and soldier of the Mexican and Indian wars, General John C. Fremont, son-in-law of Senator Thomas H. Benton, a brilliant man and a romantic figure in American history. He was to be the David of the Adullamites. With him, they nominated an excellent lawyer, William L. Dayton of New Jersey. The election opened the eyes of all the veteran politicians. The rallying cry of the Republicans was "Free soil, free speech, free men, and Fre'mont."[1]

Elected President.—Buchanan carried all the South save Maryland, which voted for Fillmore and Know Nothingism. In the North, the Democrats carried Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, Indiana, and California. The Electoral College voted:

174 for Buchanan, 114 for Fremont, and 8 for Fillmore.

The popular vote was, Democratic 1,838,000, Republican 1,341,000, and Know Nothing-Whig 874,500. In other words, Buchanan was the choice of less than half of the people. The combined vote of his opponents was 2,215,500, or 377,500 more than this own.[2]

His Cabinet.—For his Cabinet, he chose several men of first-rate standing. Howell Cobb, his Secretary of the Treasury, was an ardent State's rights, proslavery man, and perhaps, from his Congressional experience, the most prominent of all at the time of entering the administration.

[1] See p. 113, *supra.*

[2] Compare p. 444, 445, *infra.*

THE CABINET.—State,—Lewis Cass of Michigan, three years and nine months; Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania, three months.

Treasury,—Howell Cobb of Georgia, three years and nine months; Philip F. Thomas of Maryland, one month; John A. Dix of New York, two months.

War,—John B. Floyd of Virginia, three years and ten months; John Holt of Kentucky, two months.

Attorney-General,—Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania, three years and nine months; Edwin M. Stanton of Pennsylvania, three months.

Postmaster-General,—Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee, two years; Joseph Holt of Kentucky, nearly two years; Horatio King of Maine, two months.

Navy,—Isaac Toucey of Connecticut.

Interior,—Jacob Thompson of Mississippi.

DRED SCOTT DECISION.—Two days after the inauguration of Buchanan the country was thrown into ferment by the Dred Scott decision, in which the Supreme Court was divided 7 to 2. The South was gratified; most of the North was pleased, the rest of it horrified. For his guidance in writing his inaugural, the nature of the decision was communicated to Buchanan a week or so earlier. By this decision, the Court declared that a slave was property only and in no sense a citizen; being therefore without standing in court any more than a horse or a tree. Whether or not this was the law, present debate is useless. We ourselves are discussing now matters some day to be quite as archaic as the theme of chattel-slavery. Some jurists, however, do not think that the slave had no standing in court, but that a slave was a person held to service, in other words, a human being with some rights as such. If possessed of any rights whatsoever, then the slave was possessed of the right to appear in court in defense of these rights by attorney or in person. If possessed of no rights, then his master might kill him without possibility of judicial cognizance being taken, provided only that the killing should not be under conditions creating a public disturbance or a public nuisance. It is hard to see now that even the main feature of the Dred Scott decision was ever the law.

THE DISSENTING JUDGES.—But there were two members

of the Court who dissented, shrewd men and good lawyers. They forced old Judge Taney in his decrepitude of eighty years into *obiter dicta* that directly violated the Constitution. It was relentless politics for Justices McLean and Curtis to do this and measureless folly for the associates of the Chief to proslavery extremists. Though he had been a lawyer with many clients among the slavetraders and slaveowners, still hitherto Taney as a judge had appeared the perfect legalist.

Judge Taney went on to say unnecessarily,—First, even if in the Louisiana territory, slavery is forbidden above the Compromise line or otherwise, still by merely residing in the Territory, Dred Scott did not become free. [Lord Mansfield had decided otherwise for slaves touching the soil of England, and he knew some English common law.[1]] It is no longer doubtful whether or not this was the law. The opinion is that in default of return to slave soil within a reasonable time, the ownership of the slave was waived and became automatically divested. And Dred Scott had not been promptly taken back by his owner, Sandford, but in fact had lived with him for years upon free soil, voluntarily remaining with him. The legal trouble came only when upon moving to Kentucky, Sandford undertook to sell Dred to another person.

The Compromise of 1850 Void.—This, however, was not the more dangerous of the two main *obiter dicta* of the Court. The majority held that, for want of constitutionality, the Compromise of 1820 was null and void; for thirty-seven years, the nation had been governed by a law that was no law. Candidly considered, here was cause on cause for astonishment. The bold doctrine of John Marshall was turned to plague the land. Sovereignty vested in judges, for the first time since Samuel, priest and judge, made Saul King; and for more than a generation, the sovereigns had slept. The Supreme Court was a perennial Constitutional Convention above all ratification by the people, makers of the grammar and rhetoric and logic of their thought. In effect, the decision opened to slavery all the Northwest from the Mississippi to Puget Sound, an area greater than all the Southeast from Baltimore and Key West to the Panhandle of Texas. It was a victory for the aggressive slave barons, an appalling victory. Whereupon, Justice Curtis who, like Samson, had pulled down the Philistine temple upon

[1]See p. 528, *infra.*

himself, resigned from the Court.[1] What mattered it now that California had come in free? The slave lords held all the western side of the Mississippi, all the Missouri valley, all of the Puget Sound country and of the plateaus of the Rocky Mountains. Nor was this the worst. Taney had not said in words this the worst thing; but one had only to read in the light of the decision the language of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and to trace the course of legislation and of judicial interpretation to see without possibility of error that a slave might be taken into a free State and held there as such under Federal law, whatever might be the State's own Constitution and legislation. The South had shifted its ground. It was not now for State's rights but for the National sovereignty and for centralization. It was a change of front, at once astounding and perilously critical.

The Border Ruffians.—Furious as had been the struggle in Kansas and elsewhere, it now grew worse. Buchanan made Robert J. Walker, a native of Pennsylvania, who had moved into Mississippi, territorial governor of Kansas.[2] In preparation for statehood, the people of Kansas adopted first one constitution and then another, under extraordinary conditions. The Border Ruffians got control of the election in the first instance and the Black Republicans in the other.[3] And Walker, seeing that Buchanan meant to interpret "popular sovereignty" in the terms of special favors to proslavery, though himself proslavery, foresaw that in the end Kansas would turn overwhelmingly for wage-service labor and resigned in anger at the interference of Buchanan in favor of the Lecompton proslavery Constitution.

The Course of Buchanan.—There are two explanations put forth for the course pursued by the President. The first is that he was playing for the favor of the South in order to win a renomination; Pierce and other Presidents had failed to secure renominations by their own parties. It comports

[1] See pp. 80, 82, *infra*. There is not the slightest reason for any Northern felicitation upon this resignation. Judge Curtis was influenced to resign largely by his own financial interests, especially in banking. Judge Taney died almost penniless. He was incorruptible, being indifferent to money considerations.

[2] See pp. 194, 384, *supra*.

[3] See p. 112, *supra*.

with this explanation that Buchanan was a skillful politician; but it assumes that he was no patriot, for he was fomenting disorder in Kansas. This assumption will not hold water. The second explanation is that, surrounded by Secretaries and prodded by Senators who were mostly aggressive proslavery advocates, the old man thought that the crushing down of the free-labor Jayhawkers in Kansas by the boot-and-saddle Missouri ruffians was the price by which the nation could be saved from disunion and ultimate dissolution. It comports with this explanation that Buchanan was a patriot, but assumes that he was no statesman. This assumption also will not hold water. Sacrificing Kansas, when out of its superabundance of population, the North was pouring white free-labor into the Territory, was but incensing the real majority of the nation and trying to defeat its pursuit of the ultimate national interests. For to a statesman living above sectional influences and seeing affairs in the large, a Kansas with prairies industriously farmed by millions of free whites was a far nobler vision than a Kansas with prairies sectioned off in great plantations lazily cultivated by hundreds of thousands of colored slaves.

Threatened Civil War Everywhere.—What was already happening in Kansas,—of which the madness of John Brown was a fair sample,—by the statesman should be seen *in extenso* as happening from Osawatomie to Astoria,—battle after battle, in guerrilla warfare between slavery and freedom. The slaveholders of Missouri, the owners of two or three slaves as well as the owners of hundreds, saw their human live stock taking to its legs and getting under the protection of the guns of ten thousands of John Browns; and their course of action was perfectly natural. Let us put an end to John Browns as far as the Canadian border. Such was the logical outcome of the Dred Scott decision. And such was the work of Buchanan, viewing himself as the chief guardian of the peace and order of American society.

Senator Douglas.—Therefore, President Buchanan used Federal patronage not only to force the admission of Kansas as a State with a proslavery Constitution but in 1858 to defeat the reëlection of Douglas of Illinois to the United States Senate. Douglas had been his chief rival for the nomination at Cincinnati,[1] and was the foremost Northern exponent of Democratic doctrine. But he still persisted in the delusion of

[1] See pp. 439 *et seq., infra.*

popular sovereignty; and the new Democratic doctrine of Taney, Yancey, Toombs, and Davis had rejected that delusion in favor of the constitutional necessity of slavery in every territory. Already, they were talking of buying and selling and whipping their slaves "in the streets of Boston." Already, like the lords they were, they strode about the streets of Washington and through the halls and rooms of the National buildings, in haughty assurance that they owned the Supreme Court and the Administration and would soon recover control of Congress. With the swagger went the threat:—The whole Government must be ours, or we will form a nation in the South that is wholly ours; and the North cannot stand that! It was the pride that goeth before destruction.

Wage-Service Wins.—But for all the keen debating of Abraham Lincoln, who was playing Buchanan's game for him but from an entirely different purpose, Douglas of Illinois did go back to the Senate; and for all the clever managing of Buchanan, Kansas came in as a free State in January, 1861. The population had grown from 800 whites, some negroes, and several thousand Indians in 1853 to 102,000 in 1860, nearly all whites, scarcely more negroes, and even less Indians. Footloose wage-service laborers had captured the prairie. And the Kansas border warfare with its outrages, ambushes, assassinations, rapine and fraud, was soon to be nationalized into a civil war, for which more than any others Taney and Buchanan must be held responsible.

The Panic of 1857.—In 1857 a panic set in. A bank in Cincinnati failed for $7,000,000; this was the start of the general ruin. Nearly all the banks of the country failed, as they had failed in the days of Martin Van Buren. The new railways could not pay interest on their debts. Factories shut down. Merchants failed in business. Millions were out of work. The enormous production of gold in California had inflated prices, just as prior to 1837 too free credit in the days of paper money had inflated prices. A flood of money, real or fiat, always makes trouble.

Harper's Ferry.—On October 17, 1859, John Brown made his raid into Virginia at Harper's Ferry. In itself, this mad raid accomplished nothing. Brown was hanged on December 2d. But the event was of startlingly dramatic importance. Helper's "Impending Crisis," first published in 1857, had

taught the world what "the poor white trash" of the South thought of slavery, which left no room for a middle class. John Brown's raid taught the world what a poor white man of the North thought of the rights of the colored slave; he was ready to die for his "brother in black."[1] Brown was, of course, a fanatic; but the shuffling of President James Buchanan was calculated to produce just this kind of fanatic who saw men in blacks-and-whites.

At the execution of John Brown were Robert E. Lee, Colonel U. S. A., and "Stonewall" Jackson; and in the squad that had fired upon him at his capture was one John Wilkes Booth.[2] Upon that fatal second day of December, 1859, Virginia was surely laying up ruin for herself. Executing John Brown was folly greater than his own fanatic madness. The worst that ever befell Virginia was to educate Lee and Jackson into the secession spirit to the point of bloodshed and Booth into the murdering of one who was Virginia's best friend.

The Fate of Virginia.—Slavery had turned "the mother of Presidents" into a breeding-ground for colored persons, had ruined her own agriculture, and had driven out hundreds of thousands of whites. Secession was to turn the counties where Washington, Marshall, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Harrison, and Tyler were born and reared into the cemeteries of hundreds of thousands of gallant soldiers, whom the nation, including Virginia, needed. The hanging of Brown for his crime was entirely legal. So also had been the Lecompton Constitution. And Buchanan was a legalist, as his final acts as President were about to show. It is often unwise to stick to legality. Nations seldom change their laws until after they have outgrown them. Excessive legality in epochs of misfit is not good sense.

Personal Liberty Acts.—The States of the North had answered the Fugitive Slave Act with Personal Liberty Acts conceived in the spirit of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions and of the South Carolina Nullification Ordinance. They had found ways to protect the underground railroad.

[1]Brown had the common Northern delusion that a negro is a white man with a black face. No self-respecting negro ever thought that; and it never was either kindness or good sense to think so.

[2]See pp. 469 *et seq., infra.*

Negroes Imported.—The South, however, had found ways to bring in negroes from Africa and despite the Federal laws, in the period from 1857 to 1860 did in fact import many tens of thousands; how many is not accurately known; perhaps in all several hundred thousand. Sectionalism had become an undeniable fact. James Buchanan was the first to learn this. His own party broke into three fragments, not one of which cared for him.

The Democratic Party Splits into Fragments.—The Democratic Convention met first at Charleston, South Carolina, late in April, 1860. It split into two parts, 45 votes in 303, representing Florida Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, left the Convention Hall, angered at certain pro-Douglas resolutions, for Douglas had rejected the policy of the nationalization of slavery,—in other terms, he had won the Senatorship and split his party. The remaining 258 delegates could not agree upon a Presidential candidate and adjourned to meet at Baltimore in May. There only 191½ votes appeared, for of the 258, 66½ more votes had seceded. But 8 reappeared; and waiving its two-thirds rule, so far as it concerned the entire 303, the Democratic Convention cast all but ten of its votes for Douglas as Presidential candidate. With him was associated as Vice-Presidential nominee Judge Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia. Far worse and weaker men than Douglas have been Presidents.

Ten days later, the seceders from the Democratic Convention met also at Baltimore. This group promptly nominated Vice-President J. C. Breckenridge of Kentucky for the Presidency and Joseph Lane for the Vice-Presidency. Lane was a Major-General of the Mexican War and United States Senator from Oregon.

In May, a third party had met at Baltimore. It had one plank only in its platform—union under the Constitution. It nominated John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts. Bell had long been United States Senator, and Everett had been Representative in Congress, President of Harvard College, Governor of Massachusetts, Minister to England, and Cabinet Secretary. This was a ticket of able and highly cultivated gentlemen.

Lincoln Nominated.—Also in May, but at Chicago, the Republicans had met. This was the second Convention to go

west of the Alleghanies.[1] The delegates were in the Illinois atmosphere; and Illinois Republicanism was all for Abraham Lincoln.[2] The Convention nominated Lincoln, and with him Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, who had been Governor and was then United States Senator. Hamlin was almost a statesman. Who was Abraham Lincoln? Not many knew. The party had rejected its real leader, William H. Seward. Apparently, Lincoln was not in the same class with Douglas, Breckenridge or Bell.

Buchanan had been shoved aside, and in the terrific campaign that resulted, was forgotten. Douglas, Breckenridge, and Bell each hoped to throw the election into Congress for want of a majority in the Electoral College.

Of them all, Lincoln alone hoped to win immediately. He had but little experience with national affairs on a large scale and was correspondingly optimistic. The fates were with him, and he won.

The Fatal Interregnum.—An interregnum set in. South Carolina immediately by its legislature called for a convention to consider secession. She who had defied Jackson[3] did not hesitate to defy President Buchanan and President-elect Lincoln. In his annual message, sent to Congress on December 4, 1860, Buchanan called upon Jeremiah S. Black for his legal opinion as United States Attorney-General as to the Secession Ordinance of South Carolina. The Pennsylvania jurist and legalist set forth, first, that no State has any legal right to secede; second, that no legal right is vested in the Federal Government to prevent secession; third, that by his oath of office, the President is obligated to protect Federal property everywhere and to enforce Federal laws everywhere. The Fathers had not foreseen such a crisis.

Two Legalists.—Attempts of several kinds were made to stop the break-up of the Union. Compromise measures were offered sincerely, even confidently, in Congress. An amendment to the Constitution was agreed upon,—Lincoln himself favored it. A Peace Congress was held.[4] But the Fireaters resigned from the Cabinet and from the Senate, angrily calling

[1] See p. 416, *supra*.
[2] See pp. 442, 443, *infra*.
[3] See pp. 337 *et seq.*, *supra*.
[4] See p. 378, *supra*.

Buchanan "senile," and preparing to set up their own government.

More Northern Senators.—On May 11, 1858, the Northern State of Minnesota and on February 14, 1859, Oregon were admitted. The South was losing ground in the gerrymandered United States Senate, its one hope.[1] All the South foresaw the wind-up of political power. It was inevitable that Kansas should come in anti-slavery, which it did upon January 29, 1861. But this move had already been discounted by political prophets.

Secession Grows.—One after another, sometimes by close votes, the Southern States seceded. They did what Phillips and other Abolitionists desired the North to do because of the Dred Scott decision. Yet there were many Unionists even among the slaveholders themselves and many more among the non-slaveholders.[2]

Of the Secession movement false views prevail. Nearly all of it occurred in the administration of Buchanan, two of whose own Secretaries,—Cobb and Floyd,—formulated it and even turned over Federal property in quantities to the Southern States, perhaps more than their share. It was by no means unanimous in the South. But in the end, it involved nearly every Southerner of social and political standing. In part, it was a sincere protest against Northern hypocrisy and duplicity and wavering.

Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, resigned December 14, 1860, not because he was a secessionist but for the opposite reason,—because he desired the forts at Charleston reinforced, and Buchanan rejected his advice. Six days later, South Carolina adopted the Secession Ordinance. Lossing, the historian, was at the home of Cass at Washington when the news was received. The aged statesman exclaimed: "The people of the South are mad; the people of the North are asleep. The President is pale with fear, for his official household is full of traitors, and conspirators control the government. God only knows what is to be the fate of my poor country!"

While a Charleston newspaper, "The Mercury," was styling Buchanan "that hoary trickster and humbug," the Springfield

[1] See pp. 170; 397, *supra*, for opposite forces.
[2] See p. 80, *supra*, and p. 483, *infra*.

(Massachusetts) "Republican" cried: "Oh, for an hour of Andrew Jackson!"

IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT.—The four months that intervene between the election and the inauguration of a President constitute a serious defect in the constitutional provisions for the making of that officer. Since the November election in 1860, every one had known who was to be President; and yet a different kind of man was actually in office. The original legislation had provided for this long period of time for two reasons,—first, because in the days before steam and electricity, eleven or twelve weeks was none too long a time; second, because the business of the Electoral College would seldom, so it was supposed, effect more than several nominations, and Congress would really make the choice.[1] Instead of eleven or twelve weeks, a fortnight or at most a month would suffice at present. If Lincoln had become President by December 1, 1860, the history of this nation would have been greatly different.[2]

When, early in October, 1860, the Governor of South Carolina first proposed secession, four States sent replies distinctly opposing the movement,—North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana; only Florida was as belligerent as South Carolina. Georgia indeed was finally carried out of the Union by the assertion of Howell Cobb, who retired from the Cabinet of Buchanan and declared that the South could "make better terms out of the Union than in it." This assertion meant that secession, to his notion, was a threat in action, not a proposition for a permanent new nation.

But in accordance with the Constitution, the "State patriots" were given time to organize their forces before Lincoln came in; and one by one, the Southern States were brought into line. South Carolina went out on December 20; Mississippi on January 9; Florida on January 10; Alabama on January 11, by a vote of 61 yeas to 39 nays, the northern delegates being nays; Georgia on January 18, with such men as Alexander H. Stephens and Herschel V. Johnson among the 89 nays to 208 yeas; Louisiana on January 26; and Texas February 1, with Governor Sam Houston among the 7 nays to 166 yeas.

[1]See Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*, Vol. II, July 25 *et passim.*

[2]See pp. 128, 163, *supra;* 447, 448, *infra.*

A Divided North.—The North was awestruck. Many of the leaders of opinion, many newspapers, whole sections counselled peace at any price. Even Horace Greeley, Thurlow Weed, and Wendell Phillips deprecated force and coercion. They believed in government by influence, which is a cheat. Daniel E. Sickles, in the House of Representatives, said that New York City also would secede; and the Democratic Mayor, Fernando Wood, advised her to do so. Early in January, 1861, the "Star of the West" had been fired upon in Charleston Harbor in an attempt to relieve Major Robert Anderson, who was trying to hold Fort Sumter against South Carolina troops, ships and artillery. And Buchanan did nothing. To the paralyzed Presidency, a Cabinet regency succeeded, with several new Secretaries, including Stanton, to be so famous under Lincoln and Johnson. But on January 11, General John A. Dix of New York succeeded to the Treasury and on the 29th instant, he sent a telegram to a subordinate customs officer, which read—"If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." This was tonic in its nature and effects. Government is force; otherwise it is farce.

The Confederacy Organized.—On February 9, 1861, the oath of allegiance was taken to the new Confederate States of North America; and Jefferson Davis was elected President with Alexander H. Stephens as Vice-President. Either Robert Toombs of Georgia, former United States Senator, or Howell Cobb would have made an abler President. Each had supporters for the office.[1]

General Winfield Scott.—There was talk of interference with the meeting of the Senate to count the Electoral College votes on February 13; but though Winfield Scott, head of the army, was seventy-five years old and sympathized in a general way with the South,[2] he smelled the battle afar off, and with threats of blowing traitors' heads off at cannon mouths and with actual mustering of troops, made battle impossible. It was the most creditable performance of all his life. The votes were quietly counted and announced by Vice-President Breckenridge. He himself had seventy-two votes. A month later, he became United States Senator; yet though his State

[1] See p. 417.

[2] See p. 164, *supra*.

did not secede, in September he joined the Confederacy and became brigadier-general.

THE "ENQUIRER" SPEAKS.—Next, the Confederates proposed to make Washington City the Capital of the Confederacy. Said the Richmond (Virginia) "Enquirer,"—"Our people can take it,—they will take it. Scott, the arch-traitor, and Lincoln, the beast, cannot prevent it. The 'Illinois Ape' must retrace his journey more rapidly than he came." The Southerners talked too freely. They hoped to win by threats and bravado. But a new epoch had come.

A DRAMATIC SCENE.—More serious was the plan to assassinate Lincoln.[1] Whatever it was, it failed. He arrived duly in Washington, and on March 4, 1861, was inaugurated. Beside Lincoln sat James Buchanan, a ceremonious old gentleman confused in this mess of affairs; next to him sat Stephen A. Douglas, his leading rival, cool, polite, and comforting,—he held President Lincoln's extra tall silk hat in his hand while the reading of the eloquent inaugural proceeded. The oath of office was administered by Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice of the United States, who had helped to make Lincoln President and to convert a land of peace into a land soon to echo with battle-shouts and to flow with brothers' blood. Four men they were,—and they represented three parties, the old Taney-Buchanan party of slavery, the new Douglas party of slavery but no secession, and the rising Lincoln party of no secession whether with or without slavery. When and where was there ever a more startling group of great statesmen in a more dramatic peaceful scene?

BUCHANAN TOO DIPLOMATIC.—It is not true that our oldest Presidents have been the worst. Nor is the contrary true that the youngest Presidents have been the worst. But it is true that our old Presidents who had been long in political life have been poorer Presidents than Zachary Taylor, who knew nothing of practical politics until he was himself by the fortunes of a successful war and the needs of a political party the Presidential candidate. A little audacity, a little directness and some force, a little recklessness and some promptitude; in other words, less diplomacy, would have saved James Buchanan to a memory of higher honor.

A WAR DEMOCRAT.—Then the kind, obfuscated old bachelor, the former President, went home to Lancaster, Penn-

[1] See p. 448, *infra*.

sylvania. He had saved up $200,000. He wrote a book entitled "Mr. Buchanan's Administration," which was published in 1866. He died of rheumatic gout at Wheatland, his estate near Lancaster, June 1, 1868, being full of years and memories and regrets, for once out of the toils of the South, out of the political atmosphere of Washington, nearly always bad, and often worse, he saw his mistakes,—too late, too late.

During the administrations of Lincoln and of Johnson, James Buchanan exerted but little influence. He was, however, a sincere War Democrat. Let Americans recall him with pity. He had played politics too long to know how to fight a war, for the InterState War began with the Kansas-Nebraska bill in the days of Franklin Pierce, whose unfortunate heir he was. Small wonder that aged James Buchanan spent uneasy years in his lonely bachelor retirement, reviewing his Presidency and its aftermath,—ruinous war, still more ruinous reconstruction of the war-wrecked Southern land, and a national government debauched of standards of efficiency and honesty.

CHAPTER XVI

Abraham Lincoln

1861-1865
1809-1865

34-23-26-36 States	Population 21,000,000
Admitted: West Virginia, Nevada.	35,000,000

The wide awake campaign compared with the log cabin and hard cider campaign of "Old Tip" Harrison—the "railsplitter"—his sources of popular strength—most interesting of all Americans—why Valley Forges arise—the patience of Abraham Lincoln—the stories—early life—personal appearance—death of his mother—his stepmother—his dress—his books—Black Hawk War—storekeeper—his debts—postmaster—State Assemblyman—borrows $200—death of Ann Rutledge—melancholy—service in the Legislature—lawyer—the strange story of courtship and marriage—more melancholy—his law partners—some law cases—a total abstinence exhorter—a Whig in Congress—opposes Mexican War but votes for supplies—visits New England—in a way, a National Socialist—advises purchasing the slaves—op-

poses Stephen A. Douglas—Shields and Trumbull—Vice-Presidential ambitions in 1856—the Lincoln-Douglas debates—"a house divided against itself cannot stand"—the "Freeport heresy"—the Cooper Union speech—his poverty—an American Socrates—his intellectual quality, exhaustive reflection—wins the Republican nomination—attacked by Wendell Phillips as "a slave-hound"—the fight of 1860 against Douglas—the old sectionalism—a dark horse candidate—a minority President—the interregnum—predicts his own assassination—his Cabinet—a good helmsman for the Union Ship of State—call for volunteers—the Border States—Baltimore cut off—West Virginia secedes from Virginia—the locations of the Capitols—the proslavery strength—the "war powers" of the President and of the Constitution—*habeas corpus*—a rejected Constitution—General McClellan—Secretary Stanton—a War President—Congress—the armies—Grant wins Fort Donelson—Willie Lincoln dies—Monitor wins at Hampton Roads—Southern events—A. S. Johnston killed—the Wilkes affair—"one war at a time"—the slaves—more of McClellan—Chancellorsville—Stonewall Jackson killed—Antietam—the Emancipation Proclamation—Lincoln as a writer—enlisting negroes as soldiers—Gettysburg—Vicksburg—Grant—Vallindigham—the New York draft riot—the Gettysburg speech—politics in 1864—reëlected—Sherman marches to the sea—Thomas at Nashville—Sheridan—at Winchester—Chase made Chief Justice—the "Alabama"—the Second Inaugural—the negro rights amendments—Lee surrenders at Appomattox—Lincoln is killed—Seward also is assassinated but survives—cause of the conspiracy—unconstitutional punishment of conspirators—the common affliction of incompetent government—Walt Whitman, poet of democracy, quoted.

The Wide Awake Campaign of 1860.—"One whose meek flock the people joyed to be!" Such is the verdict of the poet Lowell upon Lincoln. How pitifully untrue! Not until Appomattox did he govern the land. Upon hearing that he was to be President, one-third of the people flew to arms against the Government over which he was to preside. Nor were the people ever joyous over this strangest of human beings, our first martyr President, slain by one of his own unwilling compatriots, son of the foreign-born.

We may wonder greatly at the log cabin and hard cider campaign of "Old Tip" Harrison in 1840; and at that of "Old Rough and Ready" Taylor in 1848. It was rather undignified to put "Old Hickory" Jackson into the Presidential office, made outwardly splendid by George Washington, widely influential

by Thomas Jefferson; and startlingly effective by Andrew Jackson. But to make a "railsplitter" and "flatboatman," a grotesque giantesque "ape," as he was brutally styled by some,[1] partly because of his name "Abe" and partly because of his appearance, President in an epoch of crisis equal to that of 1776, upon a stage of action far wider, was an experiment more amazing than any that had gone before.

But for the campaigns of Harrison and Taylor, Abraham Lincoln could never have been elected, or even nominated. They prepared the way for the Republican "Wide Awake" Clubs of 1860, which nightly for months held meetings and processions in nearly every town and village of the North.

His Apparent Unfitness.—Lincoln had never been United States Senator; or even Governor of his State; or minister abroad; or a Cabinet chief; or even a brigadier-general. Of the fifteen Presidents before him, not one but had reached greater distinction prior to election. Closely analyzed, upon their records, only Jackson and Taylor were less prepared by official experience than Lincoln for the Presidency.

Sources of Popular Strength.—Likely enough, thousands of voters saw the point; we had far worse Presidents than Jackson and Taylor. Lincoln was not even a college graduate or a fairly well educated man; Jackson and Taylor were not well educated. Probably, Lincoln was a rough and uncouth man. The voters were rough and uncouth. The plain people liked the idea of a plain man to face the crisis. They had seen enough of gentlemen,—Tyler, Polk, Fillmore, Pierce, and Buchanan had palled upon their taste. Bell and Everett had drawn the votes of gentlemen in the North, Douglas and Johnson those of the business men and standpatters, and Breckenridge and Lane the masses of the cities. The farmers of the country districts, the mechanics of the cities and towns, and the young voters (who in fact cast one-seventh of the total vote in Presidential elections) made Abraham Lincoln President. Some chuckled over his manners, some liked his ideas, some distrusted all his opponents because of their records and affiliations.

Most Interesting of All Americans.—It is the fortune of but few human beings to become so interesting to others that they desire to know the minutiae of their ancestors, persons, characters, deeds, ideas, circumstances and daily lives.

[1]See p. 429, *supra*.

Abraham Lincoln is one of those few. All the world has asked his parentage, height, weight, color of hair, whether he slept well o' nights, his deeds, his ideas, his poverty, failures, failings, successes, sins, virtues. The story of the early days of Lincoln is more familiar to Americans than is the story of the early days of any other President, of any other American, of any other man. There are more lives of Lincoln, more histories of his times, more essays, addresses, monographs about him than about any other three Americans together. As a theme of human interest and concern, he surpasses any other man of our history. Why? Because he was perfect? No. Because he affords so many points for praise? No.

Valley Forge.—The Presidency of Abraham Lincoln was one long spiritual Valley Forge. They misconceive George Washington and his Valley Forge and Abraham Lincoln and the misery of the InterState War who fancy that they themselves were in no way responsible for their sufferings. Like all other men, Washington and Lincoln were in part makers of their own fates day by day. To most generals, Valley Forges are impossible; to most statesmen, such periods as that of the InterState War are impossible. They arise from indomitable endurance without sufficient ability and resources promptly to prevail.

His Patience.—The root of the character of Lincoln was patience,—he had faith in the final victory of patience. There is no way to destroy such a man other than to bear and to overbear, to wait and wait and wait still longer than he. The patient man cannot be uprooted. The patience of Lincoln became the source of his popular strength; the common people are surprised, astounded, dismayed by genius, but they understand and confide in patience. They live by enduring. Fortitude is easier than courage. The draft horse is no war-charger, no race-winner. In a sense, fortitude is moral courage; in another sense, fortitude is evidence of peasant-ancestry.

> "Endurance is the crowning quality,
> And patience all the passion of great hearts."

Not that Lincoln was always conventionally patient. Once, he himself carried an insolent office-seeker out of the White House, with one great hand gripping the man's coatcollar and with the other gripping the seat of his breeches. Still, he

didn't knock him down or swear at him; he carried him out, bore him away, and deposited him out of doors—firmly, gently, finally.

The Lincoln Stories.—All Americans know the Lincoln stories,—how he trotted about the Departments to help individuals in need, and incidentally to get the outdoor air, to see the real folks, and to avoid undesirables; how he pardoned hundreds of small offenders, which always is good politics as well as good religion; how he visited the army hospitals; how he told stories to illustrate his arguments; how he read his Bible far into the night and rose early, breakfasting on toast and tea; how he passed often suddenly from grave to gay, and from gay to grave; how eagerly he scanned the war news; how skillfully or unskillfully he directed his generals and secretaries; how he waited and waited the fullness of time to publish the Emancipation Proclamation; how he was always getting things done. He was patient, judicious, indefatigable, circumspect, foresighted, shrewd, deep,—the best politician ever in Washington, bar none until McKinley.

Early Life,—Personal Appearance.—All the world knows that Abraham Lincoln was born on February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky; that he was six feet four inches in height, weighed one hundred and seventy-five or eighty pounds, wore a seven and one-eighth hat (most men wear sevens, but several Presidents have worn seven and a half hats, one a seven and seven-eighths), and No. 11 or 12 shoes. (Washington had enormous hands and feet, larger than Lincoln's; he weighed thirty or forty pounds more, wore No. 13 boots, and usually had far better health and was much more athletic.) Lincoln was ugly of face, so ugly as to be picturesque. But he was neither ungainly nor awkward of body, nor uncouth in manner, nor as President rude and careless of speech. On the contrary, he carried himself strongly and gracefully, though he usually seemed weary and often sleepy; he was polite, gracious, and sympathetic, and his language on dress parade was choice and considerate. If Lincoln had any "pose" whatsoever, it was the pose of carelessness,—to throw plotters off the track,—for he was in truth the most careful of men. It is unwise to seem too prudent. People never like "safe" men, especially the men who seem to be safeguarding themselves. Lincoln was a shepherd of the people, a safe

guarder of others, not of himself. He was the least selfish of men.

His Ancestry.—Thousands and millions in times past have tried to fathom the secret of how Lincoln came to be what he was. No plummet has sounded that depth for him or for any other son of man. His father was Thomas Lincoln of Kentucky,—a thick, vigorous, bold, reckless hunting pioneer,—surpassingly strong, as brave as any of his neighbors, as industrious as the average of them, rather unsuccessful in getting property and provisions for his family. Perhaps, he had the dreadful malaria of those early days. Certainly, his son greatly suffered from malaria for many years, perhaps always more or less. From his father and his line, Abraham inherited his tough constitution.

Death of His Mother.—The mother of Abraham Lincoln was Nancy Hanks, a poor girl but probably not illegitimate, as once was believed by many. She was a very gentle and a rather pretty and attractive woman. She died when her son was but nine years old; he always remembered her with a beautiful tenderness, perhaps inherited from herself. Soon, Tom Lincoln married again. The family drifted westward into Illinois. The stepmother was a widow with children, and was very kind to her husband's boy and girl.

His Reading.—They were all poor, almost desperately poor, and ignorant. But for all his ignorance, Abraham was ambitious. He managed to get an arithmetic to study; and later a grammar. Next, he read Plutarch's "Lives," Parson Weems' "Life of Washington," some "Plays" of Shakespeare's, Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," and little else. But he learned these books. Meantime, he wore leather leggins and a linsey woolsey shirt, summer and winter. He survived hardship. As population came in, he began to rise. When full-grown, he found a chance to read Blackstone's "Commentaries upon the Common Law of England." Probably, he learned much of it, word for word. He fought the toughs of his neighborhood and in his own language "licked" them. He worked out among his neighbors. At last, he began to earn money, and after he came of age, got for himself his first suit of clothes.

In Early Manhood.—Such was the Lincoln of 1830.

In 1832 Lincoln went as captain with a company of neighbors to the Black Hawk War, but saw none of the fighting.

In the same year, he became a candidate for the State Legislature but though he carried his own county by 205 votes to 3, was defeated.

His Debts.—He became a country storekeeper, but failed next year, owing several hundred dollars. The neighborhood was now declining in population and deteriorating in morals. He continued to be so poor that fifteen years were required to pay off this apparently small debt. Most young men as poor as Lincoln, instead of trying to pay the debt, would have "lit out for parts farther west," to use their own vernacular, my own native lingo. He stayed and paid. Presidency? If he ever thought of it, the Presidency must have seemed to him as remote and inaccessible as the planet Jupiter.

In the spring of 1833, when Andrew Jackson was President, Lincoln became postmaster at the village of New Salem and continued in the little office until 1836, when it was closed by the Government for want of patrons. Public business like private died on Lincoln's hands.

Member State Legislature.—But in 1834 he had run again for the Illinois Legislature, and had been elected. The eleven candidates ran upon joint tickets. The four leading men received respectively 1376, either 1370 or 1390,—no one ever learned which,—1170 and 1164. Lincoln was the third in this list, whereupon he borrowed $200 of a friend, bought a good suit of clothes, his second, and proceeded to Vandalia, then the Capital of the State. He was twenty-five years old. Part of this time, he studied surveying and managed to get some work to do.

There was much sympathy felt by all who knew Lincoln because he was below even poverty, lived on the cheapest fare (which he bought at grocery stores) and slept in office-buildings to save room-rent.

Death of Ann Rutledge.—Lincoln took but little interest in legislation at Vandalia. There was a delicate girl of the home-neighborhood by name Ann Rutledge, whose affianced lover went to New York and either died or forgot her. She was but seventeen years old, and Lincoln wished to marry her. She fell into a decline and died of what was called brain-fever in August, 1835. For months, he had sat daily at her bedside. Just what happened then to Abraham Lincoln is obscure. His friends and neighbors had no understanding of such a

case; they called him crazy. He had always been melancholy; it is a disease to which the patient and persistent, the lonely and the poor are peculiarly liable. This melancholy was intensified to an extreme degree. He was taken care of by the friend to whom he owed the $200,—Speed,—and gradually grew better. Never again was his physical strength what it had been; never again did he believe unreservedly in the goodness of God or of the universe or in humanity itself. He never shook off wholly the influence of Ann Rutledge, the memory of her pitiful troubles, and his own soul-absorbing, unrequited passion for the fair-haired, blue-eyed girl. He seemed to others and to himself under a fate, and became mystical. In 1836, Lincoln had another love-affair, not wholly serious, with a Kentucky girl by name Mary Owen, who rejected him.

Legislative Service.—Then came a third campaign for the Legislature, in which he was easily successful. Lincoln was a Clay man and anti-Jackson, strong for internal improvements, "unsound" on the money-question. He wished to become "the DeWitt Clinton of Illinois." In 1837, he attacked some extreme proslavery resolutions passed by the Democratic majority in the Legislature. Illinois was settled mostly by Southerners. Anti-slavery men were few. Lincoln boldly declared slavery both "injustice and bad policy." In 1838 he lost the Speakership by but one vote, a fair test of the relative strength of Whigs and Democrats.

Though he knew but little law, he was admitted to the bar in 1836, and in April, 1837, began active practice at Springfield, the new Capital of the State. In 1840 he was reëlected to the Legislature, and was also a candidate on the Harrison Electoral ticket. He stumped the State for Harrison and the Whigs and frequently encountered Stephen A. Douglas who from lobbyist had turned stump-speaker. The Democrats won. The "Little Giant" was then twenty-seven years old, being Lincoln's junior by four years.

The Strange Story of His Courtship and Marriage.—In 1836, Mary Todd, then twenty years old, came from Kentucky to visit a sister at Springfield. Lincoln thought that he was in love with her. Douglas also courted her—if she had married him, would she have made him President?

Lincoln and Mary Todd agreed to marry on January 1, 1841. In the parlor of her sister's home, duly adorned, with

the minister and the invited guests, the bride-to-be awaited the bridegroom, who came not. His friends spirited him away to Kentucky, for a visit of months. His neighbors said that he had gone crazy again. But he had not jilted Mary Todd: he simply thought that he was unfit to marry her. Yet on November 4, 1842, at thirty-three years of age, he did marry Miss Todd, nearly nine years his junior. She was almost as queer as himself; and smarter. She insisted that he had a great future. A match-making friend arranged a surprise meeting for them; and his plan succeeded, though details were never published by them. Mary Todd meant to make Lincoln President. He regarded her as a clever woman.

Whether it was a happy marriage or not, biographers and even historians dispute. Mrs. Lincoln had a shrewish temper and a caustic pen, which in newspaper letters before her marriage she had used against one of Lincoln's best friends. But she had much to endure from her husband, who at this period was not domestic in his tastes but preferred taverns and courts and legislative halls and offices in which to chat with men. It was part of his fate that he spent his days and evenings cultivating popularity. He neither smoked tobacco nor drank liquor, but he associated with those who did, many of whom did little more. The 'forties of the nineteenth century in Illinois were free and careless days.

His Law Practice.—In 1841 Lincoln became junior law partner with Judge Stephen T. Logan; and though this partnership was dissolved in 1843, when he became senior partner in the firm of Lincoln & Herndon, Logan always remained a steadfast friend. Lincoln never became a jurist, but he soon became a shrewd pleader and a case-winner. He was a notable cross-questioner, being patient, polite and adroit. He appeared in many interesting cases. In one in July, 1841, before the Illinois Supreme Court, he argued that a promissory note given in payment for a negro girl was invalid because slavery was forbidden by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, and therefore was legally without consideration of "value received," since no title could be given. The court so held. Slaves could not be sold in Illinois and after this case notes involving slaves were worthless there. The United States Circuit Court has held,—1911,—that the Constitution itself is subordinate to the Northwest Ordinance because later, and the forgotten Con-

gress of the Confederation is slowly coming to its own. In truth, the "weaknesses" of the Confederation has been exaggerated for political purposes. In the fifteen years from 1774 to 1789, the population of the United States grew, despite war and exiling of Loyalists, four per cent. per annum.[1]

A Railroad Case.—In another case, in 1857, between a steamboat owner and the Rock Island railroad, Lincoln argued that travel by bridge was as truly a common law right as travel by steamboat. The court agreed: This decision had a vital effect upon railroad development for which bridges are essential.

In 1858, in the defence of an alleged murderer, William Armstrong, son of a New Salem friend, Lincoln showed that the main witness who said that at ten o'clock by the light of the moon he saw the defendent strike a blow must be lying, for by the almanac there was no moon that night at that hour.

In 1842 Lincoln voluntarily retired from the State Legislature, but sought unsuccessfully the Whig nomination to Congress. In this same year, he took up earnestly the Washingtonian total abstinence movement.

Member of Congress.—Four years later, he secured nomination and election to Congress. He was the only Whig sent by Illinois that session; he went as an avowed antagonist of the Jackson-Van Buren-Polk machine. His opponent in the canvass was the famous Democratic preacher, Reverend Peter Cartwright, whose grandson "Peachy" Harrison he was to defend in murder trials in 1856 and in 1860.

On December 22, 1847, he introduced in Congress the "Spot Resolutions,"[2] and on January 12, 1848, he made a speech in the House upon the conduct of the Mexican War, in which he asserted plainly that the war was "unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President." In correspondence with his constituents at home, he took the ground that Polk acted like a King, not like a President. "Kings," he wrote, "had always been involving and impoverishing their people in wars, pretending generally, if not always, that the good of the people was the object."

Lincoln made in Congress a rather more important figure than was usual even then for a member in his first term. But

[1] See p. 217, *supra*.

[2] See p. 392, *supra*.

his course offended a majority of his constituency. Moreover, it was the Illinois custom to rotate offices. They believed in rotation on the theory that the purpose of an office is to help the officeholder; it is the view both of primitive and of degenerate peoples. One term was the order. In 1848 Lincoln was not even nominated for a second term. He went upon a stump-speaking tour in New England and met with success.[1] Because he had opposed the Mexican War, he favored the outraged war-hero Zachary Taylor for the Presidential nomination.

A Business Man's Congressman.—The political principles of Abraham Lincoln included liberal appropriations for internal improvement at Federal Government cost. (This, of course, is National Socialism.) They included also liberal public land laws, plenty of paper money, liberal local banking, and a high protective tariff. His appeal was to the adventurous, speculative element among the business men. Despite the apotheosis due to the outcome of the InterState War, to his murder, and to the genuine love felt for him by millions, it is difficult, even upon the recommendation of Abraham Lincoln, to support all these views. He was a Whig of the Whigs. But he was more than a Whig. At heart, he was antislavery, almost an abolitionist. He had introduced an explicit and detailed bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia,—a favorite measure of new members,—and he was constantly urging the reduction of slavery by the purchase of slaves and their "return" to Africa, though few of them had been born there, and at least half had white ancestors. This African colonization scheme was visionary, but many in the North, and some in the South, cherished the vision.

Speaks Frequently.—His term in Congress familiarized Lincoln with Washington and brought him into National politics. His New England trip gave him a broader reputation. In the next ten years, he was called several times also into Kansas and Ohio to make speeches. In 1848 he had declined an appointment as Territorial Governor of Oregon, and had sought the National Commissionership of Public Lands but failed to get it. His true field in politics was to be Illinois.

The Contest with Douglas.—In 1854 being now forty-five years of age, upon the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, Lincoln came to the front, denouncing the bill as a breach

[1]See p. 367, *supra*.

of public faith. Stephen A. Douglas had entered the United States Senate at the same session as Lincoln entered the House. They were now to be pitted against one another as the recognized leaders of opposing parties. Until 1854, though the younger man, Douglas had been the winner. Upon October 4, 1854, in Springfield, Lincoln made a speech four hours long replying to one by Douglas delivered the day before. In this year, he had been elected to the State Legislature but resigned in order to be a candidate for United States Senator against James Shields, with whom at one time he had fought a silly, bloodless duel with broadswords over some newspaper letters written by two girls. He married one of the girls; his friend Lyman Trumbull married the other. Lincoln lost the Senatorship but defeated Shields; and Trumbull carried off the political prize.

Roughhouse Politics in Illinois.—The tone and trend of the politics of Illinois had a certain boyish, roughhouse atmosphere, like that of most State legislatures on adjournment at the end of the legislative open season when inkwells hurtle through the air and all valuable loose public property is appropriated by the members. Manhood suffrage is productive of mere manhood legislation, and not much more; many men are big boys, and nothing more. Yet in Illinois politics was involved the life of the American nation, the union itself of the American people.

A Veritable Cave of Adullam.—In 1856 all the odds and ends of our people, all the discontented, and many practical politicians came together formally to organize the Republican party in Illinois in opposition to Popular Sovereignty.[1] On May 29, 1856, Abraham Lincoln made an impressive address before the State Republican Convention. The National Convention of the party cast 110 votes for him as Vice-Presidential candidate with John C. Fremont.[2] In the fall elections, the Democrats carried the State for Buchanan and Breckenridge, but the Republicans elected the Governor and State officers. In June, 1858, the Republican State Convention named Lincoln as their candidate to succeed Douglas, whose second term as United States Senator was soon to expire.

[1] See pp. 111, 410, 421, *supra*.

[2] See p. 417, *supra*.

His Greatest Speech.—Before this convention, against the advice of all his friends, Lincoln made the remarkable speech that ultimately elected him President. In it, he said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." For a man actively in politics, it was a tremendous deliverance. His assertion that the advocates of slavery "will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South" was the death knell of Northern temporizers. He charged that Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, Chief Justice Taney, and Senator Douglas had conspired knowingly and in so many words to secure the Dred Scott decision. This, as we now know, was true.[1] No other public man had yet spoken so plainly,—not even Seward. His speech sounded like the reform abolitionism of William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, who nevertheless would not receive him into their company of radical reformers,—which was fortunate for Lincoln. Had they welcomed him as a recruit, had they not denounced him as playing politics, he would have failed to gain the support of millions whose votes he needed. These millions looked upon him as a safe politician, careful in his utterances, who would not go further than he must, but who was himself perfectly honest, candid and sincere.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates.—The memorable debates with Douglas took place in the fall of 1858. They met at seven points in the State, at Ottawa, at Freeport, at Jonesboro, at Charleston, at Galesburg, at Quincy and at Alton: the first upon August 21, the last upon October 15. At other points, on this circuit, each made many other speeches, though no others with reference to this joint debate. Lincoln had Douglas defeated for the Presidency when the second session was over, for in order to win the Senatorship, "The Little Giant" was forced to say that, regardless of Constitution and Federal law, "slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulation." This "Freeport heresy" cost Douglas the Presidency because it split the Democratic party into two parts. Lincoln set out deliberately

[1] See p. 418, *supra*.

to accomplish this very thing, as he carefully recounted to his friends beforehand.

Douglas Wins Because of a Gerrymander.—At the election, the votes stood for Douglas State Senators and Representatives, 122,000; for Lincoln Senators and Representatives, 126,000; for out and out Buchanan proslavery Senators and Representatives, 5000. But the State was gerrymandered in the Democratic interest, and the members of the Legislature stood:

Senate, Democrats	14,	Republicans,	11.
House, Democrats,	40,	Republicans	35.
Total for Douglas	54,	for Lincoln	46.

On the 27th of February, 1860, at Cooper Union, New York, for $175 raised by New York politicians, publicists and abolitionists, mostly friends of Henry Ward Beecher, Lincoln read a speech (quite like one that he had previously delivered at Elwood, Kansas) in which he summarized the entire political history of slavery. He followed this address with a tour in New England, speaking in nearly a dozen cities.

The Finances of Lincoln.—It is highly interesting to know the financial aspects of this canvass to Lincoln himself. Though he represented the Republican party in Illinois, in the Douglas debates, he himself had to pay all his expenses, and he was so poor that he borrowed the $250 necessary to see him through. The Illinois Central railroad furnished Douglas, however, with a special train free, and the Democrats paid him a handsome fee for his services. Capital was for Douglas. Lincoln rode in an ordinary car, paying his own fare. He had the poorer accommodations at the hotels also. Moreover, the churches and the ministers were nearly all hostile to him. And yet poor though he was, the newspapers often attacked him as an "aristocrat" because of his wife's social connections. His law practice was neglected while he went about the people's business. Abraham Lincoln was in truth under a perpetual strain, a ceaseless harassing from childhood until death. Ideas mastered him. In a way, he was an American political Socrates, whose forum was not one city like Athens but the State of Illinois. In this, the oratorical period of his life, he

developed his singular natural quality of long, concentrated, exhaustive reflection upon a few phases of the single matter of slavery. Some Americans accused him of always talking the same way in the same words about the same thing,—as the Athenians had accused Socrates. He read but little; he thought and talked and wrote tirelessly upon slavery. He was the first and only man whom the American people ever elected President because he was a thinker and public speaker. Yet he was not an orator, for his voice was poor.

Republican Nominee for President.—In May, 1860, the Republican State Convention declared for Lincoln for the party candidate for President. For the nomination, there were four leading competitors,—W. H. Seward of New York, former Governor and then United States Senator; Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, a party leader and life-long office-holder; Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, more of a statesman than Cameron, more of a politician than Seward; and Lincoln. All the odds were on Seward; but Chase was working hard for the nomination. Cameron held the balance of power; he would probably, so it seemed, turn his strength for Seward or Chase and thereby decide the issue. If the convention had met in New York or Philadelphia, Seward would probably have been chosen; if in Cincinnati, then Chase.

The West Knows the Game.—But the convention was to be held at Chicago; and the Illinois Republicans meant to get the nomination for their own State. They employed rooters and howlers, they filled the street with shouting paraders, not hesitating to hire even Democrats. The Seward men from New York resorted to the same tactics; but at a critical moment, thousands of Lincoln men filed into the convention hall, packing it and keeping out the Seward street paraders except the delegates with reserved seats. The Seward shouting was mainly outside, the Lincoln was both inside and outside.[1]

At the start, Seward lost. The first ballot stood:

Seward	173½	Chase	49	McLean	12
Lincoln	102	Bates	48	Collamer	10
Cameron	50½	Dayton	14	Scattering	6

Then a bargain was made. Judge David Davis, the Lincoln

[1]See p. 425, *supra*.

manager, agreed to give Cameron a Cabinet Secretaryship for his votes. The third ballot stood:

Seward	180	Chase	24½	McLean	5
Lincoln	231½	Bates	22	Scattering	2

Total 465. Necessary for a choice 233.

Ohio then transferred four votes to Lincoln, and his vote increased to 354, whereupon William M. Evarts, manager for Seward, rose and moved to make the nomination unanimous.

Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was nominated for Vice President, having upon the second ballot all but 98 votes. Cannon boomed, barrooms were filled, and a great moral crusade was going forward, while the new leader, to use his own words, having heard by telegraph at Springfield the momentous news, left his office to "see a little woman at home who will be interested to hear it."

Diatribe by Wendell Phillips.—Wendell Phillips, thereupon, published an article entitled "Abraham Lincoln, the Slavehound of Illinois." Most of his life, however, the clergymen and other respectables never spoke to Lincoln, and he bore up cheerfully against this one more blow. But most of the Abolitionists supported him. To the surprise of nearly all politicians, Lincoln had 180 votes in the Electoral College to 133 for his three competitors together, and a popular plurality of 491,500 over Douglas.

Elected President.—The figures of the popular vote were as follows, viz.:

For Lincoln	1,866,500	
For Douglas	1,375,000	Total for these three 2,813,500.
For Breckenridge	848,000	
For Bell	590,500	
Total votes cast	4,680,000	

In the Electoral College, the vote was Lincoln 180, Breckenridge 72, Bell 39, Douglas 12.

In North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Tennessee, there had not been one vote cast for Abraham Lincoln. In Virginia, he had but 2000 votes. South Carolina cast no popular vote.

Our Historic Sectionalism.—The situation was ominous. Almost continuously, our land has been sectional in its politics. The South was Republican-Democratic, the North Federalist; the South was Democratic, the North Whig; the South has been Democratic, the North Republican. But never before was an elected President short of a majority by 1,000,000 votes. Lincoln had just one-third of the voting citizens with him.[1]

The sectionalism of the land is shown also in the Northern vote. Lincoln carried most of its States by at least two-thirds of the total votes, winning heavily over all the other candidates. Even New York State was not close; Lincoln had 362,646 votes against Douglas, fusion candidate, who had 312,510. In Illinois he had 12,000 over Douglas, and 5000 over all, in a total vote of 340,000. He barely won in California and in Oregon, in each State having only a few hundred plurality. Kentucky, his native State, gave him but 1366 in 146,000 votes.

The Fight was Against Douglas.—In truth, the people were rejecting Douglas, not electing the untried and relatively unknown Lincoln. But they were rejecting Douglas because Lincoln had forced him into the open. Douglas carried only New Jersey, where his fusion ticket had but 4500 majority,—and Missouri,—where he defeated Bell, the next candidate by but 400 votes. Texas cast no vote for Douglas, and Florida but 367. Of his total vote, he had one-half in four States,—New York, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, yet lost them all. The Southern secessionists distrusted Douglas even more than Lincoln.

In any other view, the coming of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency is inexplicable. We Americans do not rush to endorse the "dark horse" candidate of any party; but we sometimes flee from old stagers.

Whether Seward would have polled more or less votes than Lincoln, we shall never know. Whether he could have defeated Douglas, we shall never know. Nor shall we ever know what candidate would have made the best President. We cannot even know that a war would have followed if some other man had been elected.

The Lincoln Myth.—A fearful time followed. For the glory of the man who stood at the top for the victorious party, all the emotions have been concentrated; and he has been

[1]See p. 425, *supra*.

idealized beyond identification with the real man, though not yet beyond recognition, as is the case of George Washington. In time, the Lincoln myth is likely to be as imposing and as impossible as the Washington myth. This deification is natural. We love gods, and therefore make them. Yet, forever, there is but one God, whom in the flesh no man realizes or even resembles.

The Interregnum Invited Secession.—Immediately after the election of Lincoln, State upon State seceded. Steadily, the situation during the interregnum grew worse and worse.

We may not wisely say that it is useless to discuss whether secession was avoidable. Under similar conditions, it may occur again. The long interregnum invited secession. The weakness of Buchanan invited it. The election of a man whom millions did not know invited it. The interregnum was a condition, not a cause. Buchanan also was a condition, not a cause. And Lincoln likewise. But without the conditions, the moving cause might not have operated successfully.[1] That cause was the desire of the Southern slavery-extension and slave-protection leaders to go it alone, to get free from Northern hypocrisy and from Northern hostility, to settle for themselves the fate of their own domestic institutions.

In the dark month of February, 1861, under a strange prevision of doom, Abraham Lincoln, President-elect of a divided United States, made ready to leave Illinois. That winter, he had visited his aged stepmother, whom he loved; and she had predicted that he would be killed, as did many others. Thousands of office-seekers, anticipating a political revolution, had visited him at his home. He had made his plans for his Cabinet, and had written his inaugural. He was more than ill at ease; he was deeply dejected, as so often before. He knew and said that he should have come into control at once after election.[2] He was never afflicted with the idea that the American Constitution is perfect.

Predicts His Own Death by Violence.—On February 11, 1861, Lincoln set out from Springfield for Washington, intending to stop at various points and to talk matters over with the leaders and with the common people. At the Spring-

[1] See pp. 82, 83, *supra.*

[2] See pp. 128, 163, 169, 427, *supra.*

field railroad station, he predicted that the troubles ahead would cost him his own life. Reaching Baltimore three weeks later, after several speeches *en route*,[1] he hurried through the city almost unknown, varying his announced itinerary to avoid a plan of assassination, of which he had been forewarned.

A Great Cabinet.—Immediately upon his inauguration, he announced his all-star Cabinet:

Secretary of State,—W. H. Seward of New York.
Secretary of Treasury,—S. P. Chase of Ohio.
Secretary of War,—Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania.
Secretary of Navy,—Gideon Welles of Connecticut.
Secretary of Interior,—C. B. Smith of Indiana.
Attorney-General,—Edward Bates of Missouri.
Postmaster-General,—Montgomery Blair of Maryland.

President Lincoln had tried to get several Southern men but had failed. These secretaries were not his personal friends, but they were strong men with political followings. There had been much wire-pulling about these places. Lincoln had to remember that Cabinet Secretaries are appointed "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." Nor could he draft men into the service. Some good men declined; high public office with low salary is not acceptable to all even in the piping times of peace.

A Good Helmsman for the Ship of State.—From this point, the biography of Abraham Lincoln is part of the history of the country at its most important, difficult epoch, the tragic years of the InterState War. Space utterly fails to recount the story. Every day, many, many times, the hand of Lincoln was upon the helm of the Ship of State, rounding danger points, taking up flaws in the wind, avoiding eddies and maelströms, riding out the whirlwind and the hurricane. Every day he grew wiser. From the first day, he was never the master but only the grieving, patient, foresighted pilot of American destiny. He made many mistakes; but he never persisted in the path of the same kind of mistake.

Call for Volunteers.—The points that may be noted in a brief review of his career as President are simply illustrative. Though the North was not wholly and vigorously loyal, yet Lincoln never made the mistake of trying in any way to compromise with the South. He paid no attention to the com-

[1] See pp. 405, 429, *supra*.

missioners sent to treat for peace with the "new nation." He even let them stay in the Capital and forward news to the secessionists. Lincoln made a mistake in not sending prompt enough relief to Fort Sumter, which fell April 15. Then he issued his bugle call for 75,000 volunteers. This he followed promptly with a call for three-year enlistments. This was a mistake: the enlistments should have been, as he came to see, "for the war." He summoned Congress, of course, in special session, and was shrewd enough immediately to accept the political services there of Thaddeus Stevens, parliamentary master of the House.

The Border States.—The President set himself to win the Border States. This was, perhaps, the greatest of his early achievements. The problem was to win Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and if possible, Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee at the very start. Even Delaware, however, at first was not sure. In pursuit of this design, he had appointed Blair and Bates to his Cabinet. Delaware was quickly controlled, as usual in her history, by men and influences from Philadelphia.

The struggle in Maryland was longer. It was indeed never wholly won, for thousands of Marylanders enlisted in the Confederate Army. Most Marylanders were Southern sympathizers, but of these sympathizers most were afraid of the North.

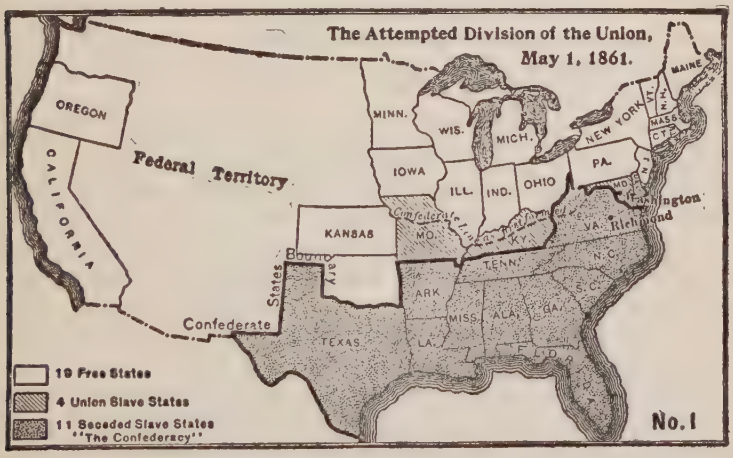
The Baltimore Riot.—The Baltimore riot, when four soldiers of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment and twelve citizens also were killed, on April 17, at first tended to throw the State into the Confederacy; but the actual relief of the Capital by the three Massachusetts volunteer regiments sent by their War-Governor Andrews cut Baltimore off from its Southern trade, and the economic necessity of dependence upon the North starved the city into Unionism. The telegraph wires and the railroad bridges between Baltimore and Washington had been pulled down in order to terrorize the National Government. But in this world things often cut both ways.—Isolating Washington from the loyal North likewise isolated Baltimore from the South.

Kentucky was even harder to hold, but Lincoln was himself a Kentuckian, and his own moves and the influence of Ohio, which was almost as intensely loyal as Massachusetts, saved

the State to "neutrality," the absurd term used to cover the attempt to be "loyal to both sides."

Far more strenuous was the fight for Missouri. The story is a volume itself. The guerrilla warfare lasted for years; and yet the State government was held for the Union.

Virginia.—Lincoln was trying hard to hold Virginia. He sought to hold Robert E. Lee, Colonel of the United States Army; but Lee turned secessionist. Whether, as he was wont to say, he went out because Virginia did, or Virginia went out because he did, is a moot question. The Union finally lost Virginia; and Virginia soon lost, by her own secession theory, one-third of her area, all the beautiful and rich western



counties. Then Richmond, scarcely a hundred miles due south, was made the Confederate Capital. "On to Richmond!" was the Federal cry; "On to Washington!" the Confederate cry.

The Two Capitals.—For the purposes of the war, once that Maryland was saved and the Confederacy did not quickly win the Capital of the United States,—which would have meant recognition of the new nation abroad *instanter*,—it proved to be advantageous that the seat of the National Government was so far South. Though in the summer wounded Union soldiers died like flies from typhoid and other fevers in the Washington hospitals, still the District of Columbia was

thrust like a promontory out into the secession ocean, and felt the shock of the storms of war. It was a dramatic, a spectacular, location. Midway between South and North, Washington appealed to the Northern imagination. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers enlisted to save the Capital.

Likewise, the choice of Richmond for the Capital of the Confederacy, though a military folly, was a political masterstroke. Virginia was "the mother of Presidents." The Southerners enlisted to save the land of Washington and of Jefferson, of Marshall, and of Patrick Henry from invasion.

THE SOUTHERN SITUATION.—Lincoln was foiled also in trying to save North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee. But from every one of these States of the Middle South, thousands of soldiers enlisted in the Union armies. The Appalachian country, "the land of the sky," never was proslavery or secessionist.

In a total population of 12,300,000, the South including the Border States had 350,000 slaveholders and a few thousand less than 4,000,000 slaves. The total population of the United States in 1861 was about 32,000,000. The average slaveholding family had five members. This means that about one family in three possessed slaves, and that this slaveholding family had eleven slaves, or two per member. It means also that two families in three had no slaves. These non-slaveholding families were mostly in the cities and in the mountains. Because of trade with the plantations, the cities were proslavery. The plantation South was proslavery. But the mountain South and the poor white trash of the country and to a certain extent of the cities and villages were often Unionist.

THE NORTHERN SITUATION.—Similarly, the North was divided. The laboring people and the liberally educated farmers, the mechanics, the clerks and the factory operatives were nearly all Unionist; but the commercial classes of the larger cities, the bankers, the lawyers, journalists, preachers, and literary persons were generally either proslavery or peace-at-any-price advocates. Of course, millions in the North as in the South really had no opinions, wanting ability or experience or interest to form opinions. Human society necessarily breeds and rears a majority of persons to obey orders, to catch hints, and to look out how to keep alive. Abraham Lincoln was the

one man North or South who best knew and understood these facts and how to apply the knowledge and understanding to the situation.

Recalls the Methods of Washington, Jackson, and Polk.—On the 19th of April, Lincoln instituted a blockade of the Southern ports. He had been anti-Jackson and anti-Polk; but he proceeded upon their methods of violence, thoroughness, and perseverance. On July 4, Congress came together in special session. It was some months, however, until all the secessionists withdrew; and throughout the War, many Copperheads or secessionist sympathizers were in Congress. Perhaps, it was better so. Perhaps, the strong opposition to the War among the remaining members of Congress made its advocates both more eager and more steadfast.

Military Emancipation.—In August, the question of military emancipation of slaves arose. Congress passed a law freeing slaves actually employed in hostile service in the armies of the Confederacy. John C. Fremont,[1] serving as general in Missouri, undertook to set free all the slaves of the soldiers of the Confederacy there; but the President and Congress modified his order. Martial law did not quite mean that any officer in command could do as he pleased,—not even though he was the first candidate of the Republican party for the Presidency, and the son-in-law of a powerful Senator, who, however, had voted for his opponent.[2]

The Interesting "War-Powers."—The Constitution now came under a prodigious strain. There arose situation after situation that the fathers had not foreseen. To save the Constitution, they must stretch it! Necessity knows no law. The President was commander-in-chief of the army and navy. "War-powers," of which almost nothing is said in the document, began to be assumed; which assumption gave rise to an immense amount of controversy. The President indeed saved Maryland to the Union by ordering General Scott, in case the Legislature seemed about to vote to go out, to counteract the movement by the bombardment of their cities, and in extreme necessity, by the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

Conflict With the Supreme Court.—On May 25, 1861, one John Merryman, recruiting in Maryland for the Con-

[1] See pp. 410, 421, *supra*.

[2] See p. 268, *supra*.

federate service, was seized,—and Justice Taney granted to him a writ of *habeas corpus*. General Cadwalader of the Union service said that he held Merryman for treason, whereupon the Justice issued upon the General an attachment for contempt of court. Justice Taney then published a proclamation, thereby assuming supremacy in the National Government. But President Lincoln controlled the army, and Congress, meeting in July and reflecting public opinion, took his view. Similarly, when Chief Justice Marshall and President Jefferson collided,[1] the President won; and when Marshall and Jackson[2] collided, the President won. In 1861, as between the sage of the Dred Scott decision and the thinker of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, a large majority of the citizens backed the debater against the legalist.

Habeas Corpus.—Fortunately, by July, Lincoln had established certain precedents from which it was inexpedient to deviate. Moreover, staying at home, the members of Congress had lived in the tide of public opinion, which was for a vigorous war and an early peace. Writs of *habeas corpus* would have allowed the Confederates to sap and mine the border States,—for men, for war-supplies, for money through sale of bonds, and for the invaluable support of public opinion. They had invited war, and they had made war; and it is an absurd notion that the writ of *habeas corpus,* in respect to the war-issues, runs in time of war. They who take the sword must live or die by the sword. The South had appealed from the ballot to the bullet; and though it was shrewd enough to try for every weak spot in the Union cause, including soft spots in the Union head, it was hypocritical to plead in defence of *habeas corpus* a violated and a rejected Constitution. Of course, all things are justifiable in time of war, including hypocrisy, which indeed is one of its staples of exchange.

The Lost Constitution.—War itself violated the Constitution, which makes no provision for InterState war; and secession rejected it. The South had refused to let the situation be adjudicated by peace and time.

In Congress, there were some strong men, not many. Among them was Lincoln's friend, Judge Lyman Trumbull, now Senator.

[1] See pp. 395, 398, *supra.*

[2] See p. 335, *supra.*

This session of Congress voted 500,000 men and $500,000,000 for the war; and adjourned on August 6.

McClellan.—On the 19th of July occurred the first battle of Bull Run,—a panic and a rout for the Union troops. Then followed the long, long trial of General George B. McClellan, a graduated West Point engineer, who took command in the East at thirty-four years of age, having seen the Crimean War, and offering high promise of efficiency. On October 31, old Winfield Scott retired, and McClellan became head of all the Union armies. Through the winter, nothing was done. McClellan had the curse of that region, the always epidemic typhoid fever. Lincoln should have promptly removed him, for patients do not recover their mental strength at once after typhoid fever, which is a brain as well as a bowel disease.

Stanton.—In the middle of January, 1862, Simon Cameron resigned to become Minister to Russia, and Edwin M. Stanton took his place in the Cabinet as Secretary of War. This was a change for the better in that Stanton had certain qualities that Lincoln lacked,—he was methodical, prompt, loved detail, was decided to the point of conceit, and his manner was repellent. It is sometimes necessary for a man hard pressed for time, naturally sympathetic, reflective, open-minded to have his next subordinate of the opposite temperament and disposition.

It is highly significant not only that Stanton had been habitually insolent to Lincoln when they had met in law-practice but that also he had reviled him as President. But Lincoln needed him now and asked him to join the Cabinet. Stanton accepted, though he kept on criticising his chief. It was a strange situation that demonstrates the greatness of Abraham Lincoln and conveys curious evidences as to the character of Stanton himself. They had in common three qualities,—patriotism, zeal for public business, and financial honesty.

As War-President.—The Union cause had the larger resources, more men, more equipment, more money; the South had the interior lines. The problem was whether Lincoln could get enough more soldiers, including good generals, to defeat the South with its defensive advantages. As a War-President, Madison had proven a failure, Polk a success. They were the only Presidents who had serious wars to wage.

A War-President of a republic has a hard situation on his hands. Both the politicians in Congress and out of it and the

general public must be gotten along with; and the war must be managed. Lincoln issued his General War Order No. 1 on January 27, 1862, directing all his army and naval forces to move "against the insurgent forces." Hitherto, he had made suggestions and given advice. He now took command. His order was a reveille. In the West, Admiral Foote and General Grant moved forward at once; in the East, McClellan, still mentally feeble, went on drilling and preparing. In March Lincoln split the Army of the Republic into several independent commands; it was a bad mistake, for neither he nor Congress was competent to assume military direction. Lincoln went even further, and upon the strenuous advice of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, split the Army of the Potomac itself into four army corps; the Committee, being wiser than Lincoln, was anti-McClellan. The four generals who were placed in charge were not even nominated by McClellan. This was another mistake. It is the essence of militarism that the chief shall control his subordinates. Militarism is not democratic.

The Victories of Grant.—Fortunately, the Washington politicians paid but little attention to affairs in the West, and the Union soldiers out there prospered. The same prosperity rested upon the naval affairs, which likewise the politicians neglected. Soon, the wedge of successful invasion had been driven into the West, and the Eastern seacoast was a prison-wall for the Confederacy. But with a small army and guerrilla bands, the Confederates harried the mountaineers of the Appalachians and made the South really solid below the Tennessee line. On February 6th, Foote and Grant took Fort Henry and on the 12th Fort Donelson. The spoils were two forts, two important Confederate generals,—Buckner and Johnston,—nearly 15,000 prisoners, 20,000 stand of arms, 48 pieces of artillery, 17 heavy guns, and 3000 horses. It was the first great victory of the War, and cheered Lincoln and Congress.

Domestic Sorrow.—But on the 20th little Willie, son of the President, died. The oldest boy was away at Harvard College. Tad only was left at home. This affliction brought the parents closer together than before. Tad was not a strong child.[1] He spent much of his time playing with a pair of goats in the White House grounds.

Monitor and Merrimac.—On March 9, 1862, occurred

[1] See pp. 62, 205, *supra*.

the great fight between the Merrimac and the Monitor in Hampton Roads, which saved New York harbor from such destruction as would have meant speedy recognition of the Confederacy in Europe. For that actual defeat, though not destruction, of the Confederate ram, Lincoln was responsible not less than the famous inventor, Ericsson, who had already made the scow-propeller. Lincoln had been a flatboatman; he had even made an invention for lifting flatboats over shoals,—the model may be seen in the Patent Office. Secretaries, Senators and Congressmen made fun of the proposed turret ironclad; but Lincoln told Ericsson to go ahead. With this encouragement, the ingenious Swede got help from a Connecticut capitalist and Congressman; and Lincoln himself accepted the strange craft for the navy. His experience, insight and persistence in the face of ridicule saved the seas to the Union. Once let Abraham Lincoln make up his mind, and he went forward with the certainty that the earth swings through space.

Southern Battles.—On April 27, Captain Farragut flew the Stars and Stripes over the recovered United States Mint at New Orleans. May 1, General Benjamin F. Butler put the city under martial law; and the North soon had cotton. Incidentally, a brother of Butler made an immense fortune out of the cotton; and, thereafter, the General was a very rich man.

Early in March, General Halleck obtained orders from McClellan, relieving Grant of his command. But on March 17, the victor at Donelson was restored; and McClellan was reduced in his field of control. On April 6, the terrific fighting began near Shiloh, the severest battle in the West; and on the night of the 7th, the Confederates, having lost General Albert Sidney Johnston, were in full retreat.

Early in July, Halleck, who hated Grant, became general-in-chief of all the armies. Halleck was a no better general, however, than McClellan; and was much like him in all respects save two,—McClellan was a politician, Halleck not; and McClellan was wealthy, Halleck poor.

"One War at a Time!"—On November 8, 1861, Captain Wilkes, of the U. S. steam sloop-of-war San Jacinto, in the Bahama Channel, fired a shot across the bow of her majesty Queen Victoria's mail steamship "Trent," brought her to, and with a force of marines took off two passengers, Mason and

Slidell, envoys of the Confederacy to England and France, who had run the blockade at Charleston, South Carolina, and had escaped to Havana, whence the Trent was taking them to Europe. Wilkes put into Boston Harbor, and confined the "missionaries,"—their incognito,—in Fort Warren. Welles and Stanton immediately praised Wilkes; and Congress, meeting in December, hurried through a vote of thanks. But England was furious. From the first, Lincoln and Seward saw that England was right. We had fought the War of 1812 over this kind of thing. Queen Victoria fortunately kept a cool head. Out came Lincoln with the final necessary words of genius, "One war at a time!" On January 1, 1862, the envoys were turned over to the English gunboat "Rinaldo" at Provincetown on Cape Cod. For weeks, even months, the public in America raged against the President; but gradually the anger of the public wore out.

The Negro Slaves.—Some slaves worked in the Confederate camps. Others felt that the Federalist army line was the Jordan river bank of freedom. General B. F. Butler called fugitives "contraband of war," a witty phrase that helped Lincoln. Hooker allowed slaveowners to enter his camp and to take their runaways. Halleck denied entrance to all colored persons. McClellan promised slaveowners help in preventing slave-insurrections.

But there was even greater chaos, if such thing may be, in the legislation proposed. Lincoln did his best not to offend the Border States, but the drift of events was too strong for him. Slavery was being slowly driven, step by step, to the wall by the now antislavery Congress. The votes in Congress usually stood 2 or 3 to 1 in favor of the vigorous measures of the Northern radicals.

That is a false view which represents the emancipation of the slaves as the work solely or mainly of the President. It was a principle of his political conduct not to go much faster or further than public opinion went.

Lincoln was Weak in Dealing with McClellan.—Lincoln and McClellan differed both upon their philosophies of life and upon the actual plans of campaign. Lincoln was at heart loyal to his subordinate, but McClellan, who was weak-minded from illness, was not sincere and loyal to his superior. Lincoln thought that he must, at all hazard, hold Washington.

McClellan thought that if he could take Richmond, the Capital of the Confederacy, it would not be so very serious to lose Washington temporarily because of a raid of Stonewall Jackson. He did not see (or care to measure, if he did see) the fact that Washington was the historic Capital, recognized internationally.

In consequence, General McClellan planned the Peninsular Campaign from a base upon the James river. He would move "on to Richmond" eastward from Chesapeake Bay instead of southward from Washington. To that end, by a subterfuge of figuring army divisions that Lincoln was too busy wholly to understand, he removed nearly all the troops from Washington. Whereupon, the President suddenly kept back some 40,000 troops under McDowell that he had promised to McClellan upon belief in what proved to be false statements of the commander. Even so, McClellan had 100,000 fine soldiers. He moved forward, then retreated. There were seven days of terrible fighting in bad spring weather. Malvern Hill was a costly Union victory. But the soldiers had to be brought back from the James river, for the campaign had failed.

The Meddling of the Politicians.—On the other hand, Lincoln himself lost his head and sent McDowell on a wild-goose chase after Stonewall Jackson down the Shenandoah valley. Had the Confederates been a little bolder and a little shrewder, they might have sacked Washington. Then McClellan was reduced from his command. His book called "McClellan's Own Story" is almost intolerably unpleasant reading, for two reasons. Of these, the first is that the General wrote it in bitterness of soul with many egotistic declarations about himself and with many denunciations of and innuendoes against others, including President Lincoln. The other reason is far more serious. The book proves that there was too much meddling with the army and with military affairs, too much vacillation, too much covert mistrust within apparent confidence. A republic as a political mechanism has no business with warfare anyway. We are left in doubt as to whether or not these unnecessary troubles caused the failure of McClellan as a field commander. That he was a brilliant success as the maker of the Army of the Potomac and indeed of many regiments sent into the West and South from his original command is indisputable. His soldiers idolized him. But for McClellan,

Meade could never have withstood Lee at Gettysburg. Abraham Lincoln himself is not without fault in his early handling of McClellan. He should have dropped him and taken another man long ago. But he lacked decision.

McClellan Restored.—They tried other commanders in the East. But, one after another, these commanders failed,—Pope, Rosecrans, Burnside, Hooker, Halleck. Then McClellan was restored. Not long afterward, Lee, having won the tremendous battle of Chancellorsville, in which the invaluable Stonewall Jackson fell, probably by the mistaken fire of his own men, pushed into Maryland. He proposed to sack Philadelphia and even dreamed of taking New York with the help of a rising of the disaffected commercial classes. But on September 17, 1862, at Antietam, Lee was met by McClellan and stayed in his too confident exploit. Whether or not this was a victory for the Federals is debated by military critics. McClellan, who failed in every crisis, did not pursue Lee upon his retreat.

The End of McClellan.—After thinking upon this with the utter passionlessness of his character as now developed, on October 13, Lincoln sent to McClellan a letter that any intelligent man, not too conceited to understand others, would have taken as notice either to bestir him or to prepare for recall. McClellan did not bestir himself. On November 7, he was superseded by Burnside. It was a military necessity, but it was bad politics, for it looked like the kind of "outrage" by which Presidents had been made.

Emancipation.—The fall elections of 1862 had gone against the Republicans. Whether because he foresaw this and hoped to stem the tide of public weariness and disaffection or because he was indifferent to politics in a case involving a fundamental moral principle, on September 22, 1862, Lincoln seized the recent news of the victory (such as it was) at Antietam and issued the preliminary emancipation proclamation. For it, he invoked the "war-powers" of the Constitution. Lincoln himself defined these war-powers in many different ways; they included whatever was necessary to preserve the Government. He hoped that Congress would immediately agree to several amendments to the Constitution and urged them in his message. Constitutions and statutory laws are silent under arms.

He Knew How to Write.—Beyond any other President, Lincoln knew how to write and to speak well. The message of December, 1862, contains such sentences as these,—"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. . . . We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country. . . . We cannot escape history. . . . The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. . . . In *giving* freedom to the *slave,* we assure freedom to the *free.* . . . We shall nobly save or meanly lose, the last, best hope on earth."[1]

It is a strange thing that after Lincoln had actually persuaded a reluctant House to give $10,000,000 in bonds to Missouri to compensate slaveowners for their slaves and the Senate to raise this to $15,000,000, the Missouri members and the lobbyists beat the bill in concurrence! Unlike Lincoln, the slaveowners of the Border States thought that bondmen were better than United States bonds. Capitalism saw in slave-merchandise immense future gains.

Amends the Constitution.—On January 1, 1863, the President issued the Emancipation Proclamation, next after the Constitution itself and the Declaration of Independence, among the documentary foundations of modern American political liberty. This lifted Abraham Lincoln at once to rank with Jefferson and Madison. With no warrant of legal right, he virtually amended the Constitution. Because he signed the Proclamation late on New Year's Day, his radical anti-slavery critics grumbled at his reluctance and dilatoriness. Their business was now gone; and Lincoln was not so eager a "convert" as they wished him to be.

Negroes as Soldiers.—The President was now enrolling negroes as soldiers. The Confederacy answered by saying that if they captured any more white soldiers, they would enslave them and if any negroes in blue, they would execute them as felons by hanging. In reply, the President said that for every soldier hung, he would execute a rebel captive and for every soldier enslaved, he would put a rebel captive at hard labor on public works. Not much was ever done by the Confederacy in the way of hanging negro captives or of enslaving white ones. Lincoln himself said that the 250,000 negro volunteers were the balance of power that gave victory

[1]The italics are Lincoln's.

to the Union in that these men not only fought for the Union but were just so many withdrawn from feeding and otherwise serving the Confederates. And Lincoln seldom exaggerated a fact. The South has sometimes said that negroes and hired foreign immigrant boys fought and won the war.

Union Progress Everywhere.—In the early days of July, 1863, three great successes came to the Union armies. It is not true that, until this time, honors were even between the Federals and the Confederates. In the West and South, the Federals were far ahead. In Virginia, Lee had done better soldiering, but neither side had made any substantial gains, each still holding its Capital securely. On the seas, the Union was almost wholly successful; only a few Gulf ports were open to the blockade runners. Nor is it wholly true that if the Confederates had lost in but one of these engagements and succeeded in two of them, or even if they had won in all of them, the Union cause would certainly have collapsed. But it is true that driving Bragg out of Kentucky, capturing Pemberton at Vicksburg, and driving Lee out of Maryland a second time by winning Gettysburg constituted the crisis of the Civil War and that thereafter, while Lincoln's own stay at the White House was still problematical, the continuance of some Unionist there was likely.

"I Can't Spare This Man; He Fights."—In the West, from June 24 to July 4, 1863, Rosecrans had driven Bragg before him from Shelbyville to Tullahoma and thence across the southern boundary of Tennessee below the mountains. And on July 3, Vicksburg, the impregnable, surrendered to Grant, the soldier of whom Lincoln had said earlier in the war when the intriguers tried to rid themselves of him,—"I can't spare this man; he fights." No other commander on either side would have dared to storm Vicksburg, and few would have been pertinacious and coldhearted enough to lay their soldiers in those malarial trenches and starve Vicksburg into surrender while the besiegers rotted with disease. Grant did both storm and besiege Vicksburg. His business was to get Vicksburg. And Pemberton surrendered on July 4. This was the greatest military exploit of the War.[1] And now Lincoln had a second military hero raised up to contest the Presidency, this one in his own party. But, fortunately, Grant had not only the unconquerable soul of a great commander but also a noble loyalty

[1]See pp. 496 *et seq., infra.*

of heart.[1] To him on July 16, 1863, Abraham Lincoln wrote: "I now wish to make a personal acknowledgment that you were right, and I was wrong." The President knew that at last he had found the right general to win the war.

GETTYSBURG.—On July 1, 2 and 3, the greatest battle of the Inter-State War was fought. Lee, whose primacy as a soldier in the Confederate Army was indisputable after the deaths of A. S. Johnston at Shiloh and of "Stonewall" Jackson at Chancellorsville, was undismayed by the failure at Antietam and now renewed his plan of sacking Northern cities. He met Meade at Gettysburg, and on the third day of that tremendous battle when Pickett's charge failed, and the high tide of the "Rebellion" was rolled back, as the battle monument recites, went down in defeat that broke forever the prestige of the Confederacy.

Meade could have sent 80,000 men after Lee at once. And the President knew it. Representative democracies make bad messes of all their wars.

HOOKER REDEEMS HIMSELF.—On October 16, 1863, Lincoln replaced Rosecrans by Thomas, "the Rock of Chickamauga," and made Grant commander in the West. On November 24th and 25th came the battle of Lookout Mountain, "above the clouds," when Hooker who had lost at Chancellorsville (he had been dazed by a bad wound in the head) redeemed himself by the victorious charge of his men up the mountainside without orders. It was in this battle that Hooker, Sheridan, and Sherman, all fighting men, rode into fame.

THE LEADER OF THE COPPERHEADS.—The story of Clement L. Vallandigham, a Copperhead Democrat of Dayton, Ohio, is closely connected with the policy of Lincoln. This emotional and effeminate man was an active Southern sympathizer. On March 25, 1863, Burnside, who, on December 17, 1862, had uselessly lost 13,000 out of 113,000 men at Fredericksburg, had been transferred to the Department of the Ohio. In a general order, he said that he would send talkative Copperheads southward to "their friends." Vallandigham had been a member of Congress since 1856, a fact that shows the character of the Dayton District. He now let loose a flood of speech; and on May 4. Burnside arrested him and consigned him to jail, refusing to give him up on *habeas corpus* proceedings. A tremendous outcry arose against Burnside, who offered to

[1] See p. 463, *infra*.

resign; but Lincoln kept him in command. On May 25, Burnside gave Vallandigham to a Confederate picket in Tennessee, and the Congressman by running the blockade at last by sea-travel reached Canada, whence he issued manifestoes to the Ohio Democracy. On May 16, rich Governor Seymour of New York, who was either muddled or a secessionist, too cowardly to act upon his principles, at a huge concourse of Democrats in New York City declared that the critical question was "whether this war is waged to put down rebellion at the South or free institutions at the North."

On June 11, the Ohio Democrats nominated Vallandigham for governor, whereupon Lincoln wrote another of his wonderful letters,—"Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier-boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of the wily agitator who induces him to desert?" Nor was this mere rhetoric. More than one-half of all the soldiers of the North were less than nineteen years old; and in the South likewise.[1]

A Good Political Move.—The Union men countered by nominating as the Republican candidate a War Democrat, John Brough. The Copperhead Democrat against the war and the War Democrat made the issue clear as the sun at noon day; and Ohio decided by over 100,000 majority to let Brough serve as governor. It was a Lincoln political victory.

New York City Draft Riot.—On July 13, 1863, the day that Lee escaped across the Potomac because Meade was inefficient, the New York City draft riot broke out. A thousand citizens were killed; but with 10,000 troops, Lincoln put an end to the hanging of negroes to lampposts and to all the rest of the murderous street rioting.

The Gettysburg Speech.—On November 19, 1863, the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, where the slain of that awful carnage were buried by thousands in nameless graves, was dedicated. Edward Everett made the address; and Lincoln accepted the cemetery in the little speech of two hundred and fifty words that to-day is better known in America than any-

[1] In 1864, in Darien, Connecticut, a school teacher, twenty-two years, and his fourteen boys, from fifteen to seventeen years old, all enlisted upon the same day. A Dayton, Ohio, family of seven boys sent every one into the army—they averaged sixteen years at enlistment; and one of them went at twelve years of age.

thing else in the English language save a few passages only in the Bible itself, better known even than the Declaration of Independence with whose proposition that "all men are created equal" it begins. The speech ends "that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." The phrases were old; but Lincoln made them immortal by his felicitous use of them.

Party Politics.—Early in 1864, it was still a question whether or not Lincoln would be renominated. There was a candidate in his own Cabinet, Salmon P. Chase, who had been Republican governor of Ohio; but the story of the defalcation of Gibson, the Republican Ohio State Treasurer, to the extent of $500,000 of money was a sore subject in the reform party. This candidacy broke down when Rhode Island, whose Governor William Sprague was the husband of Kate Chase, the brilliant and only child of the Secretary, refused to support him against Lincoln.

"Don't Swap Horses in Midstream."—Another candidate was Fremont, who had been defeated for the Presidency in 1856 by Buchanan. He had a considerable following in Missouri. What would have happened to this nation if the President had been ineligible to reëlection? The nation might have dissolved in 1864 with a Fremont for President.

Grant also had supporters, but he was too loyal and too sensible to allow the use of his name. And Seward likewise. At this stage, the remark of Lincoln about swapping horses when crossing a stream began to tell with the plain people.

Horace Greeley, William Cullen Bryant, and Wendell Phillips could not turn the tide against Lincoln. The Republican voters desired his nomination, and on the first ballot at the Baltimore Convention June 7, 1864, he received 484 votes to 22 for Grant, all of the latter from the Missouri delegation, whose presence was contested by a pro-Lincoln delegation. But before the ballot was announced, the anti-Lincoln Missourians arose and transferred their votes to Lincoln. On the first ballot for Vice-President, the votes stood: Andrew Johnson 200, Hannibal Hamlin 150, D. S. Dickinson 108. This ballot was then made unanimous. Both Johnson and Dickinson were

War Democrats. They were favored to "balance the ticket." Lincoln himself, ever anxious to hold the Border States—was it not partly due to love for Kentucky?—favored Johnson.

LINCOLN VERSUS MCCLELLAN.—Late in August, the Democrats met and nominated General George B. McClellan. His chances of election were good, perhaps better than those of Lincoln. Three-fourths of the soldiers were Republicans, and though it was intended to count their votes, yet the absence of these young men affected the Republican enthusiasm. The Republican national politicians were unfriendly to their leader.

A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION PROPOSED.—It was a political situation somewhat comparable with that of a king with his people when the nobles are against him. Benjamin Wade, H. W. Davis, and Thaddeus Stevens were without zeal or interest save in condemning the policy and the moves of the President. Perhaps, at no other time was so much bad advice given to Lincoln as in the summer and early fall of 1864; even Governor Morton of Indiana, a real war-governor at heart, advised dropping the question of slavery and seeking peace under the Constitution with the rebels. Let the country hold a Constitution Convention to end the slavery question!

Yet Lincoln went on with his unpopular measures; among them issuing on July 18 a call for 500,000 men, most of them to be drafted, for the three-year enlistments of 1861 were fast expiring. Far better would it have been then to have accepted only "enlistments for the war."

"What," asked Lincoln of the objecting politicians, "is the Presidency worth to me if I have no country?"

THE FATAL PEACE PLANK.—But the Democratic party had made one serious, perhaps the fatal, political error. Vallandigham had caused a peace plank to be put into the party platform; and McClellan repudiated it. The peace plank frightened away the War Democrats, and the presence of Andrew Johnson, on the Republican ticket, attracted them. There were too many dead in Union graves to be forgotten.

GRANT IN FULL CHARGE OF THE WAR.—On March 3, 1864, Ulysses S. Grant had been confirmed by the Senate upon nomination of Lincoln as lieutenant-general of the army "during the pleasure of the President." He put Sherman in command in the West.

On July 10, 1863, Early made his raid upon Washington,

and next day Lincoln, going out to the line of the fort at Seventh Avenue, was under fire, an officer being wounded at his side. Grant heard of the raid just in time to release General Wright with two divisions from the Army of the Potomac and to get them up to the wharves. This relief saved Washington from being sacked by 17,000 Confederate veterans.

Late in August, Captain David G. Farragut lashed himself to the mast of a ship and headed a squadron into Mobile Bay, which he knew was full of mines. Under heavy fire, he took the harbor. It was a spectacular exploit, now world-famous. The Confederacy was hermetically sealed along the seaboard. This was the first great good news of the year to the Union side.

On September 3, General W. T. Sherman seized Atlanta, where the Confederates had taken to manufacturing, for the blockade was a prohibitive tariff, and had converted it into a fortress and depot of supplies, relentlessly turning the inhabitants out into the surrounding farms and villages. Georgia had been the source of most of the supplies of Lee's Army of Virginia.

Political Phases.—At this time, the Charleston "Courier" remarked,—"Our success in battle insures the success of McClellan (at the polls). Our failure will inevitably lead to his defeat." This paragraph, repeated throughout the North, cost McClellan many votes. On September 23, in order to hold Ohio safely Republican, Lincoln displaced Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General, and appointed ex-Governor Dennison of Ohio, a move that helped to allay political dissatisfaction there.

Sheridan in the Shenandoah.—At this time, General Philip Sheridan was sent into the Shenandoah valley, the granary of the Army of Virginia. He did his work so thoroughly that it was said, "A crow cannot fly through the Shenandoah valley unless he carries his provisions with him." On October 19, at Cedar Creek, Early attacked Sheridan's forces, when their leader was "at Winchester, twenty miles away," returning from Washington; and he drove them in retreat, all save a small body of resolute men. When Sheridan heard of this, he rode forward at breakneck speed, rallied the resolute men, and started for the front. "Never mind, boys, we'll whip them yet!" he shouted; and they whipped Early before darkness fell.

Sherman Marches On.—President Davis now ordered

Hood, who had evacuated Atlanta, to go to Nashville and to fight Thomas. This move caused Sherman to say,—"I will give him the rations to go with." Davis replied that between Hood and Johnston, he would grind Sherman to powder. Sherman, then at Atlanta, set out with sixty thousand men to make a track sixty miles wide to the sea. On November 15 he burned the city, and to the tune of "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave," began his march to the Atlantic seaboard. "Forage liberally" was one of his orders to his men. When some local inhabitants protested at his outrages, he remarked coolly,—"War is hell!" It was the spirit of Early at Chambersburg. In earlier ages, such commanders would have killed all discoverable non-combatants. Even war grows milder.

On Christmas Eve, Sherman wired to Lincoln,—"I beg to present to you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah." He had lost but eight hundred men upon the march.

A Terrible Defeat for the South.—On December 15 and 16, Hood met Thomas at Nashville. He had 39,000 men and lost 15,000, while Thomas had 55,000 and lost 3,000. For the South, it was the most terrible defeat of the War.

Lincoln Re-elected.—On November 8, 1864, there were cast at the Presidential election 2,330,572 votes for the Republican electors, and 1,835,985 for the Democratic. Lincoln had a plurality of 494,567 over McClellan. The Electoral College stood:

212 for Lincoln, 21 for McClellan.

The soldiers voted 116,887 for Lincoln, and 33,748 for McClellan. The Vermont, Kansas, and Minnesota soldier-votes were disallowed. The soldier-vote showed that only one soldied in six was over twenty-one years of age and a citizen. The boys in blue, the negroes and the foreigners could not vote.

His Gentle Speech.—On November 10, to serenaders from the Republican clubs of the District of Columbia, which was overwhelmingly secessionist or at least peace-Democrat, Lincoln said,—"So long as I have been here, I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom!" This is a significant revelation of character.

Chase Head of Supreme Court.—On October 2, 1864, Chief Justice Taney died. Lincoln desired to name to the

vacancy Montgomery Blair because he was fond of him personally and grateful to him and to his brothers for many important political services. But when Congress assembled, he sent in the name of Salmon P. Chase; and for this nomination, his purposes and motives were characteristically mixed, for Lincoln was intensely human. He considered Chase the ablest man in America, and the Chief Justiceship next to the most important office. He was grateful to Chase for filling the Government Treasury so skillfully for the nation's needs. And he was glad to get Chase out of the way. Lincoln understood himself well enough to smile cheerfully when at a White House reception Kate Chase told him that the last purpose was the real one.

Winding-up of the War.—At last, the War was winding up. Grant drove on to Richmond. Sherman was marching up from the sea. The last little Confederate harbors were seized. The "Kearsarge" had sunk the terrible "Alabama" in June, and in November the last one of the rebel privateers came into Liverpool, where the British authorities gave her up to the United States officers; and Charles Francis Adams scored another diplomatic victory. In October, Lieutenant Cushing had blown up the Confederate ram "Albemarle."

A dozen propositions to settle the war had been made from Richmond or from Confederate sympathizers out of Richmond. On February 1, 1865, President Lincoln and Secretary Seward met three Confederate commissioners on board a steamer at Hampton Roads,—Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell. But nothing could be effected between them.

Four days later, the President worked out a generous plan to pay $400,000,000 to the slave States, provided their opposition ceased by April 1. But neither Congress nor Confederacy would listen to his plan.

The Second Inaugural.—On March 4, 1865, Lincoln read his second inaugural of scarcely eight hundred flaming words. The last sentences were these,—"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as

was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan,—to do all that may achieve a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

In January, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution had been carried in Congress; this was a confident forthlooking upon the future.

Lincoln Walks Through Richmond.—On April 2, 1865, President Jefferson Davis and his Government abandoned Richmond. Next morning early, President Abraham Lincoln walked through the streets of the burning city. It was to Lieutenant Jefferson Davis of the regular army that poverty-stricken Captain Abraham Lincoln, of the Illinois militia, in the Black Hawk War, had given his oath of allegiance.[1] Who can measure the tragic changes of life!

Appomattox.—On April 7, 7,000 starving soldiers of Lee's army were trapped by Grant; and not unwillingly surrendered. On April 9, with Sheridan on the road in front of him and with Grant in his rear, at Appomattox, Lee surrendered his remaining 28,231 men; and asked for food for his soldiers. They were beaten not by bullet nor by sword, but by superior politics, marshalling vastly greater numbers and cutting off their food supply. The true explanation of the defeat of the Confederates is to be found not at army headquarters upon either side.

The Last Portrait.—In 1863 and 1864, Lincoln was physically in bad condition, suffering greatly from insomnia, indigestion, a deranged liver, and malaria. His endurance was that of the spirit; he was living on his nerve. In March, 1865, when his last portrait was painted, the change was striking and ominous. His eyes had sunk deep into his head. His cheeks were wan, and his smile pathetic and weary. For all the relief of peace, it is improbable that he would have survived the summer in the torrid Potomac valley even though he spent it as usual at the Soldiers' Home upon the hill-elevation of three hundred feet above tidewater. The White House is but forty feet above tidewater. The Potomac flats were not drained

[1] See p. 391, *supra*, and p. 475, *infra*.

then as they are now; and disease-infected mosquitoes flourished.

And yet for all his ill-health, Lincoln set out bravely to put through his reconstruction policy. How fair, how prompt this policy was! It was well that he died,—for the fairness of this policy, many in the North would have execrated him.

On April 9, 1865, Lincoln and his wife were coming up from City Point on the Potomac to Washington. "That city," said his wife, "is filled with our enemies!"

The man retorted impatiently,—"Enemies! we must never speak of that." His too charitable heart deluded him.

Enemies at Work.—On the 14th, they went together to Ford's Theater. Laura Keane was playing in "Our American Cousin." The usual sentry for Lincoln was away for the evening. Another guard stood at his box, became fascinated by the acting, and sat down in the audience. Next day, he was crazed with grief for a broken duty; and died a year or so afterwards.

The President and Mrs. Lincoln had expected General and Mrs. Grant to join them; but they decided instead to visit their children at a private school in Burlington. Just after ten o'clock, John Wilkes Booth, an actor, who for several days past had been drinking heavily, in the absence of the attendant, came to the door of the box, pushed in, fastened the door with a bar previously made ready, shot the President in the head from the back, slashed his military aide with a knife, jumped to the stage, crying, *"Sic semper tyrannis!"* and escaped to a horse that a theater employe was holding for him.

At the same hour, Secretary Seward, in bed from an accident, was stabbed by an assassin who gained access to his room by the pretense of bringing medicine. Others also of his household were nearly killed. His wife and daughter died of shock.

A Plot Revealed.—The plot included the murders also of Grant, of Stanton, and of Johnson. Its purpose was to break down the National Government by murdering its chief operators.

Within a few days, the Government had in custody seven men,—Herold, Spangler, Payne, O'Laughlin, Arnold, Atzerot, and Mudd,—and one woman,—Mary E. Surratt. They dared not prosecute in the civil courts of the District before a jury,

for two good reasons. First, the citizens were hostile to Lincoln and to the Government; and for that reason alone would not convict. They did not see how white people could live upon terms of equality with the freed negroes. They could not understand the sharp distinction that Lincoln drew between political equality and social equality. Sixty years later finds the South without political equality in order to insure the social inferiority of negroes and mestizos.

The second reason is that the city of Washington[1] was honeycombed, as it is yet, by secret societies, factionalized by religious parties, and corrupted by abominable relations maintained between the sexes out of wedlock. This is true of all great cities; but it was and is true of Washington beyond other cities of its size or anywhere near its size because it is a political maelström, sucking in the riffraff, flotsam and jetsam, floaters, not yet convicted criminals, not yet incarcerated lunatics of all America. It sucks them in, and it crushes their lives. The conspirators against Lincoln, Seward, Grant, Johnson and others were a typical assortment. They had some friends and many sympathizers of the same ilk.

The Military Commission.—In consequence, the Federal Government resorted to a military commission. This was unconstitutional and also otherwise illegal. But it always has been, and it always will be, characteristic of the National Government to ignore the Constitution and the general statutes in its management of its satrapy, the District of Columbia, the glory of whose name covers the multitude of its misfortunes. The victims of their own hatefulness were to be railroaded to their doom.

The commission hanged four of the conspirators, including the woman, Mrs. Surratt. The others save Spangler were sent to prison for life; he was sentenced for six years. The trial revealed the vile and miserable life of the District boarding-houses. Booth, but twenty-seven years old, son and brother of actors and of actresses of international reputation, left the room of his mistress to kill the President. He had been killed when resisting arrest in a barn in Maryland. In jumping from the box of the President, he had broken a leg because the spur of a riding-boot had caught in a Union flag that draped the box; and he had gone to a doctor miles away for treatment. This was the sole connection of unhappy Doctor Sidney Mudd

[1]See p. 521, *infra.*

with the conspiracy. After a time, Mudd was pardoned, as were others. Justice was done and overdone.

No Relation with Confederate Government.—What was not proven was any connection of the Confederate Government as such or of Jefferson Davis or of Clement L. Vallandigham or of any other prominent man with the plot. If Jefferson Davis had intended to get rid of Abraham Lincoln by assassination, he would have succeeded long before April 14, 1865. Neither Davis nor Lincoln would have regretted in the least the death of the other; their armies intended killing their enemies. But in the wars of civilization, there are no murders, poisonings and assassinations of such character.

All the World Mourned the Death of Lincoln.—Next morning, without recovering consciousness, Abraham Lincoln died of the bullet wound. All the world staggered at the horror. Melodrama never invented anything else so tragic, so apparently impossible. Before pale death, censure was silent, and is silent. The man and his good deeds, his good purposes, his good motives rose sacrosanct from the grave. There was a transformation of public sentiment as by miracle. For once in human history, in the presence of this man slain in deliberate malice, the people said,—"Verily, the causeless curse may come."

The body of Abraham Lincoln was conveyed through cities of the North, and in many of them shown in state to mourning thousands, and tens of thousands. The burial took place at his home in Springfield, Illinois.

Mrs. Lincoln, the mother of his four sons, only one of whom,—Robert Todd Lincoln,—grew to manhood, lived until 1882.

The Later Cabinet.—Lincoln made no change and suffered none in the Departments of State and of the Navy. His later Secretaries in the other Departments were:

Treasury,—William P. Fessenden of Maine, one year, succeeded by Hugh McCulloch of Indiana.

War,—Edwin M. Stanton of Ohio, three years.

Attorney-General,—James Speed[1] of Kentucky, five months.

Postmaster-General,—William Dennison of Ohio, a half year.

Interior,—John P. Usher of Indiana, a year and a half.

Considering all the difficulties of the InterState War, and

[1]See p. 436, *supra*.

comparing this record with the record of Tyler, one is unable to avoid the conclusion that Abraham Lincoln was a good judge of men for specific purposes.

In a Common Despair, They Went to War.—For all his humor, no sadder man ever lived than Abraham Lincoln. He, because of whom half a million young men and boys North and South had perished for the social order in the trial to re-establish the old Union of States, perished himself a victim of the common cataclysm. Fittingly so. They were all common human beings together; and they shared the common fate because not enough were wise enough to see any way out of the common affliction of incompetent government. War is unreason; but in a common despair, they went to war.

The Poet of Democracy.—Abraham Lincoln had brought the ship of State to harbor. Walt Whitman, the war-poet and democratic philosopher, fittingly chanted,—

"O Captain! My Captain! Our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weathered every rack, the prize we sought is won,
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring;

But O heart! heart! heart!
O the bleeding drops of red,
Whereon the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

. . . .

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still,
My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse or will,
The ship is anchored safe and sound; its voyage closed and done.
From fearful trip, the victor ship comes in with object won;

Exult, O shores, and ring, O bells!
But I with mournful tread
Walk the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead."

CHAPTER XVII

The President of the Confederate States of North America—Jefferson Davis

1861-1865
1808-1889

11-0 States Population 11,000,000

Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas.

Lincoln not President *de facto* of all the United States—the Confederate States—the prophecy of Pierce—the South furnished the battlefields—early life—education—in U. S. A.—wife died—planter and student—second wife—Representative in Congress—strict constructionist—colonel at Buena Vista—Senator—Secretary of War—Major-General C. S. A.—President C. S. A.—the dreams of dominion—the trust of the Confederacy—causes of defeat—Antietam and Gettysburg both errors—the strife between Davis and the Confederate States Congress—the blockade—too late—arrest—indictment for treason—amnesty—the martyr of the "Lost Cause"—retirement in Europe—wrote histories of the Government—the politicians started in to loot—death of Davis in Mississippi.

Lincoln Never De Facto President of all the States.—Abraham Lincoln was never in fact President of the whole land of the United States. Government is paramount force; and the armies of the Union were not able wholly to subdue the armies of the Confederacy until in May, 1865, in Texas the last of the rebels laid down their arms.[1] Separation in fact began in the autumn of 1860, when the National Government ceased in certain parts of the South to be able to enforce its laws.

The Confederacy.—The Confederate States came into being as an independent nation at Montgomery, Alabama, in February, 1861.[2] Next month, the permanent Constitution was ratified. It contained only a few changes from that of the United States. The most important change was in the locus of sovereignty. The Confederacy was a union of

[1] See p. 500, *infra*.

[2] See p. 425, *supra*.

States; the United States a union of "the people."[1] Other changes were (1) a State might impeach a Confederate official; (2) a State official took no oath to obey the Confederate Constitution; (3) the President served six years and was ineligible to reëlection; (4) he could veto parts of bills; (5) members of the Cabinet had seats in Congress; (6) tariffs must be for revenue only; (7) expenditures for internal improvements were permitted for navigation only; (8) the postoffice department must be self-supporting; (9) subsidies to commerce or industry were forbidden; and (10) slavery was recognized and the rights of slaveowners were guaranteed. Some of these changes were statesmanlike and wise.

Eleven States joined the Confederacy.[2]

A Former President Proves to be a False Prophet.—Ex-President Pierce, in New Hampshire, wrote to Jefferson Davis, who had been his Secretary of State, January 6, 1860, that the war would be "in our own streets." He looked for disunion at the North.

In the same month, Mayor Fernando Wood and the Council of New York adopted a resolution to make it a free city to be known as "Tri-Insula" and to be neutral between the United and the Confederate States. It was a popular "business men's proposition."

The South Furnished the Battlefields.—Suppose that instead of the upper tier of the slavery States hesitating between the Union and the Confederacy, the lower tier of the wage-service States had hesitated; in other words, imagine Lincoln striving to hold New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas, and Davis secure in the possession of Maryland, all Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri! The mere supposition shows the first and greatest handicap of the South,—it had to furnish the battlefields and to endure the break-up of its ordinary occupations. Of all the Northern States, only Pennsylvania ever saw a Southern army; and in Maryland, Antietam was the only important battle. Though the Confederacy first sounded the alarms of war, the United States in fact came first into the field. Bad as Bull Run was for the North, it was south of Washington, not north of

[1] See the first sentence beginning, "We, the people."
[2] See p. 428, *supra*.

Mason and Dixon's line. Abraham Lincoln believed that to hold the Border States was in the end to win the war. If at any time, they had turned against him, almost certainly the compulsory Union side would have lost.

The Personal Element in the Failure of the "Lost Cause."—In a way, the War between the States was a trial between two men. This comparison may be put in a variety of forms. The chief of the "Lost Cause" had no such perspicacity as the President of the old United States. Perspicacity would have led him to counsel peace after Donelson in 1862, to seek it after Vicksburg and Gettysburg in 1863, and to surrender after Atlanta fell in 1864. He had no such tact as Lincoln. Tact would have led him to do a thousand things differently. Davis was in truth confronting the ablest politician of his generation, and Davis himself was not even the ablest politician in the South.

But the comparison may be put in another form. Davis was abundantly equipped with theories and with knowledge. His mind was full. His will was strong—we never had a better Secretary of War. He meant to carry out his theories,—to make the Confederate Constitution and all its principles work. Therefore, he could not send his armies in 1861 to "invade" Ohio or Maryland. Nor could he give to his generals a free hand, for the civil authority was over the military. Nor could he "coerce" the States into sending him soldiers. Nor could he arm negroes to fight. Nor could his government operate the railroads. Lincoln had different views.

One reason why the defeat of the Confederacy was inevitable was Jefferson Davis himself.

Early Life; West Point Graduate.—He was born in Christian County (now Todd) in Kentucky, June 3, 1808, at the village of Fairfield. His father was a Welshman, his mother of Scotch-Irish descent, in other words, Saxon, from North Ireland. Soon after his birth, they moved to Wilkinson County, Mississippi, where they prospered. Jefferson was sent to Transylvania College at Lexington, Kentucky, and then to West Point, for his education. There he was graduated in 1828. For seven years, he saw military service in Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa.[1]

Marriage; Wife Dies.—Then in June, 1835, he married clandestinely Knox, daughter of Zachary Taylor, and went

[1]See p. 391, *supra*.

into Warren County to become a cotton planter. Only a few months later, his wife died when they were on a visit to Louisiana; Davis himself had the fever (cholera) but recovered. Then the father and the husband were reconciled in a common grief.

For seven years after the disease passed, he nursed his broken health, read books of philosophy, economics, law, and literature (wherefore his critics called him "doctrinaire"), and worked his plantation, making it highly profitable.

Second Marriage.—In February, 1845, he married again, —his bride being Varina Howell, a granddaughter of Governor Richard Howell of New Jersey, but herself a native of Mississippi. In the same year, he was elected to Congress. By study, he had become a strict constructionist of the Constitution and an admirer of John C. Calhoun, a metaphysician, a statesman, a seer, and a prophet, yet not wholly safe.

It was to be the fate of Jefferson Davis to become himself the exponent of Calhoun's last notion of our having two Presidents,[1] and to verify his prediction that the South would be forced to secede "in order to preserve the domestic institutions." Each thought that our country needed a mechanical readjustment, whereas we really needed new ideas.

United States Senator.—Davis volunteered for the Mexican War, becoming colonel under Taylor, and was badly wounded at Buena Vista. Recovering, he was sent in 1847 to the United States Senate; but after strongly opposing the Compromise of 1850, he resigned in 1851, to run for governor against his fellow Senator, Henry Stuart Foote. Davis stood for secession only as a last resort, while Foote was a Union Democrat. The former temporarily lost his eyesight and could conduct no canvass, and the latter won, though by but 1009 votes.

A Fine Secretary of War.—In 1853 President Pierce appointed Davis to the Cabinet as Secretary of War, in which office he showed conspicuous ability. He caused three transcontinental railway routes to be surveyed; enlarged and modernized the army; revised the military tactics; perfected the signal corps service; and strengthened the coast defences and the frontier posts. His efficiency was to be his ruin.

A Leader in the Senate.—In 1857 the Mississippi Legislature again placed Jefferson Davis in the Senate, where he

[1] See p. 397, *supra*.

became the floor leader of the Secessionists. By vigorously opposing Douglas, he helped to split the Democratic party. He insisted upon the rights of slaveowners to hold their slaves in any part of the Territories, thereby accepting in full the *dicta* of the Dred Scott decision.[1] In 1860 he warned the Senate that if Lincoln should be elected, the Southern States would secede.

On January 10, 1861, he argued that secession was a constitutional right and said that the States of the South would be degraded if they did not now all secede. Eleven days later, in a pathetic speech, he resigned from the Senate. Four days later, Mississippi made him a major general of volunteers. On February 9, 1861, he became President of the Confederacy, and nine days later was duly inaugurated. He did not desire the office, but a field command. He now began to display military efficiency in the highest civil office.

President of the Confederate States.—Davis had impressed men as of the purest personal motives and character, courteous, able, efficient, and brilliant in literary and oratorical expression. But he had no experience as an independent administrator in a State governorship, none as a diplomat in the international service, none in any business save cotton-planting with slave-labor and with a simple market for his product. He was not, like Toombs and Yancey, eager for war, nor was he, like Stephens, opposed to it; but he occupied the middle ground. Therefore, he hoped that the Peace Congress would succeed. He did not grip into the situation as promptly as he might. The change of the Capital of the Confederacy to Richmond, May 29, 1861, cost some weeks that were needed for more important business. He gave to moving time required for fighting.

Where Shall the Capital Be?—As they had copied the United States Constitution, so the Confederates desired Washington for their Capital. As they well knew, it was not their logical political center. Anyone of a dozen other cities would have served better,—among them Savannah, Atlanta, Mobile, or New Orleans. W. E. Gladstone said that Davis "made a nation;" but neither the President nor any other prominent Southerner ever dispossessed his mind of the old national geography and integrated the Confederacy as a really free new nation,—free in thought, free from incongruous traditions.

[1] See p. 417, *supra*.

If the seceders had properly conceived the new nation, they might have so located and fortified their Capital as to prevent its taking by any army that the North could have raised. Their real failure was in formulating fundamental and essential ideas. They moved too fast to think fully and clearly. Their attack upon Washington aroused too many splendid memories. Lincoln could raise a hundred thousand men to defend Washington more easily than he could have raised one thousand to invade the South and to take (for example) Chattanooga or Atlanta.

No Departing in Peace.—On March 31, 1861, General Winfield Scott wrote to William H. Seward regarding secession,—"Wayward sisters, depart in peace!" It was the caution of the head of the Federal army to the Secretary-appointed who was to commission all Federal officers and to manage our foreign affairs. But the sisters really never intended to depart in peace or in war. What they really intended was to restore this country to the actual condition of 1776 when slave-labor and wage-service existed side-by-side from Boston to Savannah. The Supreme Court had territorialized slavery; they meant to renationalize it.

The leaders of secession meant to secure the international place and prestige of Washington and to get and to keep its splendid treasures. Once let the Confederacy occupy Washington, and it would seem to be the elder of the nations at war. But it aimed also to take and to keep Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York,—Baltimore being slavery soil and the other cities, the natural commercial allies of slavery. Extremists among them dreamed that New England and upper New York State might form a little separate nation; and that the old Northwest from Pittsburg to the headwaters of the Mississippi might be another nation. All of the new West of the Louisiana Purchase and of the Far Northwest was to be Confederate.

For the United States, they hoped to substitute another nation through nearly or quite all of the same region and with the same Capital,—the Confederate States. By successful secession, they meant to accomplish what our forefathers did in 1775-1783,—change the government. Successful rebellion is revolution; but they were not rebels at heart,—they desired the sovereignty of the nation and asserted the sovereignty of

the States, which is loyalty and patriotism. War proved their error, for government is paramount force.

Two Capitals, a hundred miles apart, could never have existed upon this continent; and no Confederate believed that they could.

The Trust of the South.—The Southerners were not afraid of Northern city clerks, mechanics, tradespeople, farmers, and school boys all in unfamiliar arms.

Next, they trusted in cotton. Without cotton, England would starve for want of goods to exchange with the world for food supplies. Then, they trusted in their four million negroes to feed and to clothe them while they fought. And they trusted to Confederate patriotism to take irredeemable paper money at par through faith in the ultimate triumph of right, their right.

Their trust in their own martial valor was not misplaced; but the Northern school boys, clerks, and farmers soon revealed an equal martial valor. Moreover, Northern capitalism found a way to hire foreign immigrants by tens of thousands for the Union armies.

Their trust in cotton was good as far as the owners of cotton instruments of production were concerned; but the workingman of England preferred to starve rather than to help the owners of slaves. Their trust in their negroes was generally warranted; and yet one million of them were too old or too young or too feeble to work. Only one million of the negroes were strong enough to work hard, of whom before the war was over one-quarter were in the Union armies. Of all the Union enlisted men in 1865, one-fifth were former negro slaves fighting the masters upon whose plantations they had grown up.

Confederate patriotism was sincere. Girls gave up their lovers to die on battlefields, wives their husbands, mothers their sons. No hired strangers fought in the Southern armies; no negro boys; no bounty-jumpers enlisted over and over again. No army contractors made fortunes. But the paper money went down, down, down until it fell to less than a cent upon the dollar. Patriotism cannot beat natural economic law.

Mechanics Defeated Hunters.—The South could not get arms enough, heavy guns enough, railroad locomotives and cars enough, powder and ball enough, and ships enough to

fight well. A thousand of the Northern mechanics would build a bridge in first class style, but ten thousand Southerners could not repair the boiler of one burst locomotive. It is sometimes said that the marvel is how Davis kept Lee's army so long afield. The true marvel is that either Davis or Lee thought it worth while to try to keep the army afield so long.

The first test came in 1861 and in 1862 when the South still had food, clothing, money, and blockade runners and nearly as many soldiers as the North; and McClellan, by drilling his troops so imperturbably, held Johnston and Lee back. Once that the fighting Northern generals came in, with the far larger forces, while the South became poor and weaker; and fate was written plain to any man who could read its signs in the times.

Davis Did Not Know the North.—Suppose that Lee had won at Gettysburg,—Grant would have been brought East by fast trains from Vicksburg, and Sherman with him. Nor had Philadelphia any desire to be sacked; an army of 50,000 men would have sprung up right there, officered by veterans of 1861 and 1862. Davis, with his favorite, Robert E. Lee, played the gambler's stake at the beginning; his pile of chips wasn't one-third that of the Northern leaders.

It is an interesting reflection that if by sympathetic insight and the constructive imagination, Davis had known as much of the North as Lincoln knew of the South, neither Antietam nor Gettysburg would ever have been fought. And while the military man may greatly admire Lee as a field commander, a broader observation is not likely to consider that in displacing Joseph E. Johnston by Lee, Davis acted wisely. But we must not misjudge Lee as a soldier,—he never had the full swing and authority possessed by Grant.

Davis and the Confederate Congress.—Bad as were the dissensions in the Union cause between Lincoln and the politicians in and out of Congress, those between Davis and the Confederate Congress were far worse, for three several and distinct reasons. First, Davis could not calm strife. His Vice-President, Alexander H. Stephens, was always against him, a most unfortunate situation. Second, the Confederates were visibly losing, losing day by day, with but relatively few offsetting gains. Third, the army took nearly all the able men out of the Confederate Congress.

Too Late.—In international affairs, Davis was always too late. He did indeed succeed in placing $15,000,000 of cotton bonds in Paris in 1862; but he needed $1,500,000,000 to match the North. His privateers and commerce destroyers nearly drove the Northern merchantmen from the high seas; but they could not break the blockade of the Union fleet of nearly five hundred war-vessels. When the war was over, the South had $500,000,000 worth of stored cotton to sell! In war, to be late is to perish.

After the appalling Union disaster at Fredericksburg, in 1862, Napoleon III of France offered to mediate between the two countries; but the offer came too late, for Fredericksburg was fought by a fighting Northern general, Burnside, and the disaster simply nerved the army and the government to another fight. Mason and Slidell arrived in Europe too late.[1] And then in the winter of 1864-5 Davis sent Duncan E. Kenner to England and France with the strange proposition,—independence with slavery abolished. Few believed even the statement. An independent nation could not be trusted to keep its promise long. The conference at Hampton Roads[2] came too late, and Davis demanded too much. Only a month before,—January, 1865.—the Confederate Congress had proposed to make General Lee dictator, and Lee had declined. But Davis could not read the handwriting on the wall.

The Miserable Fate to be Laughed at.—Even after Lee had surrendered and Johnston also, Davis fled southward and westward, hoping to join Smith and Magruder far across the Mississippi in Texas. He dreamed of a slave nation to include Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, and the Indian Territory. This might soon grow by adding Missouri and Mississippi and—and—. But his last day dream ended in his arrest May 10, 1865, in Irwin County, Georgia. The newspapers said that he was disguised in women's petticoats. This story made him ridiculous. That it was false mattered nothing. He wore men's clothes, with a woman's cape over his shoulders not for disguise but because he had no umbrella and no man's overcoat, and it was raining. The tragedy ended in a country-wide guffaw!

Becomes the Martyr of the Lost Cause.—They took

[1] See p. 455, *supra*.

[2] See p. 467, *supra*.

the old man to Fortress Monroe in Virginia and chained him in a dungeon-cell for two years. A Virginia grand jury indicted him for treason. Charges were made that he helped the plot against Lincoln, Seward, and Grant.[1] Finally, they tried him before the Federal Circuit Court. Chase, the Chief Justice, was for convicting him, but his colleague, Judge Underwood, disagreed. On December 25, 1868, the general amnesty, granted at last by Congress, caused the early release of all prisoners. Two months later, Davis went free. Revengeful treatment had made him the "Martyr of the Lost Cause" and the hero of the South. Soon, he went to Europe, where he long remained.

In 1881, Jefferson Davis published a book entitled the "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government." In 1890, he published another book, "Short History of the Confederate States of America." He died poor but famous, on December 6, 1889, at New Orleans, being eighty-one years of age. His wife and the younger of his two daughters, "Winnie," known as "the daughter of the Confederacy," having been born in Richmond in 1864, attained prominent positions in current letters. They died in 1906 and 1898, respectively.

Soldiers Compared with Politicians.—Much of the story of the Confederacy will never be known. It was a gallant effort upon sound philosophy and political science for an immoral economic purpose. It meant at the time crystallizing an outworn feudal system. But for the crimes of reconstruction, made possible by the murder of Abraham Lincoln, we of a later generation would have but little sympathy with the immediate purpose of the South. Reconstruction, however, showed that the North was in the control of men of wealth and men of revenge with private interests to serve, rather less respectable than slaveowning.

The soldiers in gray and the soldiers in blue went home to work; but the politicians everywhere went on to loot. The North had grown in population, but the South had lost her best and was industrially ruined. She must then submit to yet worse ruin, to debauchery and to desecration.

After 1865 begin the ugliest pages of American history.

[1]See p. 469, *supra*.

CHAPTER XVIII

Andrew Johnson

1865-1869
1808-1875

36-37 States Admitted: Nebraska. Population 37,000,000

A War Democrat—the poor judgment of contemporaries—early life—never went to school—a tailor—at seventeen years married a girl of sixteen—wife an able woman—the social situation in Tennessee—a champion of the poor—member State Constitutional Convention—State Assemblyman—State Senator—opposed every kind of internal improvement—Representative in Congress—the "mechanic Governor"—proslavery—United States Senator—a Jeffersonian Democrat—only Southern member of Congress who did not resign and go with his State—"Military Governor" of Tennessee—the contradictory position of Congress—his character and political position—no attention ever paid seriously to the Presidential succession—held to the plans of Lincoln—unreconstructed rebels—vetoed Freedmen's Bureau, Civil Rights, and Fourteenth Amendment Acts, all passed over his vetoes—a campaigning tour—the Tenure of Office Act—the issue joined—impeached for trying to remove Secretary Stanton—the leaders on each side—Johnson won by retaining one more than one-third in his favor—Senate saved the Presidency—Chief Justice Supreme—elected to Senate again—opposed Grant—Seward too prominent—the Congress that impeached Johnson guilty of reconstruction by force—the verdict of posterity.

What is a War Democrat?—The seventeenth President of the United States was Andrew Johnson, who for six weeks had been Vice-President. He had been "Military Governor" of Tennessee, an office unknown alike to our Constitution and to our Federal statutes, but created *de facto* by the "war-powers of the President."[1] He was a War Democrat, meaning thereby a citizen who openly proclaimed that he practiced what he did not preach and preached against what he practiced. So hard is it to adjust habitualized thinking to the emergencies of active need.

A Painful Contrast.—He succeeded one who is now regarded by many as the greatest of all Presidents. Merely to be so placed is in itself a high distinction. By a considerable

[1] See p. 451, *supra*.

majority of all who witnessed his daily life and political action, in contrast with Lincoln, Johnson was then regarded as the worst of all the Presidents to that date. Thereby to be so viewed is in itself of a kind of distinction. According to contemporary evidence, the Vice-President was drunk beyond speech when the news of the assassination of Lincoln and Seward was told to him. Certainly between himself and Lincoln, there was a blazing contrast; yet Lincoln was sponsor for him.

On the Value of Contemporary Judgment.—The historical question, therefore, is whether in fact Andrew Johnson was the worst, or one of the worst, of the Presidents or even a bad President or perhaps after all a fairly good President. Candid and honest history does not take the say-so of near contemporaries about men. By a vote of 280 to 220, Socrates was condemned to drink the fatal hemlock, and by a vote of the learned and devout Sanhedrim and with the consent and upon the order of a supposedly impartial Roman governor, Jesus was sent to His crucifixion. Contemporaries are poor judges of one another.

Early Life.—Andrew Johnson was born upon December 29, 1808, at Raleigh, North Carolina. His father died when Andrew was but four years old, and when he was ten, his mother, who was poor, apprenticed him to a tailor. By studying at night without a teacher a book that contained British and American orations, the boy tried to learn to read, but he made slow headway.

The Boy Marries a Girl.—In 1824, being fifteen years of age, he went to Laurens Court House, South Carolina, to work as a tailor. In 1826, he returned for a few months to Raleigh, but in a few months removed to Greeneville, Tennessee, afterward his home for life.[1] At this stage of affairs, the seventeen-year old youth married a girl sixteen years old, Eliza McCardle, who undertook to teach him the elementary branches thoroughly. She was a girl of small stature and frail physique, but of ability, of character, and of good breeding; and most of what was good in Andrew Jackson was due to his excellent wife. It should, however, be scored to his credit that he knew enough to marry her early.

Spokesman of the Poor.—East Tennessee is a land of high mountains and of deep valleys. Consequently, the farms

[1] See pp. 322, 380, *supra*.

are small and often remote from one another. West Tennessee is a land of rolling hills, of plains, and flat basins. Then it had great slave plantations. Between the poor of the Great Smoky and Cumberland Mountains and the rich of the Mississippi, the Cumberland and the Tennessee river valleys, ever since the day of the earliest settlements, there has been feud. Andrew Johnson soon became the spokesman of the East Tennessee farmers.

Member State Constitutional Convention.—In 1828, the champion of the poor against the rich, before he came of age, Andrew Johnson was elected an alderman of the village of Greeneville. From 1830 to 1834, he was mayor of the village. He made his living at his trade. In 1834, he was sent as a delegate to the Tennessee State Constitutional Convention, where he tried to get an article adopted by which only the whites should be counted in the representation of the districts in the State Legislature. Since the negroes could not vote, he was clearly right.[1] The State was actually gerrymandered for the great slaveowners. This was a bold move for a poor young man; and it made him famous.

State Politician.—In 1835 Johnson was elected to a term in the State Legislature. In 1837 he was defeated. In 1839 he ran again and was elected. In 1841 he was sent to the State Senate, serving until 1843. In these six years as Representative and Senator, Johnson opposed all internal improvements at State cost,—a narrow view, but one that brought him the support of the small taxpayers.

A Straddler.—His political position was a peculiar straddle in that he admired and praised the Whig leaders but supported the Democratic candidates. He was a partisan for Jackson, Van Buren, and Polk, while enamored of the brilliant Clay and of the splendid Webster. This early inconsistency of his was perhaps due to his lack of fundamental education and school training;—he never went to school a day in his life, nor did he ever acquire even the office law training such as served Lincoln so well. His little wife was the only teacher that he had.

The "Mechanic Governor."—From 1843 to 1853, Johnson served as Representative in Congress. In 1853, he failed of reëlection. But in that same year, rising out of defeat, he was elected governor; in 1855, he was reëlected. He was

[1] See pp. 275, 276, *supra*.

popularly known as "the mechanic governor" and worked hard for free education. In Congress, he had favored the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War. On the slavery question, he took the extreme Southern view,—that the owner's rights extended through all the Territories.[1] Yet he voted for the admission of California as a free State. He worked for the homestead law[2] and for reduced tariffs, opposed internal improvements at national cost, and diligently labored for budget economics. He was a fairly consistent Jeffersonian Democrat in these affairs. He was one of the opponents of J. Q. Adams and steadily voted not to receive antislavery petitions.[3] On the Kansas-Nebraska bill, since he was out of Congress and governor of Tennessee, he did not vote; but his sympathies were against Douglas and with Pierce and Buchanan. Later, when he was United States Senator, 1857 to 1862, he was against Lincoln also in the Douglas-Lincoln debates. In this record of his middle career, he won among the illogical multitude the reputation of thinking for himself and of being something of a political philosopher rather than a partisan; he was also believed to be a true American and Democrat.

In the United States Senate.—In 1860, in the contest between Lincoln, Douglas, Breckenridge, and Bell, he stood by Breckenridge and the Southern Democrats. But when Lincoln was elected, he refused to join the secession movement. He was never a Calhoun Democrat. When his State seceded, he was the only member of Congress from the Confederate States who did not resign and "go with his State." This self-reliant action of his made him famous throughout both the North and the South; and ultimately put him into the Presidency. Of necessity, it cost him the support of the South and especially of the leading Tennessee politicians. Yet his own neighbors were with him in this position.

Military Governor.—In March, 1862, Lincoln made Andrew Johnson military governor of that part of Tennessee which the Federals had won from the Confederacy. To do this, the President professed to invoke "the war-powers" of his office under the Constitution,[4]—and Congress supported

[1] See p. 403, *supra*.
[2] See p. 363, *supra*.
[3] See pp. 317, 318, *supra*.
[4] See Article II, Section 2.

him. With Taney still Chief Justice, this was legally a dangerous thing to do; but the plan worked, which is the real concern whether in time of war or in time of peace.

A military governor was an autocrat, and the peril of assassination was always present. But Johnson who professionally was not "military" and constitutionally was not "governor" succeeded in reëstablishing a Union government in Tennessee, following close upon the victories of Grant, Rosecrans, and Thomas.

A Significant Admission.—In 1864, to secure the votes of the War Democrats and to please the Border States, Johnson was picked to run with Lincoln. They lost Delaware, New Jersey, and Kentucky, but won Missouri and Maryland. Tennessee and Arkansas voted for Lincoln and Johnson; but Congress refused to count the votes, asserting that they and all other Southern States were "out of the Union"—had really seceded with success, a proposition utterly contradictory to the very nature of the Union cause.

His Political Experience.—He had now held office for thirty-three years; and was fifty-six years old. His experience as legislator and executive was long and varied; but it had been mainly at Nashville and at Washington, places in the same latitude, and in the region with a large proportion of colored persons. He had travelled and studied but little. A vigorous, intense, self-confident man, he had cut deep into life; but he had failed to cut wide. He had made a tremendous impression upon men, and yet was unidentified in statesmanlike fashion with any public measure. Upon April 15, 1865, "Andy" Johnson, "the tailor-governor," became President.

The Broken Health of Lincoln Disregarded.—This contingency should have been firmly fixed in the public mind. Harrison had died in office and Taylor, both men of immense natural vigor; and Jackson was always "near death" from chronic diseases. Polk had died in the June following his term. There was a myth afloat that Lincoln had almost superhuman strength and endurance. But those who really knew the truth knew that his health was broken.

Johnson Succeeds to the Presidency.—Johnson adopted the views of Abraham Lincoln respecting the ex-Confederates and reconstruction. This was a maddening surprise to Thaddeus Stevens and to the other radical Republicans in Con-

gress. Johnson retained the Cabinet of Lincoln, including Stanton;[1] such a course is a serious error in any President. In the summer recess of Congress, Johnson set up provisional governments in every one of the defeated States except Texas; and all were now applying for recognition or readmission as States in the Union. But nearly all the new Senators and Congressmen, it was seen, would be Democrats and ex-Confederates,—that is, according to the Northern radicals, unreconstructed, sullen, beaten rebels. The Northern Republicans feared that they would saddle the Confederate war-debts upon the United States and delay the industrial conquest of the South by the Northern capitalists. They meant to punish the rebels; but Johnson, like Lincoln, said in effect, "Let the dead past bury its dead." And the radicals intended to give votes to the freedman; this was the *crux difficultatis,* the rock of offence.

The Political Breakdown.—In February, 1866, the warfare between Johnson and the Republican leaders in Congress began in the refusal to admit the newly elected members from the South. During 1866, Congress passed and the President vetoed, and then Congress passed by two-thirds vote over his vetoes many measures, including the Freedmen's Bureau Act, —at once a wonderful philanthropy to the negro and a vicious graft-scheme for the Northern white—the Civil Rights Act, and the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Then, in the summer and fall of the year, the President went on a campaigning tour in the North, hoping to defeat some of his Congressional enemies; but was beaten. No other President had ever before thrown himself openly into the political battle, though several have done it since. Early in 1867, Congress disfranchised the ex-Confederate leaders and enfranchised the freedmen. Upon March 2, 1867, over the President's veto, Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act, which virtually prohibited the President from dismissing any officer appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate;[2] and also at this time in an army appropriation act reduced the President to a subordinate both of the Senate and of the lieutenant-general of the army. The President now had to join issue with Congress.

[1] See pp. 453, *supra,*

[2] See p. 152, *supra,*

STANTON DESERVED REMOVAL.—Defying the Tenure of Office Act, Johnson attempted to remove Secretary of War Stanton, who sneered at his chief and flouted his authority, and to put Lorenzo Thomas in his place.

THE ADMISSION OF NEBRASKA.—In 1867, over the veto of President Johnson, Nebraska was admitted into the Union. Her vote to adopt a Constitution had but 100 majority. The veto of Johnson was based partly upon this division of public sentiment, partly upon a proposed limitation of the suffrage to whites, and partly upon disgust with the whole history of the Kansas-Nebraska region. Congress forced the State to amend its Constitution so that the negroes might vote. Thereby, the Republican party safely gained two Senators.

THE PURCHASE OF ALASKA.—In October, 1867, there was completed the purchase of Alaska for which more than a dozen years before the negotiations had been begun by President Buchanan. By many circumstances and conditions, Russia was greatly embarrassed in America and was glad to sell out for $7,200,000. The area is twice that of Texas and the wealth incredible. Alaska has already yielded products valued at over $400,000,000 to this country and to our people. The purchase was then called by many "Seward's folly;" but Seward was scarcely more its advocate than Johnson or a dozen other men. Politically, the purchase was as wise as it has proven financially. No war or intrigue or questionable ultimate aim stains its acquisition by our government. This and the new Bureau of Education are two of the few bright spots in this dark picture.

JOHNSON IMPEACHED BY SCOUNDRELS.—From February to May, 1868, the country was shaken with the impeachment trial of the President upon eleven counts,—of which the gist was (1) violation of the Tenure of Office Act, (2) saying that it was unconstitutional, (3) declining to follow the strange procedure indicated in the appropriation bill, and (4) "the high misdemeanor in office" of taking part in the campaign of 1868. Those who moved the impeachment counted upon the two-thirds by which they had steadily overcome the vetoes of Johnson. They planned to make some man of their own choice—probably Grant or Wade—President. The leading prosecutors were Thaddeus Stevens and Benjamin F. Butler. This was the Stevens, reputed a bachelor, who by his

brilliant eloquence and dogged persistence gave to dull and callous Pennsylvania her public school system, and who then came to Congress, schemed for political rich men, and hounded Lincoln. As for Benjamin F. Butler, he lived in a river of hate and was himself a fountain of that brine.

Yet abler men were the President's attorneys,—among them William M. Evarts, cold and perfect as a Greek statue, and that Benjamin R. Curtis, who as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, had given a dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott case and had then resigned from a court that he could no longer respect. It was a trial at times frigid, at times frantic, the most terrible in American history. The Senate repeatedly reversed the rulings of the Chief Justice, who presided with dignity and wisdom. We owe him to Abraham Lincoln.

On May 16, the first vote was taken. It stood 35 against Johnson, 19 for him. Necessary to oust him 36. Of the 19 for Johnson, 12 were Democrats, 7 were Republicans. The House had voted to impeach by 125 yeas to 40 nays, over three-fourths.

Acquitted.—The requisite minority of the Senate had saved the Presidency.

The Chief Justice had proven the foundation of American constitutional government.

Ten days later, two more votes were taken, and the result was confirmed.

Those who do not believe in the Senate and a bicameral legislature, those who do not believe in democracy under the constitutional guarantees of freedom, those who advocate recall by majority do well to pause here and consider.[1]

The Republicans who had voted for acquittal included William Pitt Fessenden of Maine, who had succeeded Chase as Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Lincoln; and Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, who had been Attorney-General in the Cabinet of Zachary Taylor.

The Constitutional Meaning.—The decision was a surprise to the country as well as to the Republican radicals. The trial settled many other matters,—for one, that upon impeachment proceedings, the Chief Justice sits as a judge, not as a moderator. As his decisions in law are not then reviewable in any court, he becomes indisputably the highest officer of the

[1]See p. 122, *supra*.

American government. The Constitution in no way provides for his impeachment or recall or reduction. For another, the trial established the impeachment of a President as a legal, not a political, proceeding.

In 1869, Andrew Johnson, having made no other trouble,—though Thaddeus Stevens later introduced a futile bill with five more impeachment charges,—retired from the Presidency but not from politics.

The Cabinet History of Andrew Johnson.—This Vice-President, who became President through the murder of his chief, never had a free hand with his Cabinet, not even after the impeachment failed. His official household was as follows:

State,—Williams H. Seward of New York.

Treasury,—Hugh McCulloch of Indiana.

War,—Edwin M. Stanton of Ohio, two years; U. S. Grant and Lorenzo Thomas, *ad interim;* John M. Schofield of New York, nine months.

Attorney-General,—James Speed of Kentucky, over one year; Henry Stanbery of Ohio, nearly two years; William M. Evarts of New York, nearly one year.

Postmaster-General,—William Dennison of Ohio, one year; Alexander W. Randall of Wisconsin, *ad interim,* three years.

Navy,—Gideon Welles of Connecticut.

Interior,—John P. Usher of Indiana, one month; James Harlan of Iowa, over one year; Orville H. Browning of Illinois, toward three years.

Senator Again.—Being an habitual office-holder, Johnson tried again and again as a non-partisan to be elected United States Senator, and at last was elected in 1875. He made but one speech, in which he criticised the course of President Grant in his policy toward the South; in this, he was right. On July 31, of the same year, he died of paralysis at Carter's Station, Tennessee. He left property valued at some $40,000 to his widow and large family of sons, daughters and grandchildren. Next year, the frail widow and mother of his three sons and two daughters passed away. In extenuation of his errors of tact, it is often urged that the opponents of Andrew Johnson used far worse language against him and did meaner things,—which was true; that as President he had unusual domestic cares, which also was true; that he forced an issue

that sooner or later had to be tried out,—"It must needs be that offences come, but woe unto him by whom they come."

Too Much Seward.—In a democracy, a statesman should be in part a politician and in the whole a gentleman. The chief adviser of Johnson was William H. Seward,—statesman and gentleman but scarcely a successful politician. Unfortunately, Johnson who was neither politician on a national scale nor gentleman and not much of a statesman, took too much advice from Seward, who was abler than he. It takes equal ability to carry out the advice of a man of ability.

The Orgy of Reconstruction Begun.—The important thing to record and to remember of Andrew Johnson is that under the Congress which sought by many devices to shear the Presidency of all its real powers,—even the constitutional power to appoint judges,—by providing that no vacancies should be filled until 1869,—and likewise the Supreme Court[1] was begun that orgy of reconstruction which more disgraces the pages of American history than anything else. Revenge could go no further than planning to make the South pay for the war-raids into Maryland and Pennsylvania and actually putting illiterate and brutal negroes into governorships and wrecking the remaining social structure of honesty and decency.

Johnson was grievously wronged by worse men than himself.

CHAPTER XIX

(Hiram) Ulysses [Simpson] Grant

1869-1877
1822-1885

37-38 States 1870—Population 38,558,371

Admitted: Colorado, "the Centennial State."

Taken at his best—early life—educated at West Point—name changed by mistake but fortunately—captain in Mexican War—marries—resigns from army—farming and real estate—clerk in father's store—apparently a failure—Colonel Illinois Volunteers—Brigadier-General—wins Donelson and Henry—"Unconditional Surrender" Grant—surprised at Corinth—loses first campaign against Vicksburg—Lincoln desires to know "Grant's brand of whiskey"—captures Vicks-

[1] See p. 84, *supra*.

burg—compared with Meade—military events—"The man has come" —Sherman in the Lower South—the battle of the Wilderness—the raid on Washington—the Petersburg mine—Nashville—Lee's surrender—our greatest war-hero—tours the country with Johnson—President—the rights of the South—the Ku Klux Klan—corruption of the National Government—the Fifteenth Amendment—the "Alabama" case—Santo Domingo—talks of impeachment—the Amnesty Act—Civil Service Act—nepotism—strange prosperity—his reëlection —the Liberal Republicans and Democrats nominate Greeley—apostle of the emancipation of labor-force ignorance—victim of American politics—the "Inflation Bill"—suffrage taken from the District of Columbia—"Star Route" frauds—Grant tours the world, first of American ex-Presidents to do so—seeks third term—failure of banking firm of Grant and Ward—"Memoirs"—heroic death—disliked controversy—made war on war—imperturbable—estimate of character and intelligence—public office not a private opportunity—or to help or honor anyone.

Taken at His Best.—To this generation, General Grant comes down as an attractive and yet impressive figure,—in his silence, in his military efficiency, in his friendliness, in his clean living, and in his fortitude and heroism upon battlefield and the bed of death. We take him at his best, which was indeed good. For the rest, not wholly forgiving the men of his own generation for the crime of making him President,—a crime against himself as well as against themselves and against their heirs,—we wholly forgive him for his own errors.

Early Life; West Point Graduate.—Hiram Ulysses Grant was born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, on April 27, 1822. His paternal ancestry is traced to Matthew Grant, a Scotchman, who settled at Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1630. Not many Presidents could trace their lineage accurately as far back as that in either the old world or the new. His father was Jesse R. Grant, a farmer, who named this son Hiram Ulysses and let him have an ordinary rural free public schooling. When Ulysses was seventeen years old, the Congressman of the district named him for West Point. This political friend thought that Ulysses was the boy's first name and as his mother's maiden name was Simpson, sent in the appellation as Ulysses Simpson. Upon reflection, the family decided to let the new name stand. It served him well in its initials as U. S. Grant, United States Grant, or Unconditional Surrender

Grant. When he was President, however, and his administration was charged with corruption, his opponents wrote it $ Grant,—Dollars Grant. Of such trifles is popular fame not made perhaps but ornamented or illuminated. To be popular, get a right name or nickname,—"Old Hickory," "Old Rough and Ready," "Honest Abe," "U. S.," "Teddy," will serve.[1]

The Mexican War.—At West Point, the sturdy farm boy made only a fair record, his best performance being in mathematics. He was especially proficient in horsemanship, in which he took great delight. He was graduated in 1843, with the usual brevet of second lieutenant. He served throughout the campaigns both of General Taylor and of General Scott, taking part in many battles,—among them Palo Alto at the very beginning, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec. Twice he was breveted for gallantry in action; and he came home from Mexico a captain, with a fine record as a soldier in the field.

Marriage.—In August, 1848, being now twenty-six years old, Captain Grant took to himself a wife, Julia T. Dent, four years his junior, of an excellent family but no means. For the next six years, he served in Oregon and in California, but resigned in 1854. There had been charges of intemperance against the young officer. It was a common failing; and is yet in the regular army service. For the next six years, he lived in or near St. Louis, engaging rather unsuccessfully in farming and in real estate operations.

Clerk in a Store.—By this time, his father had moved to Galena, Illinois, and had become a dealer in leather and its products. Ulysses now took his family to the paternal home and became a clerk in the store at fifteen dollars a week. He was, in short, a failure,—a broken, disappointed, futureless man, a store clerk and ex-army officer. His parents and his neighbors were sorry for him. "Going to West Point" evidently ruined a good boy,—so they thought.

Brigadier-General of Volunteers.—A year later, the Civil War broke out. At once U. S. Grant issued forth from that leather store, for he had heard the call to arms. Memories of Molino del Rey and of Chapultepec sounded in his ears. The Governor of the State of Illinois made him Colonel of the 21st Illinois Volunteers. Grant worked so diligently that he

[1]See p. 53, *supra*.

was soon made brigadier-general. The door of opportunity was wide open, and he had rushed in. On his own responsibility, he seized Paducah at the confluence of the Tennessee and Ohio rivers upon the Kentucky side. This was an example of that large strategy in which Grant excelled every other general on either side. This energetic move, made September 6, 1861, gave him fame. It was the thin edge of the wedge by which the Confederacy was to be split in twain. On November 7, 1861, at Belmont, in Missouri, he fought his first battle as a commander and won. It was little more than a daring reconnaissance of a Confederate fort at Columbus, on the Mississippi, but following several Union disasters, it greatly encouraged the Unionists in Kentucky and Missouri.

"Unconditional Surrender" Grant.—The year 1862 opened up in the most serious style. General Albert Sidney Johnston held a strong Confederate line, including Bowling Green, Lexington, Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and Columbus. He had small commands under able generals in eastern Kentucky. General Johnston was nearly sixty years old; had seen long military service in Texas, Mexico, California, and against the Indians and the Mormons; and was considered the ablest soldier on either side. But Grant was undismayed; and under the orders of his superior, General Buell, a careful soldier, and supported by the gunboats of Flag-Officer A. H. Foote, he made for the river forts.

On February 6, Fort Henry was easily taken. Then Grant marched overland and assaulted Donelson. General Pillow made a sortie, with the result that the Union forces won a lodgment inside the fort. On the 16th the garrison of 15,000 men surrendered. It was their answer to the famous reply of Grant when an armistice was asked,—

"No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works.

"I am sir: very respectfully

"Your obt. svt.

"U. S. Grant,

"Brig. Gen."

"U. S. Grant, Unconditional Surrender Grant," he became and remained thereafter to the "Boys in Blue" and will remain to them till the last veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic are laid in their final rest. It was a glaring contrast to the drilling, drilling by McClellan in Virginia. The armies of the West marched forward. Their drill was to march and to fight. At one time, being chased by Confederates, only his horsemanship saved him,—under fire, he rode his horse down a bluff and along a plank not a foot wide to a steamboat in motion in the Mississippi. On the 6th of April, Grant, now a major-general, following several days under arrest because of the disfavor of the new commander, H. W. Halleck, was at Corinth with 45,000 men and Buell was two marches distant with 37,000 men. Here Johnston and Beauregard completely surprised Grant. A battle of terrible fury, known variously as Pittsburg Landing and Shiloh, one of the worst of the war, was fought, but on the first day Grant barely held his ground on the banks of the river. There were enormous losses on both sides, Johnston being killed. The Confederates had already lost Zollicoffer, a brilliant general, in Kentucky. Next day, disheartened by this second calamity to a leader, when Buell rushed in with his reserves, Beauregard retreated. By June 6, he had evacuated both Corinth and Memphis.

Intrigues.—Now followed a dark period of political wire-pullings and consequent changes of commanders. Grant was forced into the background for a while. There were more tales of drunkenness. At any rate, Grant was tender-hearted; at Shiloh he gave up his tent to army surgeons who were operating on wounded men and stayed out all night in the icy rain.

In the late fall and early winter of 1862, the first campaign against Vicksburg failed. For the failure, there were several reasons. The Confederates knew the rivers, bayous and swamps well; the Federals were learning them. There was intrigue for place among the Federal commanders, in which Grant took no part, but from which he suffered. The politicians tried to get Lincoln to put Grant out of the service; it was the time when Lincoln is reported to have asked what kind of whiskey Grant drank, asserting that he would like to send a barrel to each of his other generals.[1]

The Siege of Vicksburg.—In April as spring opened up,

[1]See p. 460, *supra*.

General Grant, Captain Porter, and Admiral Farragut set themselves to win Vicksburg by a new plan of campaign. Military critics have called it "strange," "bizarre," "accidental in outcome." It was in truth a fine example of complex strategy. Grant proposed to march his army into Arkansas, then south past Vicksburg, when ten miles below it to cross the Mississippi river, to proceed east and take the city of Jackson,—thereby cutting off Confederate reinforcements from reserves,—then to turn northwest and to assault and besiege the "impregnable" city. Porter ran his gunboats down the river past Vicksburg and Farragut came up the river from New Orleans; and the two fleets then transported the veterans of Grant across the wide Mississippi. There were weeks and months of marching; at times for a week, Grant was cut off from his supplies. In three assaults, he was defeated, but at last, upon July 4, 1863, he had starved General J. C. Pemberton into surrender. In this campaign, he took in all over 42,000 Confederate prisoners, but lost 24,000 men, whose bodies are buried (mostly in nameless graves) in the National Park at Vicksburg. The Confederates had lost half as many.

Major-General U. S. A.—Vicksburg was a campaign,—Gettysburg a battle. Grant cleaned up his victory. Meade did not. McClellan and Meade were afraid of Lee; Grant was not afraid of anyone. Vicksburg was a finality. In a few days, the last little fort on the Mississippi fell, and Abraham Lincoln could say of the river that he knew and loved,—"The Father of Waters flows unvexed to the sea." St. Louis was an open port again, and most of the Mississippi valley was able to resume trade. Grant's had become a household name from Pittsburg to Denver. It meant not only military glory but also high prices and prosperity.

Lincoln now raised him to be major-general in the regular army. On September 19 and 20, the desperate battle of Chickamauga was fought, in which Bragg and Longstreet drove in the center and the right flank of the Union forces under Rosecrans, but Thomas by holding the left flank won the sobriquet, "the Rock of Chickamauga." Grant was given supreme command in the West and received reinforcements under Hooker from the Army of the Potomac. The loser at Chancellorsville soon defeated Longstreet at Wauhatchie.

More Union Victories.—Then the Union forces joined

and attacked Bragg at Chattanooga on November 23, 24 and 25. On the right flank, Hooker and his men won the extraordinary "battle of the clouds" on Lookout Mountain; the drill of McClellan was telling with fatal effect against the less disciplined Confederate soldiers of the West. Soon afterwards, Burnside defeated Longstreet at Knoxville.

Head of the Army.—The rest of the story of Ulysses S. Grant as a commander is the whole story of the winding up of the InterState War. On March 9, 1864, he was made Lieutenant-General and General-in-chief. President Lincoln, Secretary Stanton, and the former chief, General Halleck, with the politicians, stood aside. Donelson, Shiloh, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga had written "The man has come" upon the face of the war.

Grant placed William Tecumseh Sherman in command in the West and kept George Gordon Meade in command in Virginia, moving his own headquarters there.

The Confederates also changed commanders. Jefferson Davis, who hated Joseph E. Johnston, was forced to put him in command, superseding Bragg. Early in 1864, Sherman wiped out all the railroads at Meridian, Mississippi, and destroyed the town, cutting off prospective Confederate supplies for the summer of that year.

Grant as Strategist.—First, Grant would "hammer" Lee in Virginia, and wear him out by "attrition." Second, Sherman was to chase Johnston and to ravel him into rags and threads. Third, Lee was to be kept so busy that he could not reinforce Johnston, and Johnston so busy that he could not reinforce Lee. For this hammering and chasing, Grant had 700,000 men in the field. And Lincoln had in sight somewhat over $1,000,000,000 for the campaign of 1864. The Confederates had scarcely 300,000 men, including their negro slaves, and no real money. Their sole advantages consisted in holding the inner lines and in having the active sympathy of the local population. Southern patriotism was never higher than in 1864, and the Confederacy still hoped to win.

In May the Confederates drove the Federals out of the Shenandoah valley.

Hammering.—In May also was fought with immense losses on both sides the Battle of the Wilderness,—6th and 7th. After the battle of Spotsylvania Courthouse, by which on the 9th

and 10th Grant vainly tried to get between Lee and the city of Richmond, he telegraphed to Lincoln, at Washington, "I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer." It was to take yet longer. At Cold Harbor, he lost 12,000 men uselessly, so far as the assault itself was concerned. The total loss of Grant was already 72,000, more than half of his force. But Lee had begun with only 65,000 soldiers, and already ninety per cent. of Southerners from sixteen to sixty years of age were under arms, while enlistments were going on at the North. Grant now undertook the capture of Petersburg by siege. It still received supplies by the Richmond and Danville railroad.

In June General Lee sent Early with 17,000 men on a raid. He nearly won Washington.[1] Foiled there, Early pushed on to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, demanding there $100,000 in gold or $500,000 in greenbacks from the citizens. Not getting the money, he burned the town, leaving 3,000 non-combatants homeless.[2]

Driving On.—In July General Grant exploded a tremendous mine at Petersburg. His sappers and miners worked underground for weeks to prepare it. The explosion killed only half a thousand Confederates. Into the crater went 4,000 Union soldiers, all of whom being surrounded were either killed or captured. Grant himself called the elaborate enterprise "a stupendous failure." He was not good in details. But still he clung there at Petersburg.

In the South Sherman with over 100,000 men was steadily driving Johnston before him,—from Dalton, to Resaca, to Allatoona,—to which last-named place he telegraphed, "Hold the fort, for I am coming,"—to Dallas, to Kenesaw Mountain, to the Chattahoochee river. With but 50,000 men, Johnston could not stand before him. Early in the war, General Joseph E. Johnston had been badly wounded, and for a year had been unable to serve. He had always been a cautious man. Now he became more cautious than ever.

In September and October, by sending Sheridan with 26,000 men to destroy the villages and farms of the Shenandoah valley, General Grant more than retaliated upon the Confederates for the raid of Early into Pennsylvania. The success

[1] See p. 464, *supra*.

[2] See p. 465, *supra*.

of this Union raid deprived both the Confederate Government and Capital and the Confederate Army of most of their food supplies.

President Davis now replaced Johnston with Hood, who set out to move the war back into Tennessee. He crossed from Georgia through Alabama into upper Mississippi and encountered Thomas and Schofield who overthrew him at Nashville, Tennessee, in the most crushing defeat of the War.

Sherman's March.—Upon February 1, 1865, General W. T. Sherman, who had marched from Atlanta to Savannah, began his northward campaign to Richmond, taking the Carolina cities as he went. He was cutting the heart out of the Confederacy.

Upon April 1, 1865, General Phil Sheridan took 6,000 prisoners at Five Forks, twelve miles southwest of Petersburg, and cut off the last source of supplies to Lee. Next day Lee moved out of Petersburg. A few days later, hoping to escape southward, he met Sheridan across his path. He could have whipped Sheridan, for he had more men, his finest veterans. Davis had made an error in forwarding supplies; but they were used to going without food.

The Surrender.—Lee might have joined Johnston; but—was it wholly fear of starvation?—did he relish the idea of a group consisting of himself, Johnston, Hood, and Davis fighting in the Carolina mountains through another winter? At any rate, he preferred to throw himself upon the mercy of the Union General, and on the 9th of April at Appomattox Courthouse surrendered his 29,000 men. General Grant left to the Confederates their horses to work their "little farms" and their side-arms for personal protection and for honor's sake. To each man he furnished a day's ration of food; whereupon, the valiant Army of Northern Virginia vanished like a morning cloud before the sun.

On the 26th Johnston surrendered to Sherman near Raleigh, North Carolina. In May General Kirby Smith and Colonel Richard Taylor (son of Zachary Taylor[1]) fired the last shots of the war in Texas, where they had resolutely held their ground after the Vicksburg campaign, and surrendered. It was a strange prominence for the son of "Old Rough and Ready."

An Inevitable President.—It was the aim of the mem-

[1]See pp. 207, 398, *supra*.

bers of the Constitutional Convention that the President of the people of the United States should be the first citizen of the land; they intended that the man of greatest influence should become also the officer of greatest power. Washington, whatever his real merits, had been such a President; and Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, and Taylor had followed measureably well. Others had not fallen far below this ideal. Lincoln became such a President but only after his reëlection in 1864. After Appomattox, only the loyal heart of U. S. Grant saved to him that honor. Lincoln admired Grant, and the younger man, whom no created thing save whiskey ever dazed, held the President in the esteem, gratitude, and reverence that he deserved so richly from his favorite general. Such, however, is the delight of the multitude in war-heroes that this man who had commanded late in 1864 and early in 1865 a million soldiers and at last had defeated the hitherto unconquerable Lee might have cast a shadow even upon Abraham Lincoln. Once that the war was over, every intelligent observer of the times, every discerning reader of past history knew that as soon as the term of Andrew Johnson expired General Grant would be President. Not that Grant was either fit by nature or fitted by experience for the Presidency, but the Republic had no other way to show him signal honor before the nations.[1]

The story of Grant as a general must be fairly well understood else the story of Grant as President will be wholly misunderstood. He was the people's darling;[2] and might do and did do as he pleased. Many Southerners liked him, for he had been kind to Robert E. Lee, their own popular idol. Quite as well as anyone else, Grant himself foresaw that he would be chosen President in 1868, and he governed himself accordingly, not with selfish ambition but as by fate. Ulysses S. Grant never was a self-seeker. He was in no sense inclined, however, to self-abnegation. At worst, he was self-indulgent.

The Rights of the South.—When Johnson proposed to try Lee and others for treason, Grant intervened, and said that the terms of the surrender at Appomattox must be kept in letter and spirit. He said indeed that he would resign as general of the army,—which supreme rank had been created for him in July, 1866,—in case the agreement were not kept.

[1] See p. 327, *supra*.

[2] See p. 343, *supra*.

Loyal to the President.—When Johnson suspended Stanton and appointed Grant in his place for a brief time as Secretary of War, the General of the army protested. Only a strictly military habit of mind caused him to obey. It was the same spirit of military obedience that had caused him and Admiral Farragut in 1866 to tour the country with Johnson and Seward. This tour did, however, considerably increase the probability that Grant would be President. The people liked the contrast between the silent soldier and the talkative tailor.[1]

Overwhelming Victory at the Polls.—On May 20, 1868, at the Republican National Convention, upon the first ballot, Grant was unanimously nominated for the Presidency. The Democratic party was hopelessly lost in its efforts to find a man to beat Grant. The thing was impossible. Grant was easily the most popular and the most influential man in this democratic country of ours. But the Democratic party made a very poor choice in naming Horatio Seymour, lately governor of New York, as its candidate.[2] Seymour had been not only a peace-at-any-price man, anti-Lincoln and pro-Vallandigham, all his life a politician and office-candidate, but he had actually proposed early in 1861 that New York State should support the Southern Confederacy, even join it. He was a Copperhead of the Copperheads. The result was that Grant received 214 electoral votes, Seymour 80. The Republican Vice-Presidential candidate was Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, long a member of Congress and for some time Speaker of the House, a man of excellent ability, quite above the ordinary run of Vice-Presidents, and of a reputation for honesty rather below most Vice-Presidents. His opponent had been General F. P. Blair, Jr., one of Sherman's corps commanders, a Kentuckian who had migrated to Missouri. He was one of those Blair brothers of whom Lincoln thought so highly. Politics had given to him a strange bedfellow.

The South Resists.—Grant, who always objected to "political generals," but was now himself a "military President," inherited a situation in respect to which he had no adequate policy. The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amend-

[1] See p. 488, *supra*.

[2] See p. 462, *supra*. In the popular vote Grant polled 3,012,833; Seymour 2,703,249. Colfax hurt the Republican ticket.

ments to the Constitution and the various Acts of Congress during the administration of Andrew Johnson had put the white South at the mercy of its own negro freedmen and of Northern carpetbaggers. And the white South, which had lost in the War nearly half a million of its best men, was gathering its forces to reduce the freedmen to lower place and to drive out the carpetbaggers. The South had three motives. Of these, the first was race-hatred as ancient as humanity itself, but quiescent in the days of slavery. The second was sectional hatred, for the InterState War had left the North superior to the South, an offence in itself almost unforgivable but certainly unforgivable in view of the hideous and damning facts of reconstruction. Domination of a people by representatives of another section of the same people never was agreeable. The third motive was plain justice,—the desire for economy in administration, for honesty, for reasonable taxes and expenditures.

The South was resisting oppression, corruption, extravagance and social wrongs. The Ku Klux Klan was the logical outcome of an intolerable social and political situation.

The Opportunity for Corruption.—Another serious feature of the governmental condition under President Grant was the corruption of the National Government itself. The tremendous expenditures of the Civil War stand out in these figures:

	1860-61	1864-65	1865-66
Revenues	$41,345,000	$ 329,568,000	$ 558,033,000
Payments	66,357,000	1,290,313,000	520,751,000
National debt	90,867,000	2,682,592,000	2,772,712,000

By 1866 the annual interest alone upon the national debt was $133,068,000, being over three times the total national revenues of 1861. The War had cost, all told, at least $8,000,000,000 in cash, in debt, and in loss,—being one-third of all our national wealth. It is astounding, appalling to contemplate.

Corruption Defiant.—In the administration of Lincoln, the two departments most to be watched for corruption,—Treasury and War,—were headed by men who were incorruptible and implacably hostile to corruption, the former by Salmon P. Chase, succeeded in 1864 by William P. Fessenden,

and the latter by Edwin M. Stanton. Nevertheless, corruption had stalked in, and by 1869 when Grant became President, was so powerful as to be defiant.

Two Corrupt Deals.—Two illustrations of corruption will suffice,—Grant had himself seen the robbery of the Department of Missouri under Fremont by the supply of worthless rifles that exploded, blowing off the right forefingers of some hundreds of men. They cost $77,000 for about 4,000 of them, and yet because they were legally contracted for, the Supreme Court itself ordered the bill paid despite proof that the contractors themselves paid $2.75 each for arms that they sold to the Government at ten times as much. It is singularly interesting to know that what is now a multimillionaire banking firm in the East has as its chief partner one of those army contractors. A second incident occurred in Grant's own administration. The United States Government, contrary to neutrality laws, sold to a lawyer at Ilion, N. Y., an immense number of guns and rounds of ammunition from its own arsenals, in 1870, for $4,000,000; which merchandise that lawyer immediately transhipped to France for its use against Prussia in the Franco-Prussian War, receiving a price understood to be above $20,000,000. Every one believed that the profits were divided between bankers and the army ring.

The Freedmen Enfranchised.—On March 30, 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted. It provided that, throughout the United States, the suffrage should not be restricted on account of race or color or previous condition of servitude. It was distinctly aimed at the denial by the white South to the negroes of their equal rights. The ballot, to use the phrase so often in the mouth of Thaddeus Stevens, is "the muniment of freedom," the protection of the citizen against oppression. Without the ballot, the freedman was doomed to return to a condition scarcely less onerous and servile than slavery itself. A large part of the political history of the South since 1870 has been the defeat of this Fifteenth Amendment. This has been accomplished in part by threats and violence against negroes seeking to vote, and in part by educational and property qualifications with exemption to those whose grandfathers were voters. Since the grandfathers of the whites did vote and those of the freedmen, duly born in wedlock, did not vote, and proofs are wanting in the cases of

freedmen whose white grandfathers did vote, these laws have practically shut the colored race out from participation in government.

Treaty with Great Britain.—On May 8, 1871, by the Treaty of Washington, the United States and Great Britain settled the disputes arising out of the Civil War, especially the dispute as to the damages to American shipping by the "Alabama" and other Confederate commerce-destroyers built or outfitted or both in England, and agreed to arbitrate the amounts.

Grant Seeks to Annex Santo Domingo.—In 1869 the Republic of Santo Domingo sought annexation by the United States under circumstances that indicated a decidedly "jingoistic" policy on the part of the President, who had used ships of war and American Government officers rather beyond the extent of his powers as indicated by the Constitution. A proposed treaty leading to annexation was fought strenuously by Senator Charles Sumner, then the leading spirit in Congress, and was defeated. There was talk even of impeaching the President, but the failure in the case of the unpopular Johnson warned the Congressional leaders to keep their hands off in the case of Grant. This proposed annexation was quite as justifiable, however, as the invasion of Cuba twenty years later; and far more justifiable than the Mexican War.

Amnesty to the "Rebels."—In May, 1872, a new Amnesty Act somewhat relieved the political situation in the South by granting full civil rights to all but four hundred persons who had held high office in the Confederacy. The President favored even greater liberality.

Appointments to Office.—Grant was by no means dull to the need of Civil Service Reform. In 1870 he persuaded Congress to permit him to appoint a Civil Service Commission, but it had so little power that it accomplished scarcely more than setting up a standard of resistance to the evil effects of the Crawford Tenure of Office Act,[1] by which since 1820 every appointment automatically expired at the end of four years.

The Cabinets of U. S. Grant.—The military statesman, once President, turned loose all of the men whom Lincoln and Johnson had used as Secretaries. He put in none who had held Cabinet places before; and he changed his men with a

[1] See pp. 298, 301, 313, *supra*.

frequency exceeding even that of Jackson. He was a conspicuously poor judge of men. The record is this:

State,—Elihu B. Washburne of Illinois, six days; Hamilton Fish of New York, eight years.

Treasury,—George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts, four years; William H. Richardson of Massachusetts, one year; Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky, two years; Lot M. Morrill of Maine, nearly one year.

War,—John A. Rawlins of Illinois, brief term; William T. Sherman of Ohio, brief term; William W. Belknap of Iowa, six and a half years. (This was the Secretary so seriously under fire for corruption and fraud.) Alfonso Taft of Ohio, ten weeks, who was the father of President William Howard Taft, then nearly nineteen years old; James D. Cameron of Pennsylvania, nearly one year, son of the famous Simon Cameron.

Attorney-General,—Ebenezer R. Hoar of Massachusetts, one year; Amos T. Ackerman of Georgia, one year; George H. Williams of Oregon, over four years; Edwards Pierrepont of New York, a month; Alfonso Taft, nearly one year.

Postmaster-General,—J. A. J. Cresswell of Maryland, five years; James W. Marshall of Virginia, seven weeks; Marshall Jewell of Connecticut, two years; James N. Tyner of Indiana, nearly one year.

Navy,—Adolph E. Borie of Pennsylvania, three months; George M. Robeson of New Jersey, nearly eight years.

Interior,—Jacob D. Cox of Ohio, one and a half years; Columbus Delano of Ohio, five years; Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, one and a half years.

Nepotism and Corruption.—Grant was guilty of misuse of the power of appointment. He provided places for apparently all his relatives and intimate friends. No other President, before or since, ever did anything like this. Certain contracts. outrageously profitable, came to benefit persons near himself. His own style of living was such as the nation had never witnessed before in the case of any President. That Grant in 1861 was poor and continued poor throughout the war was a matter of common knowledge. Nearly all the Presidents since J. Q. Adams had saved part of their salaries for the evil days when they must go out and down from the highest station in the land. Grant was spending liberally upon

a large family. It is true that his salary was now double that of Lincoln. But small things as well as great pointed to singular relations. The Philadelphia multimillionaire and international banker, Anthony J. Drexel, was one of the most intimate friends of the President; he bragged that upon his frequent visits to the Executive Mansion (as the White House was then called) he gave a double gold eagle to each of the menials and servitors. Grant visited him in return for a week at a time.

The Atmosphere of Washington; Renomination.—The atmosphere at Washington became too thick for breathing comfortably by honest and sensitive men.[1] Yet the Republican party by acclamation unanimously proposed Grant as President for a second term. It named Henry Wilson of Massachusetts as Vice-President. He had long been Senator and Chairman of the Military Committee, and in 1862 had introduced the bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and had carried it,—virtually the same bill that Abraham Lincoln had introduced when Congressman.[2] He was Sumner's colleague and had been Lincoln's friend. It was an exceptionally strong nomination.

Horace Greeley Fusion Candidate.—But a group of Liberal Republicans had wished to secure a stronger President than Grant could be; and in May they organized a convention at Cincinnati. Their intention was to nominate for President Charles Francis Adams, whose record in diplomacy proclaimed him a man of the first class in statesmanship. But the convention was stolen by politicians who forced the nomination of Horace Greeley, editor of "The New York Tribune," then the most powerful newspaper in America. With him was nominated B. Gratz Brown, formerly Senator from Missouri. Later, the Democratic party met and endorsed this ticket in convention.

Horace Greeley took the nomination seriously, and set to work to win. His wife was a Southern woman,—from North Carolina; his running mate was a native Kentuckian, and a genuine "border State" man. Even Horatio Seymour, four years before, had carried New York State against Grant, Greeley was the apostle of the emancipation of labor from igno-

[1] See p. 84, *supra.* [2] See p. 439, *supra.*

rance, oppression, vice, and servitude. Karl Marx, the international Socialist, was the London correspondent of his paper, —at a guinea a week. By speeches everywhere, Greeley made a tremendous effort to win. But though he did in fact receive 2,834,000 votes, Grant had 3,597,000; and the Electoral College stood 286 to 63. The defeat broke Greeley's heart; and he died in a nervous collapse November 29, 1872, a victim of American politics. One man cannot at once change a great nation's habits of thought and action.

Currency Inflation Vetoed.—In his second term, Grant vetoed the Inflation Bill of 1874. Some persons thought that "the more money, the more wealth." They had seen fiat money made by the Legal Tender Act of 1862 to support the InterState War, an act never favored by Chase and McCulloch of the Treasury Department. In Lincoln, however, there still persisted some of the financial heresies that Jackson and Van Buren had exposed. Soon afterward, the Government undertook preparation for the resumption of specie payment.

M. R. Waite Chief Justice.—In 1874, following the death of Chief Justice Chase, President Grant named and the Senate confirmed Morrison R. Waite of Ohio as his successor, a good man but without the ability and reputation appropriate to that position. He was distinctly a railroad corporation attorney,—in close financial relations with the rising Vanderbilt millionaires who were on intimate terms with Grant.

The District of Columbia Victimized.—In the same year Congress took the suffrage away from all residents of the District of Columbia, and reduced the Washingtonians to helots lower than freedmen. Two reasons were given—that the freedmen held the balance of power in the Capital between the Democrats and the Republicans, and that corruption, election frauds, insecurity of life, person, and property prevailed in the District. By this move, with the strong approval of the President, the people of the Capital were thrown from the frying-pan of political wickedness into the fire of human worthlessness. Self-respecting persons no longer acquired permanent residence in the District. All are transients or else voting citizens in Maryland with second residences in Washington. Corruption, thereby, was transferred from the voting citizenship of the District to Congress governing the District.

PUBLIC CONFIDENCE LOST.—The scandals of government continued to increase. Wholesale revenue frauds in whiskey and other items were uncovered. In the postal service, the Star Route mail frauds came to light. Despite an excellent financial policy in the Treasury Department, Grant lost the public confidence. In 1876, the Republicans rejoiced in the two-term tradition. The nation's debt of gratitude had been paid, and the nation's government debauched to pay it.

THE CENTENNIAL STATE ADMITTED.—In 1876, one hundred years after the Declaration of Independence, Colorado, the Centennial State, was admitted into the Union. Though known to the world since the time of the Spanish explorer Coronado, 1540, Colorado received her first considerable population after the discovery of gold in 1858. Johnson had vetoed in 1867 the admission of this great State with 103,000 square miles of land, whose scenery and wealth are the astonishment of all the known world now.

TOUR OF THE WORLD.—In 1877, upon his retirement from the Presidency, General Grant set out upon a tour of the world, accompanied by Mrs. Grant and by one of their sons. Everywhere, he was treated with distinction. Everywhere, he made a good impression for this country and for himself. Upon his return from this trip, which included the great nations of Europe and India, China and Japan, the General went home to Galena, Illinois, arriving there late in 1880.

SEEKS THIRD TERM.—In that same year, in June, Grant had received upon 36 ballots over 300 votes in the Republican Convention at Chicago. Three factors contributed to his defeat. The first was the two-term tradition. Even some of his friends refused to vote for the nomination because they did not believe in giving any man a third term whether consecutive or recurrent. Others of his friends thought that because of this tradition even Grant could not win at the polls. The second factor in his defeat was the now general knowledge of the corruption of the Government during his administration. The third factor was the popular favor of James G. Blaine, "the plumed knight" of Maine, protagonist of high protection, in a sense a reincarnation of the magnetic Henry Clay. A "dark horse" won.[1]

HEROIC END.—In August, 1881, Grant removed to New York City, to join a banking firm by the name of Grant &

[1]See pp. 55, 165, *supra*, and p. 524, *infra*.

Ward, one of his sons being the active partner, himself a silent one. The ex-President paid no attention to the business, though he invested every dollar in his possession in it. In but three years, the firm failed, owing millions and having almost no assets. Gigantic frauds had been perpetrated by two of the partners. Grant was now penniless and in disgrace. He owed to William H. Vanderbilt for cash loans $150,000, and was also already the victim of either tuberculosis or cancer of the throat,—physicians still dispute which. His financial condition aroused the editors of "The Century Magazine,"—who included the poet Richard Watson Gilder,—and they asked him for some memoirs of the War. The sick man set himself to the unfamiliar task of writing. The disease came on apace. In June, 1885, he was removed to Mount McGregor, near Saratoga, where on July 19, he finished his great work. On the 23d he died. That spring he had been made general of the army on the retired list by vote of Congress. The heroic fight against poverty and disgrace and the perfect style of the "Personal Memoirs" conspired to give the work such a sale as to realize nearly $500,000 to his heirs, paying all his debts, and leaving a balance to his widow.

Grant's Tomb.—In memory of Grant, his fellow countrymen, by their voluntary contributions, have built a tomb of granite and porphyry on Riverside Drive in New York City, overlooking the Hudson river. In this mausoleum, the finest ever erected to an American, the body of Grant was laid in 1897 with appropriate ceremonies. There also rests now the body of Mrs. Grant, the mother of three sons and one daughter. She died in 1902.

Ulysses S. Grant was one of the most lovable persons ever in American public life, yet he had the personal dignity of the Sphinx. His was a massive yet a simple personality, a conqueror with no slightest lust of battle.

Imperturbable.—"Let us have peace," said he again and again. That was his spirit. It accounts for the vast campaigns in the West and in the East. Perhaps, also, it accounts for his failings as President in the political atmosphere of Washington after the war. He disliked controversy. He made war upon war itself. His own motive in seeking to annex Santo Domingo was to end the civil wars there.

Yet Grant was at heart a soldier, by no means a thinker or

an observer. He did the work that came to his hand. In this spirit, he fought "the greenback monster." By saying in 1876-77, that he, General Grant, would seat whichever man the Supreme Court, Congress, and the Electoral Commission ordered, he ended the talk of armed assaults by Democrats upon the White House. If he had Cleveland, however, to oppose, instead of Tilden, there might have been a different story. There might have been another civil war, had Grant not spoken. He went through life imperturbable. Jealous superiors might put him in the guardhouse, temperance zealots might ask his removal for drunkenness, reformers might denounce him for crimes of omission and of commission as President, scoundrels might steal every dollar that he had and plunge him into debt apparently beyond recovery, and incurable disease might eat his throat,—naught moved his soul. Such solidity of character is greatness. He was poised, stable, enduring, self-centered, self-secure.

Ulysses S. Grant stood before Kings unabashed, before tens of thousands in battle unexcited, before poverty calm, before scandals involving his official and personal honor unbaffled. He had seen all things in all the earth save personal loss of dear ones; and he had overcome. Was it partly because such a man is an enigma to most of his fellows that they forgave him so much and helped him to overcome?

The Estimate of a Poet.—We may perhaps best accept the estimate of the poet Ambrose Bierce, and think of General Grant,—

"He fringed the continent with fire,
The rivers ran in lines of light!
Thy will be done on earth—if right
Or wrong, he cared not to inquire.

"Let us have peace: our clouded eyes
Fill, Father, with another light
That we may see with clearer sight
Thy servant's soul in Paradise."

CHAPTER XX

Rutherford Birchard Hayes (With an Account of his Rival, Samuel J. Tilden)

1877-1881
1822-1893

38 States 1880—Population 50,155,783

Tilden elected—Hayes constitutionally inaugurated—two rich men—much money spent in the election—educated at Kenyon College and Harvard Law School—marriage—city solicitor of Cincinnati—a good soldier—Major-General of Volunteers—member House of Representatives—Governor of Ohio—dark horse candidate—a rich banker chosen as Vice-Presidential candidate—Tilden highly educated—great railroad lawyer—damages the canal ring—destroys Tweed—the popular vote—contested Electoral votes in not a few States—campaign frauds—the legal disputes—the Electoral Commission meant by Congress to be non-partisan, grossly bi-partisan—a federation, not a nation—John Sherman—specie resumption—removes Chester Alan Arthur, collector port of New York—a civil service reformer—lets reconstruction fail in the South—the changed social situation—a friend of the Indians—forest conservation—his personal and official ethics—religious and pious like Taylor and Polk—a patriarchal family like W. H. Harrison, Johnson and Grant—a beautiful old age—his personal appearance.

Tilden Elected.—Once in American history, we elected one man President, but for constitutional reasons we caused another man to serve. The man who became President made a good record; but it has been the general opinion that the candidate actually elected but ruled out on legal grounds would have made a better President.

Tilden's "Bar'l" Tapped.—At least once in our history, a deal of money was spent to corrupt the electorate. How much the candidates contributed to the campaign funds and spent otherwise in great amounts, we are not likely ever to know. Hayes was rich, but Tilden was four or five times richer.[1] Millions of dollars was spent upon each side. In the language of the politics of the time, "Tilden's bar'l was tapped." He was a bachelor and ambitious. The expenditures of Hayes were better concealed.

[1]See p. 47, *supra*.

This charge of bribery and other corruption at the elections had been made many times before. But, in 1876-7, it was proven in respect to each side. This is one reason why the Democratic candidate accepted defeat gracefully.[1]

In other words, a situation in part foreseen by the fathers came to pass. Two rich men were pitted against one another for the great stake of the Presidency. What the fathers had not provided was a proper way to decide when there was almost a tie between candidates and when the votes necessary to decide were in dispute.

Early Life of Hayes.—The nineteenth President of the people of the United States was born in Ohio, at Delaware, on October 4, 1822. His parents were well-to-do and sent him to Kenyon College and then to the Law School of Harvard. No better educated man was ever President. He secured his law diploma and admission to the bar of Ohio in the same year, 1845. After practicing a brief time at Lower Sandusky (now Fremont) Hayes removed to Cincinnati, where he soon rose to prominence, making money and becoming city solicitor in 1858.

In December, 1852, being thirty years of age, Hayes married Lucy Ware Webb of Chillicothe, then twenty-one years old, a young lady of some property.

Marriage.—In 1854 he had left the Whig party to become a Republican. From the first, he had been an anti-slavery man. As soon as the war broke out, he entered the volunteer service as major. In July, 1861, he was on the firing line in western Virginia. He served four years, winning especial distinction at South Mountain, Winchester, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek. He was a brave yet careful soldier, not an aggressive leader and in no sense a political creature. When the war was over, he was by brevet major-general of volunteers. Four wounds attested his bravery and constant patriotism.

General Hayes in Congress.—In 1864 General Hayes was elected to Congress, serving two terms as a strong anti-Johnson man, and supporter of the Republican method of reconstruction. He belonged distinctly to the "bloody-shirt" irreconcilables.

Governor of Ohio.—In 1868 Hayes was elected governor of Ohio, continuing in that office until 1872. In that year, he ran again for Congress but was defeated. In 1873, he removed

[1]See p. 517, *infra*.

to Fremont, intending to leave public life; but in 1875, his party again placed him in nomination for the governorship. A campaign followed that attracted national attention. The Democratic party declared for an indefinite enlargement of all irredeemable paper currency. The Republicans stood for resumption of specie payments and for "intrinsic money of redemption." They were now, in other words, the heirs of Jackson and Van Buren. The Democrats of 1840 were the financial teachers of the Republicans of 1875. And the Whigs of 1840 were the forerunners of the Democrats of 1875. In this campaign of 1875, Hayes again won.

The Contest for the Republican Nomination.—The Republican National Convention met at Cincinnati in June, 1876. The first ballot for Presidential candidate stood,—

Blaine	285.	Hayes	61.
O. P. Morton	124.	Hartranft	58.
Bristow	113.	Jewell	11.
Conkling	99.	Wheeler	3.

Blaine was the most brilliant man in American public life, Speaker of the House, and soon to be Senator. Conkling of New York already hated him. Blaine was a wonderful public speaker; but there was a stain on his escutcheon, certain Mulligan letters in the Credit Mobilier case of the transcontinental railroads. His wife was a Catholic, a fact that certain politicians thought would cause a considerable defection, for most of the old "Know Nothings" were now Republicans. Yet on the seventh ballot, Blaine's vote had risen to 351, but Hayes had 384, and Bristow 21. This bare majority was at once made unanimous. For the Vice-Presidential candidate, William Almon Wheeler was named. He was a banker by profession and had served five terms in Congress. He strengthened the ticket financially and as a New Yorker; but he was otherwise a selection without merit.

Opposed to this ticket of Hayes and Wheeler, the Democrats set up Samuel J. Tilden of New York and Thomas O. Hendricks of Indiana, a better ticket but at that time probably a worse party.

Samuel J. Tilden.—As Tilden was actually elected, he is entitled to more than a passing notice. He had been born at

New Lebanon, N. Y., February 9, 1814. After preparation in good schools, he attended first Yale College and then New York University. In 1841, he was admitted to the bar. Until this time his health had been poor, but afterward this greatly improved, enabling him to rise to the first rank as a lawyer in New York City. He became the great railroad lawyer of America. In politics, he followed Martin Van Buren. During the InterState War, he was a pro-Lincoln Democrat. In 1866, as Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, he unearthed the signs of the frauds of the New York City Tweed ring. In 1872, as a member of the State Assembly, he took a leading part in the impeachment of the corrupt judges by whose connivance Tweed had been successful as boss.

Governor of New York.—This exposure of Tweed and Tammany brought Tilden into public view and made him governor in 1874. There he attacked the "canal ring." He was now the best known reformer in the United States; and the highest credit would attach to the Democrats for nominating one who had exposed a Democratic ring in New York City but for the fact that they were influenced by hopes of generous slush funds for the Presidential campaign.

Hendricks was a native of Ohio, who had served in Congress both as Representative and as Senator.[1]

The Vote in 1876, Our Centennial Year.—In the election of 1876, Hayes received in all 4,033,295 votes, Tilden 4,284,265. Not only so, but Hayes had only 163 uncontested electoral votes while Tilden had 184. The number necessary for a choice was 185. There were contests in South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon. And there were materials for contests in Vermont where, however, Hayes had 24,000 majority; but the credentials were irregular. There were also other minor disputes. There were combustibles enough about, and the tinder was ready. Would any one set a spark?

Four States sent in two sets of electoral ballots. From Oregon, one set of ballots gave to Hayes three votes, the other gave to him two votes with one to Tilden.

The Constitutional Question.—The three other States each sent in two entirely different lists of electors. The constitutional question arose,—Who is to determine these votes? It was a question that involved some half dozen other questions.

1. Did the President of the Senate count the votes, while

[1]See p. 534, *infra*.

Congress looked on? Or did the two houses of Congress count them, while the President recorded the count?

2. Was this counting a judicial or an arithmetical process? If sorely arithmetical, who gave the judicial decisions requisite? Must Congress now legislate to fill the vacuum in the statutes?

3. Might the President, the Vice-President, any Justice, the Senate, or Congress go behind a State certificate and review the acts of the certifying officers?

4. Might Congress review the State election itself?

5. If so, might Congress appoint a commission to attend to these matters? How far might Congress delegate its powers?

An Electoral Commission.—Unhappily, the Senate was Republican, the House Democratic. The country seemed on the verge of civil war again.[1] Three Southern ex-Confederate States were involved; and Oregon had strong Southern sympathies due to settlers and to climate. After long dispute, on January 29, 1877, Congress created an Electoral Commission to advise and direct, their decisions to stand unless rejected by both Houses. This Commission consisted of 3 Republican Senators, 2 Republican Representatives, 2 Republican Justices of the Supreme Court, and 2 Democratic Senators, 3 Democratic Representatives, and 2 Democratic Justices; all by appointment of Congress. As the fifteenth member, these fourteen men were to select another Justice.

Its Membership.—Able men were chosen from Congress, —Edwards of Vermont, Morton of Indiana, Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, Thurman of Ohio, Bayard of Delaware, Payne of Ohio, Hunton of Virginia, Abbott and Hoar of Massachusetts, and Garfield of Ohio. The Justices were Strong, Miller, Clifford, and Field. They chose Justice Joseph P. Bradley as the fifteenth member. He was a native of New York but a resident of New Jersey. Grant had appointed him in 1870. He was a Republican. The Democrats employed as counsel before a Commission of eight great lawyers, including Charles O'Conor, Jeremiah S. Black, and Lyman Trumbull. The Republicans employed four lawyers, William M. Evarts as leader.

On the face of affairs, judging by the popular votes, candid and impartial observers thought that Hayes had really car-

[1] See p. 103, *supra*.

ried South Carolina and Oregon, and Tilden Florida and Louisiana; in other words, Tilden had a safe majority.

Frauds.—The Louisiana situation was this: The Republicans there had thrown out several thousand Democratic votes. The two parties now reversed their historic positions. The Democrats insisted that the Commission should go behind the returns of the State and correct the wrongs; the Republicans insisted upon State sovereignty as final. Here Tilden and Hendricks were estopped from pushing their case. To do so, was to abandon historic ground of constitutional interpretation.

The Commission voted 8 to 7 to take the returns *prima facie*. —Edmunds, Morton, Frelinghuysen, Hoar, Garfield, Strong, Miller, Field, and Bradley, Republicans, voted according to party. And they kept on steadily voting in every essential point 8 Republicans to 7 Democrats.

Universal Partisanship.—They were not judges but partisans.[1] In other terms, judges are as human as the rest of us. Reverence for courts is superstition; but respect for them is a patriotic duty until proof of unworthiness is established. It was established in this conspicuous instance upon the face of the record.

The Electoral Commission settled two questions,—1st, Congress determines the count; 2d, on the face of the returns, deciding merely which returns represent the State sovereignty. In February, 1887, Congress converted these principles into statute law.

Probably, this settlement is in accordance with the Constitution. Certainly, it was not in accordance with law and ethics. But the settlement asserts our federalism and denies complete nationalism.

No man knows whether Hayes or Tilden would have been elected, if no money had been spent improperly, no intimidation used, and the votes of all negroes accepted cheerfully. Ethics and politics have no necessary parallelism or interconnection; but there is a day of final accounting.

A Peace Patriot.—Tilden was a patriot for peace, and immediately issued a letter advising his partisans to acquiesce. Nor did he hope ever to run again.

A Pleasant Disappointment; His Cabinet.—In order that there should be a President on Sunday, Rutherford B. Hayes took his oath of office Saturday, March 3, and re-

[1]See p. 414, *supra*.

peated it Monday, March 5, 1877.[1] The country expected a weak administration and was considerably and happily disappointed. His cabinet was sound and enduring.

State,—William M. Evarts of New York.

Treasury,—John Sherman of Ohio.

War,—George W. McCrary of Iowa, two and a half years; Alexander Ramsey of Minnesota, one and a half years.

Attorney-General,—Charles Devens of Massachusetts.

Postmaster-General,—D. McK. Key of Tennessee, three years; Horace Maynard of Tennessee, nearly one year.

Navy,—Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, nearly four years; Nathan Goff, Jr., of West Virginia, two months.

Interior,—Carl Schurz of Missouri.

Of these men, four,—Evarts, Sherman, Devens, and Schurz,—were of unusual ability for Cabinet Secretaries. Schurz was a brilliant, erratic, loyal German revolutionary emigré who had a war record decidedly worth while.

Silver Legal Tender.—A bill went through Congress making the silver dollar of 412½ grains legal tender for all debts, unless anything else was specifically named in the contract. Hayes vetoed this bill; but Congress passed it over his veto.

Specie Payment Resumed.—Nevertheless, with the magnificent support of John Sherman, one of the clearest-headed statesmen whom this country ever saw, on January 1, 1879, specie payment was resumed, without any resultant panic, as had been prophesied. On the contrary, the business of the country immediately improved. In his December, 1879, message, Hayes urged Congress to repeal the silver act, to suspend the coinage of silver, and to withdraw all legal tender money—greenbacks—from circulation. But Congress failed to act.

Civil Service Reform.—The President tried to get money for the work of the Civil Service Commission appointed by Grant, but failed. Nevertheless, he introduced at many points in the service competitive examinations. These included the post office and custom house in New York. He ordered that "no officer should be required or permitted to take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns" and tried to put an end to the great evil of assessing officers and clerks for campaign purposes, an evil foreseen by the makers of the Constitution as tending

[1] In the same situation, Taylor waited until Monday.

to build up a self-perpetuating bureaucracy.[1] Because they persisted in using their offices for partisan ends, he removed Chester Alan Arthur,[2] the collector at the port of New York; Alonzo B. Cornell, the naval officer there, and George H. Sharpe, the surveyor of customs; and others elsewhere. Arthur afterward became President; Cornell, Governor of New York; and Sharpe Speaker of the New York Assembly. These removals of prominent men showed the mettle of President Hayes and helped forward the cause of civil service reform. They were, of course, made possible only because of the failure of the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. But they made Senator Roscoe Conkling a bitter enemy of the President.

Carpet-Bag Governments Fall.—Hayes tried to make friends with the natural leaders of the South. He withdrew the Federal troops from the State Capitals and allowed the carpet-bag governments to fall. Of course, this weakened the Republican party at the South. Many considered this a betrayal of the freedmen. With the removal of the troops, the Ku Klux Klan disappeared.

The Races Separated.—By this time the race-situation in the South had greatly changed. The race-miscegenation, so generally characteristic of humanity under similar conditions, which, prior to 1860, had been so steadily increasing that a mestizo South with almost no whites or blacks was possible within a hundred years,[3] had almost entirely ceased. In 1831, Virginia had proposed emancipation partly for this reason. It is highly interesting to note that Connecticut had chattel slaves until 1850. After the war, the attempt of the freedmen to gain control of the "Black Belt" had ended in race-alienation, which, however, since the time of Hayes is gradually declining. The colored man and the true negro constitute two social castes below the white. There is no other possible basis of peaceful social relations. Hayes was statesman enough to help to this solution of the race problem.

The urban colored man is one "nation"; the rural negro another "nation." The former are "brights" (opprobriously styled "yallers"); the latter are "browns" (opprobriously

[1] See p. 377, *infra.*

[2] See pp. 532, 533, *infra.*

[3] See J. F. Rhodes' *History of the United States after the Compromise of 1850.*

styled "negroes" or "blacks"). They are more hostile to one another, more resentful, than to the whites.

Hayes did other wise things,—among them gave much attention to ameliorating the condition of the Indians, and began that forest conservation since then become so great a political issue.

His Personal Notions.—But not only did he offend Republican politicians by attacks upon the spoils system,—Hayes had certain personal notions, never serving wine or alcoholic stimulants of any kind at the White House, nor smoking cigars. Moreover, he never had a conversation without a record taken then and there by a shorthand writer. He had no quiet conferences for deals. He was a strictly religious man, like Zachary Taylor and Polk; and the White House sheltered a very serious household. Moreover, the Democratic politicians always talked of the cloud upon his title. He was unpopular,—therefore an impossible candidate, this man who had many less than the majority of the popular vote and who had been railroaded into office upon legal technicalities.

In Old Age.—His old age was very happy. Great universities gave him their highest degrees. He was President of the National Prison (reform) Association; and also of the Board of Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund to promote industrial education among the colored people of the South. He worked steadily and faithfully for many philanthropic causes, giving not only his time but also money.

In 1889, his wife, the mother of seven sons and of one daughter, died. Three years later, upon January 17, 1893, he passed away from paralysis of the heart, at Fremont, being then seventy years old. The early Presidents evidently had easier lives.

Personal Appearance.—Rutherford B. Hayes was a man of attractive personal appearance,—large, dignified, quiet, decisive, of a military-bearing, and in later years of a fatherly, even patriarchal cast of countenance and manner. His was a Presidential type of personality.

CHAPTER XXI

James Abram Garfield

1881
1831-1881

39 States Population 51,000,000

The assassin a social symptom—early life of Garfield—the canal boat experience—school teaching—educated at Williams College—Hiram College President—in politics as an orator—State Assemblyman—lawyer—Colonel Ohio Volunteers—Major-General—Representative in Congress—marriage—a radical—a leader and a student—scandals—member Electoral Commission—United States Senator-elect—"Anything to beat Grant"—a dark horse candidate—the Democratic ticket—a scurrilous campaign—President—his Cabinet—the New York half-breeds—the assassination—died poor—what might have been.

The Assassin a Social Symptom.—Under President Garfield, the spoils system bore bitter fruit. But it took more than the spoils system to make an assassin of Charles Julius Guiteau. He had been a lawyer in Chicago and author of books upon moral and religious questions, books that displayed him as an overschooled mediocre mind, dizzy with vagaries. But it took more than vagaries,—misunderstood by him to be metaphysics and ethics,—to make an assassin of Guiteau at thirty-nine years of age. He must go to Washington, live in its boarding houses, talk politics with its broken-down politicians, with its life's failures turned office-seekers, and occasionally becoming clerks, and drench himself in the same miserable society whence John Wilkes Booth issued to slay Lincoln. The man whom the courts executed on June 30, 1882, for shooting James A. Garfield on July 2, 1881, was weak-minded and perverted and vicious. The wrongs of the "Stalwarts" of New York[1] sizzled in his mind because it was originally and by chosen associates an overheated mind. He thought that he was fitted to be an American consul somewhere,—preferably at Paris,—but anywhere with honor and salary, while in fact he was not fit to be alive and loose among his fellow Americans. In several ways, he was a social symptom, a sign of the times, a product and an example of warning. Like Booth and Czolgoscz, the other murderers of Presidents,

[1]See p. 529, *infra.*

he was also essentially a foreigner, for the parents of all three were foreign-born.

No Real Protection for Presidents.—The most miserable feature of the assassinations of Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley is that we set these men up in the open to be the targets of criminals against society; and we have yet to discover any way to protect the targets from criminals.

Early Life.—Garfield was born on November 19, 1831, in a log-cabin in Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. This was the Western Reserve, settled by enterprising Yankees, mostly from Connecticut. His father was a farmer, and James worked on the farm, attending district school only in winter. When he was sixteen years old, he left his home and mother, by this time a widow, intending to make a living as a sailor. But the ship captain to whom he applied in Cleveland upon Lake Erie for a berth and a job drove the awkward country boy away. Soon, the lad found work as helper on a canalboat. He drove the mules and labored as deckhand for some months. Out of his birth in a log-cabin and this experience as a canalboat boy, material was to be gathered to rank Garfield in later history with Lincoln "the railsplitter," Johnson "the tailor," and other Presidents of humble beginnings.

Educated at Williams College.—Life on the canal soon gave Garfield malarial fever; and, racked by ague, he went home to the farm. He worked as rural school teacher, as carpenter, and as farmhand indifferently while he made his way through a seminary at Chester, Ohio, and the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute at Hiram. He had seen enough of the world to know the importance of education and now set out for Williams College in Massachusetts, where he was graduated in 1856 at twenty-four years of age. Of this institution, his son, Henry A. Garfield, born in 1863, became President in 1908.

Small College President.—Immediately after graduation, James Abram Garfield returned to the Hiram Institute as teacher of Greek and Latin. In 1857, the institute became a college; and Garfield, its first President.

His Personality.—Already, he was interested in politics. He was a big, vigorous, handsome young man of engaging manners, sympathetic, and affable; and the world cheerfully opened before him. In 1857 and in 1858, he made many

political speeches as an ardent anti-slavery man, stirred by the effects of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.[1] In 1859, his District sent him to the State Senate, though he continued to serve as President of little Hiram College. In the State Legislature, he took advanced, and at times rather lonely, ground, and was usually beaten as too radical. In 1861 he was admitted to the bar, for he had found time to study law despite his other occupations.

Major-General.—Early in 1861, Garfield became Colonel of the 42d Ohio Volunteers, with many Hiram College students in the ranks. He did brilliant service in Kentucky, becoming brigadier-general, and early in 1862 defeating the Confederates in Eastern Kentucky at Prestonburg. At Shiloh, his corps was part of that reserve under General Buell which won the second day's fight. In 1863, he was chief of staff under Rosecrans in the Army of Cumberland. His bravery at Chickamauga led to his promotion to be major-general of volunteers.

Representative in Congress.—Marriage and Family.—But though a good soldier, Garfield was destined to another field of combat, the floor of Congress. In 1862, his district elected him a Representative, and resigning from the army, he took his seat in December, 1863, being then thirty-two years of age. In 1858 he had married Lucretia Rudolph, a lady of twenty-six years; and a growing family, together with natural instincts to study and to debate, led him from the camp to the forum. Once in Congress, he was soon notable as a radical of the radicals. He advocated the confiscation of the private property of the Confederates,—using the usual terms of "rebel" and "traitor,"—to repay in part the ruin that, according to him, they had "made" but in truth suffered themselves, and threatened their Northern brothers. Garfield voted for the Wade-Davis resolution denouncing Lincoln as supine. When history is really written with fullness of truth, a few centuries hence, what revelations our descendants will have of the reciprocal views of the great in 1861-1865! Lincoln looked upon Garfield as a brash, virulent youngster; but stiffened his back notwithstanding.

A Diligent Student of Public Affairs.—General Garfield soon rose to be chairman of some important committees,—military affairs, banking and currency, and appropriations. He

[1] See p. 410, *supra*.

was not only ready and brilliant; he was also a prodigiously hard worker. No man in Congress ever prepared his speeches and reports more thoroughly. He studied in the Library of Congress mornings and nights, and at noon and in the afternoon was master on the floor because he had the facts and the history. Of all the business relating to the three constitutional amendments, the Freedmen's Bureau, with its enormous powers, reconstruction, the national debt, the currency, taxation of bonds, national aid to education, the revenues, General Garfield was the foremost exponent in the House, where he served until 1880, when he was elected to the Senate.

A Fight for Re-election.—Not every one of Garfield's reëlections came easily. In 1874, he was accused of corruption in the Credit Mobilier affair,[1] but he made a village-to-village and house-to-house canvass, and won in a year of general disaster to the Republican party. He was a man now of great fascination upon the platform, and his manners were socially graceful and pleasing. These qualities rather than proof of innocence saved him.

In 1877 he served on the Electoral Commission and voted every time for his party. In the same year, when Blaine left the House and the floor leadership to become Senator from Maine, Garfield took his place.

Again a Dark Horse Wins.—In 1880, at the Republican Convention, New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois united to nominate General Grant for a third term. These men were known as "Stalwarts." They were Roscoe Conkling men, defenders of the spoils system. A second faction of the party stood for James G. Blaine. A third faction were for John Sherman of Ohio, who had agreed with Tilden not to run again for the Presidency lest civil disorder set in because of the old rancor. The forces for Secretary Sherman were headed and managed by Garfield, then Senator-elect.

The first ballot stood

Grant 304, Blaine 284, Sherman 93, Edmunds 34, Washburne 30, Windom 10.

On thirty-two succeeding ballots, Garfield had one or two votes, save in five ballots, when he had none.

The thirty-fourth ballot gave Garfield 17 votes, the thirty-fifth gave him 50, taken mostly from Blaine and Edmunds.

The thirty-six ballots stood—

[1] See p. 535, *infra*.

Grant 307, Blaine 42, Sherman 3, Washburne 23, Garfield 399. Necessary for a choice 387.

For Vice-President, the party then went to the other wing and chose a Stalwart, the officeholder, whom Hayes upon the recommendation of John Sherman had removed from the collectorship of the port, Chester Alan Arthur.

In the convention and afterward, it was charged that Garfield had sold John Sherman out and traded with Blaine. But whether or not the charge was true, the cry "Anything to beat Grant" had resulted in the coming in of a dark horse.

THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET.—Against Garfield and Arthur, the Democrats named Hancock and English. General Winfield Scott Hancock was a gallant soldier, who had seen service in the Mexican War, and had been corps or division commander at Antietam, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, and Spottsylvania Court House. His was indeed the division at Gettysburg against which Pickett's charge, the high tide of the "Rebellion," broke in vain. Physically, he was a Saul for size and very handsome.

William H. English had served in Congress during the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan. He was a banker of high standing. Hancock proved a picturesque figure. He knew but little more of politics than Zachary Taylor, and said bluntly that "the tariff is a local question." It certainly is, as the paid lobbyist and logrollers well understand.

A SCANDALOUS CAMPAIGN.—The campaign was scurrilous. Garfield was said to have received a dividend of Credit Mobilier Company stock amounting to $329, and the cities of the country were placarded with "329." A forged letter quoted him as opposed to the exclusion of the Chinese. Of course, he lost the South, for he had been a strong supporter of the "Force" acts.

PRESIDENT.—In November the popular vote stood:

For Garfield 4,454,416; for Hancock 4,444,952.

Garfield had but 9500 plurality. The Greenbackers had cast over 300,000 votes so that like many other Presidents, Garfield was the choice of only the largest minority as against the field. But in the Electoral College, he received 214 electoral votes to 155 for Hancock, who carried the South and New Jersey, Nevada, and California. But for the forged letter, Garfield would have won the two Pacific section States.

His Cabinet.—For Secretary of State and the premier of his Cabinet, Garfield chose James G. Blaine. It was a move due to a political necessity, comparable with the moves of J. Q. Adams in choosing Henry Clay and of Abraham Lincoln in choosing William H. Seward and Simon Cameron. In so doing, he espoused the cause of the "Half-breeds" against the "Stalwarts." Senatorial courtesy calls upon the President to consult the Senators about all appointments to high offices in their States. But, ignoring Roscoe Conkling and Thomas G. Platt, Garfield made William H. Robertson Collector of the Port of New York. The two Senators thereupon resigned. When they appealed to their Legislatures for reëlection, each was defeated, but whether this would have happened but for the murder of Garfield, it is idle to inquire.

Assassination.—In the angry soul of a man in Washington, there came the notion of justice to the Stalwarts. Let Garfield die, and Arthur, a stalwart, will be President. The evil of the balancing of factions bore this strange result. On July 2, 1881, Guiteau shot Garfield at the Washington railway station as he was about to go away to join his wife and family in a brief vacation. The wound was abdominal, and because of his fine health and great physical strength, the surgeons hoped to save him. The patient was taken to a college at Elberon, N. J., by the sea; but despite all that the science and art of medicine knew how to do then, he died, after the bravest kind of struggle, on September 19, being two months less than fifty years old.

Bright Hopes Ended.—Garfield was at one time—the fall of 1880—Congressman, Senator-elect, and President-elect. In sheer ability, in grasp of problems of national import and destiny, in high patriotism, in oratory, and in scholarship, he should rank among the better Presidents, but like William Henry Harrison, he died too early to make an impression in the record of the Presidency. What his success would have been is all in the realm of conjecture.

The assassination of Garfield was a blow to James G. Blaine, to whom the Secretaryship of State in 1881 meant opportunity. With Garfield as President and Blaine virtually as minister of foreign affairs and political leader for the administration, the country seemed about to enter upon its

most brilliant and progressive epoch in time of peace. The bullet of an assassin changed all that.

The young President left no property, not even a cash balance. This fact in itself has tended to clear his reputation of the campaign charges of serious financial dishonor. His widow, the mother of four sons and one daughter, lived until 1909.

THE CABINET OF GARFIELD.—

State,—James G. Blaine of Maine.

Treasury,—William Windom of Minnesota.

War,—Robert T. Lincoln of Illinois, who had left Harvard to become Captain U. S. A. at twenty years of age.

Attorney-General,—Wayne McVeagh of Pennsylvania.

Postmaster-General,—Thomas L. James of New York.

Navy,—William H. Hunt of Louisiana.

Interior,—Samuel J. Kirkwood of Iowa.

CHAPTER XXII

CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR

1881-1885
1830-1886

39 States Population 57,000,000

A politically unintended succession—early life—educated at Union College—a school principal—lawyer—helps negro equality—personal appearance—prominent in State militia—Collector Port of New York—removed—the balanced ticket—opposes spoils system when President—Pendleton—Chinese Exclusion Act—vetoed river and harbor improvement bill—tariff revision—polygamy in Utah—restrictions upon immigration—early a widower—great entertainer—not renominated—poor—soon died of disease and a broken heart.

ANOTHER UNINTENDED SUCCESSION.—The twenty-first President was the fourth Vice-President to become head of the nation due to the death of his chief. These successions were coming now with excessive frequency,—in 1841, in 1850, in 1865, and in 1881. In two instances, the deaths were

due to the climate of Washington,[1]—as beyond doubt was that also of Polk in 1849, just following his term of office. But in two other instances, the deaths were due to assassinations,—to deliberately planned, carefully executed murders. The assassination of Garfield in July and his death in November had put the Vice-President, a political opponent within the same party, in a most trying position. Efforts were made by the extremists to connect the "Stalwarts" with Guiteau's mad deed.

But the course of Arthur as soon as he became President showed that he had in him the qualities of a fairly competent politician, and his record was far better than impartial observers anticipated. This had happened before as in the case of Hayes. It has amply justified the American notion of suspending judgment and giving the new man in office his "head" and his chance,—to which notion the recall now coming into fashion is directly contrary.

Early Life; Educated at Union College.—Chester Alan Arthur was born at Fairfield, Franklin County, Vermont, on October 5, 1830. His father was a Baptist preacher, of Scotch-Irish ancestry, having indeed himself migrated from County Antrim, Ireland, when eighteen years of age. His mother, Malvina Stone, was an American girl, but resident in Canada at the time of her marriage. His parents gave this son a thorough education. He was graduated at Union College in 1848, taking high rank. He then taught school, becoming principal of the Pownall village academy in Vermont and using school-teaching as a stepping stone. He also studied law. He removed to New York City and was admitted to the bar there in 1854.

Helps Negroes.—Hitherto, Arthur had been a Whig, but in 1854 he went as a delegate to the Republican State Convention at Saratoga. Despite his youth, he soon made a reputation as a lawyer, arguing as special counsel for the State in the "Lemmon slave case" that slaves brought into New York State, though in transit between two slave States, became *ipso facto* free. This was Lord Mansfield's doctrine.[2] The highest State courts sustained the doctrine; but, of course, it was nullified by the Dred Scott decision. In 1855, Arthur obtained a

[1] See pp. 371, 389, 398, *supra*.

[2] See p. 418, *supra*.

decision that negroes should have in New York State the same street railroad accommodations as white persons.

Personal Appearance.—Tall, large, with handsome head and brilliant eyes, Chester A. Arthur was quick to adapt himself to the manners of the best society as judged by exponents of wealth and fashion. He became fastidious in dress and unusually suave in manner.

Collector of Port of New York.—Before the War, he was judge-advocate of the Second Brigade of New York State militia, and thereafter became successively engineer-in-chief of the State militia, inspector-general, and quartermaster-general, which last office he held until 1863, when he resigned. In 1871, he became Collector of the Port of New York by appointment of President Grant. In 1877, he was chairman of the Republican Central Committee of the City of New York. When President Hayes issued his order against the political activities of office-holders, Collector Arthur ignored the order.[1] The "Stalwarts" objected vigorously to the removal of Arthur by Hayes, asserting truly that all other officeholders were doing political work and that Arthur, Cornell, and Sharpe were being treated as scapegoats for merely continuing to do what half a century of custom had in a sense ratified, even sanctified. But the only way to reform is to begin to reform; Hayes began with big men, which was just though unusual.

Vice-Presidential Candidate.—In 1880 Arthur was delegate-at-large from New York State to the Republican National Convention. As the conspicuous victim of "Half-breed" politics, the "Stalwart" leader was placed on the ticket with Garfield. The nomination was not well received. Arthur was looked upon as a typical New York State politician. But as the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate was also coldly received by the public, the struggle turned mainly upon the personalities of Garfield and Hancock. The party leaders managed to put the currency and tariff issues in the background. Garfield, Arthur, and English were all sound-money men; and Hancock, hoping to hold the Pennsylvania protectionists,—himself being a Pennsylvanian,—protested that protection was not big enough for a national issue.[2]

[1] See p. 519, *supra*.

[2] See p. 525, *supra*. Hancock asserted that "log-rolling" is its only legislative method.

In the patronage fight over the appointment of Robertson[1] as Collector, the partisan course pursued by Vice-President Arthur greatly offended the country. And when it became probable that Garfield would die, patriots were alarmed.

Civil Service Reform.—Early in his administration, President Arthur gave the strongest support to the Pendleton bill to establish the merit system in the place of the spoils system. The assassination of Garfield convinced the country that this source of anger and bitterness must be done away. George H. Pendleton had several items to his discredit,—among them running as Vice-President on the ticket with George B. McClellan in 1864; and another,—advocating the Greenbacker delusions after the war; but his Civil Service Reform bill went far to straighten him up. He was now Senator from Ohio. In 1885 President Cleveland made him Minister to Germany, in recognition of the Pendleton Act in Arthur's administration. By this law, the Civil Service Commission was given duties, powers, and money.

Not Afraid to Veto Bills.—In 1882 President Arthur vetoed a Chinese Exclusion bill, to run twenty years, asserting that the time was too long and seeking to avoid international disputes with China. He vetoed also an $18,000,000 River and Harbor Improvement bill, partly because these "pork bills" are always somewhat corrupt steals from the public treasury, partly from disbelief in the principle. There was a big surplus in the Treasury, and the curse of it was that a surplus is a bribe to extravagance. Later, he signed a bill excluding the Chinese for ten years.

In 1883, a new Tariff Act was passed, the first thorough revision of customs duties since the InterState War, but it pleased neither low nor high tariff partisans.

The Mormons.—The administration of Arthur saw the passage of the Edmunds Anti-polygamy Act. In 1878 the Supreme Court had decided that Congress could prohibit polygamy in the Territories. The new Act established fines and imprisonment for polygamists and deprived them of the suffrage and of the right to hold office. A thousand Mormons were soon sent to the penitentiary. But in later years convictions have become increasingly difficult to secure.

Immigration.—In 1882 and in 1885, Congress passed laws forbidding lunatics, idiots, paupers, convicts, and contract

[1]See p. 526, *supra*.

laborers from landing upon our shores. The President's unusually long experience of eight years as Collector of the Port of New York had taught him that the United States was becoming the dumping-ground of Europe. Arthur argued that "the refuge of the oppressed" need not be the sewage-basin of the unfit.

A Gay Social Life at the White House.—In 1858 Arthur had married a lady of twenty-one years, Ellen Lewis Herndon. They had a son and a daughter; but the mother had died in 1880. Arthur remained a widower. But with his sister, who was a widow, and his daughter (the son was at Princeton), he lived a gay life as President, entertaining and being entertained beyond any other tenant of the White House. His midnight suppers and revels were as famous as his beautiful four-in-hand and the other horses that he loved —to ride behind, for he never drove himself or rode in the saddle.

His Cabinet.—

State,—Frederick T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey.

Treasury,—Charles J. Folger of New York, three years; Walter Q. Gresham of Indiana, one month, various *ad interim*.

War,—Robert T. Lincoln of Illinois.

Attorney-General,—Benjamin H. Brewster of Pennsylvania.

Postmaster-General,—Timothy O. Howe of Wisconsin, one and a half years; Walter Q. Gresham, over one year; Frank Hatton of Iowa, a half year.

Navy,—William E. Chandler of New Hampshire.

Interior,—Henry M. Teller of Iowa, seven months; Samuel J. Kirkwood of Colorado, three years.

In 1884, believing that he had rendered good service, Arthur sought the nomination for President. But though at the start he made an excellent showing, quite beyond Tyler or Fillmore or Johnson, at the Republican Convention the vote on the first ballot stood:

Blaine 334½, Arthur 278, miscellaneous 160½, and no choice.

On the fourth ballot Blaine won.

Early Death.—Though Arthur had spent his summers in a government residence at the Soldiers' Home in Washington, the climate had proven serious for a man of his physique. Once

back in New York, a poor man, accustomed to free and high living, he soon became ill. His friends said that his heart was broken. At fifty-six years of age, upon November 18, 1886, the former President died of a complication of diseases.

It seems probable that in New York State at least he would have been a stronger candidate against Cleveland than Blaine was; but in politics there are no ethics and in history no alternatives.

CHAPTER XXIII

(Stephen) Grover Cleveland

1885-1889
1893-1897
1837-1908

39 States — Population 59,000,000
44-45 States — 69,000,000
Admitted: Utah.

A strong President—personal appearance—comparisons with other Presidents—a gift of writing so as to be read—no office-seeker—early life—afloat as a boy—bad habits—Sheriff—private law practice—Mayor of Buffalo—Governor of New York by great vote—no spoilsman—won Presidency by very narrow margin—Blaine—villainous charges, some of them true—"Tell the truth"—"Rum, Romanism and Rebellion"—a civil service reformer—vetoed more bills than all other Presidents together—pensions—Inter-State Commerce Commission—the Presidential succession—Chinese Exclusion—marriage silenced certain scandals—defeated for President, though making great gain in the popular vote—practiced law in New York City—forest conservation—reëlected—a political revolution, still more votes—the panic of 1893—the coinage of silver—bond sales—Force Act formally repealed—hard times—strikes—refused to annex Hawaii—tariff-revision—income tax unconstitutional—the Venezuela boundary message—retired to Princeton—insurance company trustee—wrote several books—an outdoors man.

A Strong President.—Indisputably, one of the half-dozen great Presidents, Cleveland displayed the powers of his office in time of peace.

Personal Appearance and Some Characteristics.—Physically, he was the largest man to attain the Presidency

up to his time,—a larger man than George Washington,—and weighing over two hundred and fifty pounds. Like Arthur, he was the son of a clergyman. Like Tyler and Johnson, he had Congress always against him, and also the party responsible for his election to office. Like Jefferson and Lincoln, he had the gift of writing. His sayings,—"A public office is a public trust," "Tell the truth," "The people support the government; but the government does not support the people," "A condition, not a theory, confronts us,"—his expressions, "innocuous desuetude," "since mankind first went to war," "the pension list a roll of honor," caught the public ear. His President's Messages to Congress were read by the public with an interest and conviction known before only in the cases of Jefferson, of Jackson, and of Lincoln. He was no stylist. His English had none of the fluency of Jefferson's, little of the piquant charm of Lincoln's; but like Jackson he wrote with the force of a fighter. It was not the English of a swordsman but of an artillerist, all his heavy batteries booming. Back of his words were deeds; and out of them rose prospects of deeds.

Not an Office Seeker.—Cleveland never sought an office,—never sought either nomination or election. He was the least eager of men. He inspired confidence and justified it; often, he aroused rage and justified that also. Though he came from New York State, he never was a New York politician or any other kind of politician. Whether right or wrong, he was a statesman and a great executive. He thought and acted in the large and not in the little, in sincerity and not in policy, for principles, not for persons.

Early Life.—Stephen Grover Cleveland was born in the village of Caldwell, Essex County, northeastern New Jersey, on March 18. 1837. His father came of old colonial stock of descent from Moses Cleveland, who had emigrated from England to Massachusetts in 1835.[1] In his capacity of Presbyterian clergyman, the Reverend Richard F. Cleveland soon moved into New York State where he died, when Grover, the fifth of nine children, was seventeen years old. The youth drifted about from one occupation and community to another until, in 1855, he arrived in a lawyer's office in Buffalo as a clerk on four dollars a week. In 1859 he was admitted to the bar. In 1863 he became by appointment assistant district attorney of Erie County, which includes Buffalo. He took but

[1]See pp. 88, 109, 110, *supra*.

little interest in the war, and when drafted, hired a substitute. At this time, neither his health nor his habits were good. In 1865 he ran for the office of district attorney but was defeated. His life at this period was coarse and bold. He drank hard and associated with persons not respectable.

Sheriff of Erie County, New York.—In 1869 the Democratic party of his county named him for the profitable office of sheriff. He was popular partly because of his rough manners, and though the county was normally Republican, was elected by a large majority. He retired in 1873 with a record for unusual efficiency and for scrupulous honesty in office. For the next eight years he devoted himself to the law, acquiring a good practice. His personal habits improved, and he grew in favor with the so-called better classes.

In 1881 the Democrats of Buffalo nominated him for mayor. Corruption and maladministration characterized the city government. As a reform candidate, the ex-sheriff won by a handsome vote. His administration was signally successful. The new mayor cleaned house under the law and projected new laws.

Governor of New York.—In the next year the Democratic party of the State nominated Mayor Cleveland of Buffalo for governor. Against a weak candidate, at a period of dissension between the Stalwarts and the Halfbreeds, Cleveland won a tremendous victory. The Stalwart candidate was C. J. Folger, at the time Secretary of the Treasury under Arthur. "Federal interferences with State elections" was the battle-cry. Cleveland's plurality was 193,000.

As governor, Cleveland chose business men for the appointive offices, not politicians nor political heelers. He urged successfully a civil service reform law. He vetoed freely measures that he did not like. He had been a good sheriff, and a better mayor. He was one of the best governors in the history of New York State.

Nominated for President.—In 1884 the Democratic party was hungry for power at Washington. At the National Convention, Governor Cleveland had over twice as many votes on the first ballot as his next competitor, but under the two-thirds rule not quite enough to win. On the second ballot he had nearly all the votes, and the nomination was made unanimous. As his running mate, Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana

was chosen. He had been the candidate with Tilden at the time of the "fraud of 1876"; and his nomination, it was thought, would hold all the party men while Cleveland's name would attract the reformers and "Mugwumps," as the independent Republicans were styled.

JAMES G. BLAINE, THE PLUMED KNIGHT OF MAINE.—The Republicans named James G. Blaine and John A. Logan. The latter was one of the ablest men developed by the InterState War.

Blaine was a journalist who had taken a prominent part in Congress during the InterState War, and was now regarded as the first of the Republican leaders. At this time, he was Senator-elect from Maine.

OUR MOST SCURRILOUS CAMPAIGN.—There ensued the most bitter and villainous of the Presidential campaigns in the history of this country. It was proven that Cleveland was the father of a natural son by one Maria Halpin; the boy was then a dozen years old. Cleveland calmly said to his managers, "Tell the truth!"

This frankness won for him the support of the brilliant preacher, Henry Ward Beecher, and saved him many votes. It was generally known that the same case could be proven against Blaine also, but Cleveland resolutely set his face against such a counter-attack. The fact that he had sent another man than himself to be shot at by the Confederates, at a cost of three hundred dollars in bounty paid, was used with damaging effect against Cleveland. But the charges against Blaine as a member of Congress were numerous, and though at the time not fully proven, helped to his defeat. The charges mainly concerned the transcontinental railroad propositions. Similar charges were made against Logan also.

THE MAIN ISSUE.—But the election turned, on the whole, upon the large issue that Cleveland represented the new ideas of honest, economical and efficient government, while Blaine represented the old Civil War ideas. Cleveland was "a new man"; Blaine had a long record.

THE SPOKE IN THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE.—Cleveland stayed at home and let the workers carry on the struggle. But Blaine made a marvellous campaign, speaking upon hundreds of occasions in many States. He was tired and proposed to rest in New York. There at a banquet on October 29, a few days

before the election, Reverend Doctor Burchard, aged and venerable, arose and in a dull toast said that the Democratic party represented "rum, Romanism, and rebellion." Blaine, who was weary and inattentive, failed to catch the phrase and to repudiate it; in other words, apparently he acquiesced in it. Next day the country rang with the phrase. Some papers even said that Blaine himself had uttered it. His own wife was a Roman Catholic, but this did not save him. It was a campaign "roorback," too late to be answered. Cleveland carried New York State by scarcely 1000 votes. That the Burchard remark changed 600 votes from Blaine to Cleveland, no political observer doubts. Those less than 600 votes cost him the Presidency, for with New York Cleveland had in the Electoral College 219 votes to 182. Had New York gone to Blaine, he would have had 216 to 185.

It was, of course, true that the Democratic party had in it far more Secessionists and Copperheads than the Republican; but that it distinctly represented rum or Romanism or rebellion as against the Republicans for temperance or Protestantism or unionism was false. This remark put into the Presidency a bedrock serious man instead of a statesman of high imagination, a political genius. It was a crisis in our history. Blaine would have gone in for internationalism; Cleveland went in for domestic improvement.

The Cabinet of Cleveland.—For his Cabinet, the first Democrat since Buchanan, chose able men. Its membership was as follows, viz.:

State,—Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware.

Treasury,—Daniel Manning of New York, two years; Charles S. Fairchild of New York, two years.

War,—William C. Endicott of Massachusetts.

Attorney-General,—Augustus H. Garland of Arkansas.

Postmaster-General,—William F. Vilas of Wisconsin, nearly three years; Don M. Dickinson of Michigan, over one year.

Navy,—William C. Whitney of New York.

Interior,—L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi, nearly three years; William F. Vilas, over one year.

Agriculture (a new Department),—Norman J. Coleman of Missouri, three weeks.

Great Strength and Force.—The new President had the Pendleton Civil Service Act to carry out.[1] To its express pro-

[1] See pp. 533, 534, *supra*.

visions for the clerks of lowest grade, he added 12,000 offices, nearly fifty per cent. more than the original quota. He vetoed 413 bills, of which about 300 were private pensions for individuals. This was more than all his predecessors together. The most important bill concerned soldiers' dependents; it seemed to open the doors to fraud. The argument for many pensions was that the nation owes its life to the soldiers of 1861-65; and that the promises held out in order to secure enlistments after 1862 were golden. Many men stayed at home, and some of these grew rich. But the arguments against pensions were stronger with Cleveland than were those for them. Patriotism is never mercenary. The dependents, save *bona fide* wives, orphans and widows of that period, had no ethical claim. History, as judged by the just, is likely to say that the United States after 1865 paid too many pensions and too small ones. Cleveland seldom vetoed pensions because they were too large.

In his annual message of 1887, he attacked the revenue policy by which a great surplus was being accumulated in the treasury. The Mills bill for reducing the tariff followed, but was defeated in the Senate.

InterState Commerce.—This Forty-ninth Congress, however, passed the InterState Commerce Act appointing a Commission, since grown to enormous powers, to maintain fair and uniform rates on all railroads and steamboat lines between States.

The Presidential Succession.—During this first administration, owing to the death of Vice-President Hendricks in 1885, Congress fixed the Presidential Succession as follows,—viz.: After the Vice-President, the Secretaries of State, Treasury, War, Attorney-General, Postmaster-General, the Secretaries of the Navy and of the Interior. This was the historical order of their creation. Only an epidemic disease, an explosion when all were present, or a similar catastrophe, could remove all of these officers so fast as to prevent their replacement so that the Presidency should be vacant even one day. In this same administration, Congress determined that in the case of any dispute over a vote in the Electoral College, the State involved should decide it; if the State declines or otherwise fails to do so, then Congress decides.

In 1888 Congress passed a new Chinese Exclusion Act,

which, being renewed in 1892 and in 1902, has completely shut out the race. In the same year, upon the death of Waite, Cleveland appointed Melville W. Fuller of Chicago, Chief Justice. He was a brilliant railroad lawyer without much fame.

RENOMINATED.—In this year the Democratic party renominated Cleveland, though not without opposition, and with him named for Vice-President Allen G. Thurman of Ohio, a veteran politician, then seventy-five years old. He had been Chief Justice of his State and for many years United States Senator. His war-period utterances hurt the ticket.

A TARIFF CAMPAIGN.—Against Cleveland and Thurman, the Republicans nominated Harrison and Morton. The campaign was conducted with dignity. The cry against the private morals of the President was silenced because in 1886 he had married Frances G. Folsom, the beautiful and highly intelligent daughter of a Buffalo law-partner of Cleveland's. Judge Folsom was dead, but the people came to the conclusion that if his widow and his daughter could approve sufficiently of Cleveland now for this marriage to take place, earlier matters were of private concern with no farther interest to them.

The campaign turned almost solely upon the tariff. The Electoral College voted 233 for Harrison against 168 for Cleveland.

In 1884 the popular votes had been:

Cleveland 4,874,986, Blaine 4,851,981.

In 1888 it was:

Cleveland 5,540,329, Harrison 5,439,853.

In 1892 it was destined to be:

Cleveland 5,556,543, Harrison 5,175,582, Weaver 1,040,886.

A NARROW DEFEAT.—It was a surprising jugglery due to the federalism of our system that Cleveland should gain 665,343 votes and have a plurality over Harrison of 100,476 and yet lose the Presidency by a vote of 4 to 3 in the Electoral College. When he left the White House, his young wife requested the servants to take good care of it, for "we're coming back in just four years." Cleveland went to New York city to practice law, and in those four years added 16,214 friends.

His removal to New York city was due to calls from bankers and merchants there. His opposition to the free coinage of silver, his saving of 100,000,000 acres of the public lands to actual settlers, and his free-trade ideas had brought

him favor with certain capitalists there. He took no part in politics, but went quietly about the business of earning a living.

A Third Nomination.—In 1892 the Democratic party insisted upon his running a third time. With him they named for Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, a singularly colorless candidate, who had served two terms in Congress in the seventies and had been first assistant postmaster-general in the administration of Cleveland. It seems probable that few persons expected to see the Democrats win, for Populism was at its height; and it was believed that this great socialistic movement would damage the Democratic party.

In the Electoral College, after a quiet campaign save for the People's party, which had nominated James B. Weaver of Iowa, formerly a Greenback man, the Electoral votes stood:

Cleveland 277, Harrison 145, Weaver 22.

The Cleveland Victory Analyzed.—The result was to be understood only in the light of the facts, first, that after trying Cleveland one term and Harrison one term, the people in the ratio of 11 to 10 liked Cleveland better, and, second, that in the same ratio they were ready for tariff revision and money-changes, while out of every 23 voters, 2 desired neither Cleveland nor Harrison but an experimentalist. The Vice-Presidential candidate was James G. Field of Virginia, a lawyer, whose nomination helped Populism in the South.

It was a startling fact that while the popular vote had been, —counting all the small parties,—about ten and a half millions in 1889, it had grown to twelve millions in 1892. Evidently, the people were taking a far greater interest in politics. Some kind of political revolution portended. The vote had gained 33 per cent. in eight years, the population but 16 per cent. The Democratic party had won handsomely; and, in 1893, the President had both Houses of Congress with him. It was the first Democratic Government since 1860.

The second administration of Cleveland was far more eventful than his first, and showed him in an even brighter light. But it recorded also several mistakes.

More Civil Service Reform.—One of the fine acts was to add 44,000 places to the competitive examination civil service lists, making 87,000 places in all, removed from the spoils system. Of course, one result is that by 1912 our Departments have many superannuated clerks. The only forward remedy

is the civil list with pensions; it is a remedy with some serious by-results.

The Second Cabinet of Cleveland.—For the premier of his second Cabinet, Cleveland took a man whom he had tried in two Departments in his first administration.

State,—Walter Q. Gresham of Illinois, two years; Richard Olney of Massachusetts, two years.

Treasury,—John G. Carlisle of Kentucky.

Attorney-General,—Richard Olney, two years; Judson Harmon of Ohio, two years.

Postmaster-General,—Wilson S. Bissell of New York, two years; William L. Wilson of West Virginia, two years.

Navy,—Hilary A. Herbert of Alabama.

Interior,—Hoke Smith of Georgia, over three years; David R. Francis of Missouri, less than one year.

Agriculture,—J. Sterling Morton of Nebraska.

The Panic of 1893.—In 1893 a financial panic fell upon the country. It was such a crash as Cleveland had predicted from the excessive coinage of silver.[1]

Three hundred banks failed; one quarter of the railways of the country went into the hands of receivers. Thousands and tens of thousands of business men were ruined; employees went without wages; and death stalked abroad in the land. Foreign investors sold our securities, believing that we were to go upon the silver basis,—a silver dollar was then worth 67 cents in gold. In the United States Treasury and in circulation, we had six hundred millions in silver, with three hundred and fifty millions of legal tender money. Cleveland called a special session of Congress in August, 1893. In November the Purchase Act was repealed, though many Democrats were pro-silver.

The Bond Sales.—In April, 1893, the legal reserve of $100,000,000 in gold to protect the Government's fiat money and coin certificates had been broken by the drains upon it, due to heavy appropriations, to revenue deficits, and to calls for intrinsic money of redemption. To buy gold for the reserve, the Government issued bonds of high denomination in various amounts,—in all, $162,000,000. The bonds were sold in blocks to metropolitan bankers, who immediately made profits by selling them to the public. The criticism that the bonds should have been of low denomination and sold directly

[1] See pp. 103, 518, *supra*.

to the public was general at the time; such bonds stay sold and thereby stiffen the money market.

This Congress also repealed the Force Act of 1871 by which the Federal courts were impowered to protect the ballot, troops might be sent to the polls, and the writ of *habeas corpus* suspended.[1]

Great Social Distress.—The years 1893 and 1894 saw great distress. Coxey "armies" of the unemployed marched to Washington and to various State Capitals; they called themselves "soldiers of the Commonwealth of Christ." Strikes and riots occurred in and near Chicago, to which point the President sent troops to protect the United States mails, though the Governor of Illinois, John P. Altgeld, said that the soldiers were not needed and that this action was Federal interference with State's rights.

Hawaii had a revolution and applied for annexation; but Cleveland would consent only to recognize the overthrow of the monarchy and the setting up of the Republic.

The Tariff.—He also refused to sign the Wilson-Gorman tariff, objecting to it because it was not sufficiently drastic and as a rider carried an income tax provision. The bill became law without his signature; but the United States Supreme Court declared the form of income tax proposed unconstitutional.

The Admission of Utah.—In January, 1896, Utah was admitted into the Union. There was a long controversy in Utah, in Congress and among the people regarding this action. Utah was practically synonymous with Mormonism; and Mormonism, with polygamy, and polygamy, with Brigham Young, the Vermont painter and glazier turned leader and prophet, whose twenty-five wives and fifty or more children scarcely met American standards of social conduct. These were in fact less children than twenty-six married persons usually have. Almost nothing is as it seems,—polygamy reduces the birthrate. Young deprived twenty-four men of wives and children. But it was believed by many opponents of Mormonism that Statehood would help the Gentiles more than the Latter-Day Saints. And with all its history of fraud, superstition and bloodshed, of industry and social coöperation, Utah came into the Union.

The Venezuelan Message.—Dramatic as had been the

[1]See pp. 502, 503, *supra.*

intervention of Cleveland in the Pullman strike at Chicago, he now did something far more dramatic. Great Britain refused to arbitrate her boundary with Venezuela, whereupon the President sent a tremendous message to Congress, defending the Monroe Doctrine and advising that body to appoint a commission to determine the boundary itself. Great Britain roared in reply in true lion-style. Stocks fell. A panic threatened. War seemed imminent. Congress appointed commissioners, whereupon Great Britain agreed to arbitrate.

Split in the Democratic Party.—Then the party conventions were held. The Republicans kept together, but the Democrats split. Most of them supported the regular party candidates, but Cleveland and every member of his Cabinet save Hoke Smith of Georgia, Secretary of the Interior, who resigned, gave their support to the National or "Sound Money" Democrats, the lesser body.

Influential in Retirement.—After his term expired, Cleveland went back to his native State, choosing Princeton as his home. There he was a trustee of the University and a lecturer on public affairs. He became prominent in the reorganization of the immense Equitable Life Insurance Company of New York, and was referee for it and for its two rivals, the Mutual Life and the New York Life. He also wrote two books, one on "Presidential Problems," the other entitled "Fishing and Hunting Sketches," a work that showed how he had learned to lay aside political cares from time to time and like Washington alone among his predecessors refresh himself in outdoor life. He died at Princeton, June 24, 1908, in a general breakdown, leaving a widow, three daughters and one son. His property, consisting of but his house there and of investments made of his savings as President and as lawyer, was so small an amount as to set finally at rest the notion that he had benefited by millions from the bond issues of 1893.

Cleveland Democracy Established.—In solidity of judgment and in courage of opinion, in thorough study of every piece of legislation submitted to him, and in understanding of men for office, Grover Cleveland was the equal of any other President. Only Lincoln worked harder when in office. His limitations were his lack of sympathy with the weak and the poor and a corresponding regard for the successful. He was by no means brilliant. But at his hands, Democratic theory

and practice advanced beyond Jeffersonian Democracy and Jacksonian Democracy. Cleveland National Democracy as exemplified from 1885 to 1897 made a new high water mark of personal responsibility for our politics and government.

CHAPTER XXIV

BENJAMIN HARRISON

1889-1893
1833-1901

38-44 States 1890—Population 62,622,250
Admitted: North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming.

The sandwich President—personal characteristics—"a favorite son"—ancestry—educated at Miami University—lawyer—court crier—marriage—colonel—brigadier-general—good war-record—Indiana Supreme Court reporter—defeated for governorship—United States Senator—defeated for reëlection—a dark horse—the Vice-Presidential candidate—our federal system—President—Pan-American Congress—McKinley Tariff Act—commercial treaties—prices raised—pensions doubled—six new States—equal suffrage—Sherman Coinage Act—"free silver"—Mormon issues—Homestead Strike—the Vice-Presidential "rich man" candidate—Louisiana Lottery—international affairs—seal fisheries—law practice—university lecturer—Venezuelan counsel at Paris—wrote two books—an excellent lawyer—compared with Van Buren—and Cleveland—not an advocate of great principles—above the average President.

THE SANDWICH PRESIDENT.—Benjamin Harrison was the sandwich President, whose predecessor was his successor. In 1888 a former President ran against a renominated President in office,—a situation unique in our history. Physically, the shortest man in height who was ever President, his greater rival was next to the largest of all our Presidents. He was the only President who was the grandson of another. No other one-term President since manhood suffrage came in was ever renominated only to be defeated save Cleveland, and he was twice renominated, failing at the second of three elections.

Like Grant, Benjamin Harrison was short, stout, and reticent. Like Van Buren, he was an excellent lawyer. Like Tyler, he lost his wife when President. Like J. Q. Adams, he was a lineal descendant of a President.

Early Life on the Harrison Farm.—Benjamin Harrison was born at North Bend, near Cincinnati, Ohio, on August 22, 1833. This was just after the recall of his grandfather, William Henry Harrison, from his brief term as Minister to Columbia, and at that period when life looked dark to the old man who in his day had rendered valiant service to his country. Benjamin's father was John Scott Harrison, then twenty-seven years old, and destined to serve a term in Congress—1853-57.

Educated at Miami University.—They all lived together upon the Harrison farm. Benjamin went to a log schoolhouse nearby. He studied for college under a tutor; then attended an institution known as "The Farmers' College" and finally entered Miami University, the best educational institution of the period in Ohio, and in 1852 was graduated there. He proceeded to Cincinnati to study law with Bellamy Storer, already famous and destined to higher rank as a lawyer and judge. In 1853 Benjamin Harrison was admitted to the bar, though not yet of age; soon he married Caroline Lavinia Scott, and removed to Indianapolis. Being poor, he was made court-crier at two and a half dollars a day; but being clever and diligent, he soon attracted clients.

Fine Military Record.—Enlisting in the InterState War in 1862, Harrison soon became colonel. He saw service under Buell and Sherman, and as a commander of brigade took important parts in the Kenesaw Mountain, Peach Tree Creek, and Nashville battles. When mustered out in January, 1865, he was breveted brigadier-general for "ability, energy and gallantry." It was a fine record for a young man of thirty-one years.

United States Senator.—Upon the ending of the war, General Harrison returned to Indiana, becoming Supreme Court reporter in 1864 as he had been in 1860-1862. He continued in this line until 1868. Court-reporting, though an exceptionally fine training for a jurist, ends most men's careers in law-practice and in politics. But in 1876 Harrison became candidate for governor of Indiana only to be defeated. Garfield offered him a place in his Cabinet in 1881, but he declined

in order to serve as a member of the United States Senate. There he opposed President Cleveland vigorously.

Nominated for President.—Defeated in an effort to secure reëlection to the Senate, the Republican party seized upon him for the Presidential nomination as a forlorn hope, the dark horse to win the race. The first ballot in the Convention had been John Sherman 229, W. Q. Gresham 111, C. M. Depew 99, and 14 others from 84 to 3 each. Harrison had 80 votes. The eighth ballot stood:

Harrison 554, Sherman 118, Alger 100, Gresham 59, Blaine 5, McKinley 4.

On the first ballot, Levi P. Morton of New York State was named for the Vice-Presidency by 561 votes out 884.

Morton was a Boston-New York banker who had been sent as Minister to France by Garfield.

Harrison and Morton defeated Cleveland and Thurman because our country is not a nation but a federation of States. Otherwise, a great popular majority in New York city might steadily offset the majority opinions of all or nearly all of the rural States. The federal system is not perfect, but it is far better than a national government highly centralized could be.

The Cabinet of Harrison.—For the premier of his Cabinet, the President chose the party leader.

State,—James G. Blaine of Maine, over three years; John W. Foster, eight months.

Treasury,—William Windom of Minnesota, two years; Charles Foster of Ohio, two years.

War,—Redfield Proctor of Vermont, over two years; Stephen B. Elkins of West Virginia, under two years.

Attorney-General.—W. H. H. Miller of Indiana.

Postmaster-General,—John Wanamaker of Pennsylvania.

Navy,—Benjamin F. Tracy of New York.

Interior,—John W. Noble of Missouri.

Agriculture,—Jeremiah M. Rusk of Wisconsin.

South American Relations.—The Pan-American Congress notion, first broached by John Quincy Adams, was now revived by Blaine.[1] This brought the Monroe Doctrine again prominently before the country. A brilliant policy of South American relations was inaugurated which matured in the Exposition at Buffalo where McKinley was assassinated. It finds another expression in the Bureau of American Republics,

[1]See pp. 535 *et seq., supra.*

whose building at Washington was donated by the steel three-hundred millionaire Andrew Carnegie in 1907.

The McKinley Tariff.—President Harrison encouraged the passage of the McKinley Tariff Act, by which it was designed to give tariff protection to the American farmer as well as to the American manufacturer. The general notion was to reduce the revenue on imports by making many of the tariff duties prohibitive. This was the perfect flower of the "American system" as originally advocated by Henry Clay and the Whigs.[1] This Act carried with it certain provisions for a strange kind of reciprocity with other nations. Certain articles on the free list might be placed back upon the tax list in case other countries that exported these did not favor American exports. This Tariff led to several commercial treaties with European and South American countries. It delighted the protected manufacturers. The average duties were 48.2 per cent., the highest then known in our history. It raised prices nearly all around,—farmers got more, manufacturers got more, miners got more, all getting from one another. Only the professional classes, the clerks and the wage-earners in unprotected industries suffered.

Cleveland had vetoed a bill returning to the States $16,000,000 collected from them for the InterState War; Harrison signed a similar bill.

Pensions.—Cleveland had vetoed the dependent pension bill; Harrison urged its passage again. It doubled the list of pensioners,—from a half million to a million. From 1861 to 1889, pension payments in all were $1,000,000,000. From 1889 to 1897, under the new Act, they were another $1,000,000,000. (In 1910 we paid $156,000,000.)

The New Northwest Secures Statehood.—As Chairman of Committee in the Senate, Benjamin Harrison had urged the admission of new States. Now came in 1889 the astonishing increase of four great States,—North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington,—and in 1890 of two, Idaho and Wyoming. The total area was nearly 570,000 square miles, a region greatly exceeding all the Original Thirteen States, not including their "claims." It was nine times New England. Some day this Northwest will have a population many times all New England. Will it then be content with one-ninth as many Senators? Will there be a West

[1] See pp. 106, 533, *supra.*

against East as there was a South against the North, and for much the same reason, inequality and gerrymander in the Senate? Will the Senate go? Or will the two Senators per State plan go? Or will these great Western States split up?

In Wyoming in 1890, there was already equal suffrage for men and women; and now Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, and California all have equal suffrage. How soon will the Solid South or the Solid East be broken by "votes for women?"

Silver Currency.—In 1890 Congress passed the Sherman Coinage Act, directing the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver (140 tons) each month, 2,000,000 to be coined into dollars. Sherman advocated this in order to defeat "free silver." By 1893 silver had fallen still further so that a "dollar" in silver was worth 51 cents. The silver-mine owners, who were trying with government help to keep up the price, then virtually surrendered.

Mormonism.—In 1890 a general conference of the Mormon Church pledged that immense body to give up polygamy. Thereupon by proclamation the President granted to the Mormons civil and political amnesty, and restored to them church property confiscated under the Edmunds-Tucker Act passed in the first administration of Cleveland. It was characteristic ecclesiastico-political trickery.

The Homestead Strike.—In 1892 a furious strike raged at the works of the Carnegie Steel Company, Homestead, Pennsylvania. There were battles between the strikers and detectives hired by the company. The strikers lost. This affair cost Harrison many votes, for it showed the workingmen how little protective tariffs helped them.

In that summer Harrison was renominated with Whitelaw Reid as his running mate for Vice-President, an Ohio man by birth, like Harrison. He owned and edited the "New York Tribune," succeeding Horace Greeley.[1] By his own accumulation and by marriage, he was rich. His wife was the daughter of the California millionaire, D. O. Mills. Reid had been Minister to France under Harrison.

Good Items in the Record.—In many matters, Harrison had made a good record. The Louisiana Lottery had been suppressed. The navy had been enlarged. The United States had called an international money-conference. A controversy had been settled peacefully with Chili, and another over Samoa

[1] See pp. 507, 508, *supra.*

with Germany. The Bering Sea and Strait open sea seal fisheries disputed with England had been arbitrated with reasonable satisfaction. The national debt had been reduced. The times had been fairly prosperous. But the Homestead strike had stirred the labor unions against the Republican party, and Harrison himself had failed to appeal picturesquely to the people. They desired Cleveland again.

Another matter, entirely of private life, helped the downfall of Harrison. Mrs. Harrison had died at the White House, and it was commonly believed that a niece of hers who had lived there with them, a widow, Mrs. Mary Scott Lord Dimock, was likely to marry the widower. Without much open discussion of the matter, some independent voters who don't like to see a widower marry a deceased wife's sister or other near blood-relative, quietly preferred Cleveland. The anticipated marriage took place in 1896.

Reid, as Vice-Presidential candidate, added nothing to the popular strength of the ticket, which was overwhelmingly defeated in the November elections.

In Private Life.—Harrison then returned to the practice of the law at Indianapolis. Incidentally, he gave lectures on international law and jurisprudence at several great universities. In 1898 the Government of Venezuela retained him as leading counsel in its dispute with Great Britain. He made a dignified appearance in Paris, and his argument was considered able and conclusive. He heartily disapproved of the policy of the Republican party after the Spanish War. In these last years of his life, he wrote two books,—one on government, and another entitled "Views of an ex-President." He died at Indianapolis March 13, 1901, of pneumonia, at sixty-seven years of age, leaving a son and a daughter by his first wife and a daughter by his second. His property was large, for a President, being some two or three hundred thousand dollars acquired as a lawyer.

An Excellent Lawyer.—Harrison was a man of brief speech, self-contained like Grant, than whom he was a far better President. He was in no sense a politician, but he was scarcely a statesman. He was in fact a competent lawyer, a diligent man of business, and a loyal friend. His place as President is properly above the median. He was perhaps not quite so good a President as Martin Van Buren, whom as

a lawyer, however, he closely resembled. But for the conjunction of fate that brought him against Grover Cleveland, he would probably have had two terms in succession, and yet he had too little popular strength to secure in 1896 a third nomination, such as Cleveland had. For a long life in politics, the advocacy of great measures is almost essential. The principle keeps the name of the man before the public. In politics Benjamin Harrison never advocated anything, but rather served as judge of issues and arbiter between factions and interests.

CHAPTER XXV

WILLIAM McKINLEY

1897-1901
1843-1901

45 States 1900—Population 76,304,799

The best politician ever in Washington—very kind manners—ancestry—early life—educated at Alleghany College—school teacher—major—outdoor life—Albany Law School—prosecuting attorney—marriage—domestic sorrows—Representative in Congress—defeated by gerrymander—Governor of Ohio—high tariff advocate—influential in Congress—the McKinley Act—riots—Chairman Republican Convention—straddled money question—bankrupt—President—William Jennings Bryan—the Gold Democrats—enormous campaign funds—"a full dinner pail"—his backer, M. A. Hanna, made United States Senator—the Dingley Tariff—Spain in Cuba—"Avenge the Maine!"—war declared—naval victories—the Philippine Islands—Porto Rico—$20,000,000 paid to Spain—the scandals of the War Department—four war-heroes, Dewey, Sampson, Schley and Roosevelt—Aguinaldo—W. H. Taft—Hawaii annexed—with the allies in China—John Hay—imperialism—trusts—money—another Bryan defeat—Cuban protection—assassination—McKinley a growing man—left no property.

A Complete Politician.—The ninth man to receive two terms in the Presidency by election was William McKinley of Ohio. It is commonly said that he was "the best politician ever in Washington." Only Lincoln was a better politician, but he was a statesman also, which McKinley never quite was, and yet was coming to be in the fatal year of his passing. He was also one of the most charming men socially whom the

public life of the country ever knew. There was indeed about the Presidency in the days of Washington an air that no other President ever secured,—the air of the court and of princes and nobles. But the White House never knew a more gracious gentleman than McKinley; and it has known men of rare and gentle manners,—such as Madison, Van Buren, Pierce, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur.

Like Jackson and Lincoln, McKinley knew how the people felt,—he looked into his own heart.

Early Life.—William McKinley was born of Scotch-Irish stock.[1] His first forefather in America was an emigrant from County Antrim, in Ireland, about 1743, settling in Pennsylvania. The President was his great grandson, born in Niles, Trumbull County, Ohio, January 29, 1843. His mother was Nancy Campbell Allison. Of their nine children, William was the seventh. The father and grandfather were iron manufacturers in a small way. Because William was a pale, sickly, and delicate child, he was encouraged to go to school and college. But his health broke down completely at Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania, and he came home and taught school when seventeen years of age.

Army Life.—In 1861 McKinley promptly enlisted in the 23d Ohio Volunteers and saw four years of service, beginning as a private and ending as a major. At Antietam Private McKinley carried pails of hot coffee and food to the men on the firing line down by the creek, and was made second lieutenant for bravery. His courage at Winchester raised him to be Captain. He served gallantly also at Cedar Creek and became Major. Generals George Crook and Rutherford B. Hayes both knew him as a brave youth. The four years of outdoor army life, mainly in the Virginian mountains and highlands, had given him perfect health.

Lawyer.—His parents were now living at Poland, Ohio; but he left there to study in the law school at Albany, N. Y., where, beside law, he learned something of the ways of New York politicians. In 1867 he was admitted to the bar at Warren, Ohio; but he preferred to go to Canton to practice in order to be with an older sister who was a public school teacher

[1] That is, Saxons who lived successively in Germany, Scotland and Ireland and constituted one-half of all our stock prior to 1850. They have little or no Celtic blood.

there. Immediately he went into political work as a Republican campaign speaker. In 1869 he was elected prosecuting attorney, but was defeated for reëlection in 1871. In 1875 he emerged from private practice as a lawyer and canvassed for General Hayes as Republican candidate for governor.

Domestic Sorrow.—In 1871 he had married Ida Saxton. Sorrow came to them in the loss of their two children. Thereafter his wife was a lifelong semi-invalid.

Congressman and Lawyer.—In 1876 Major McKinley, at thirty-three years of age, was elected to Congress by 3300 majority. He was reëlected in 1878 and in 1880, elected in 1882 by 8 majority but unseated by a Democratic House late in the two-year term, and then reëlected continuously, serving until 1890 when he was defeated. In 1891 he was elected Governor of Ohio by 21,000 plurality in 795,000 votes cast; and reëlected in 1893.

Again and again, hostile Democratic Legislatures had gerrymandered his Congressional District. At last by an amazing corkscrew arrangement of precincts, in 1890, they overpowered him and thereby later made him Governor and President. Sometimes an outrage is good political capital.[1]

High Tariff Protectionist.—In Congress McKinley was a true representative of the political powers in his district; which was high tariff because engaged heavily in manufacturing. A high tariff is a subsidy levied by a government upon a people and automatically and yet secretly collected in ordinary trade-channels for the benefit of a few, who are always delighted by the privilege.

The diligence of Major McKinley in studying all industrial questions brought him into high favor with James G. Blaine. When Garfield became President, McKinley succeeded him upon the Ways and Means Committee. In 1889 he became Chairman of that Committee. Three ballots were required to determine whether or not Thomas B. Reed of Maine should be Speaker. Reed was a man of terrific force and of caustic wit; McKinley was suave and friendly. Reed won. In this Congress, McKinley introduced the measure known as the "McKinley Bill," relating to the tariff. It had many interesting features. By it the infant tin-plate industry was built up. A prohibitive tariff at its best is a method of forcing consumers to contribute through high prices the capi-

[1]See pp. 356, 357, 371, 529, 530, *supra.*

tal requisite to build up a new business. It is a forced popular indirect subsidy, all the more dangerous for being indirect, like the national system of taxation. The McKinley tariff also gave direct bounties to American sugar growers.

This Act stirred all Europe, and forced Germany to admit American pork. In America it resulted in Democratic victories in the Congressional elections of 1890. McKinley himself went down.

As Governor he used the troops of the State twice to quell labor riots. But otherwise his administration was uneventful.

A National Leader.—In 1892, at the National Republican Convention at Minneapolis, McKinley presided. On the first ballot, for the Presidential nomination, he had 182 votes, Blaine 182 5/6, and Harrison the rest. In 1896, though out of office, the Republican party looked upon McKinley as their logical standard-bearer. He had no personal enemies. Blaine had died in January, 1893; and the leadership had fallen to McKinley. On the money question he could be quoted either way, for his utterances were Delphic. He was an Ohio man, and the party desired to carry Ohio.

A Bankrupt.—Moreover, he was bankrupt, owing, through unfortunate business associations, something over two hundred thousand dollars beyond his assets; but Marcus A. Hanna, who was a multimillionaire ironmaster and shipowner, was McKinley's friend. Hanna wished to go deeper into politics, and he did. He financed McKinley and became the power behind the throne.

Nominated for President.—On the first ballot, Major McKinley had 661½ out of 906 votes. The convention adopted a tariff plank drafted by McKinley, and a currency plank in favor of the "gold standard." This drove all silver men out of the party. For Vice-President, Garrett A. Hobart of New Jersey was selected to run. He was a rich lawyer, who had been prominent in the New Jersey Legislature for years.

The Rise of Bryan.—The Democratic party at once joined issue with the Republican. It selected a brilliant young orator, William Jennings Bryan, who had been thoroughly educated in college and law school, studied law in the office of Judge Lyman Trumbull, Lincoln's friend, and had served two terms in Congress, making a notable record as a free silver man. He was now but thirty-six years of age, half-journalist, half-

lawyer, all enthusiast to better the world by political reforms. With him the Democrats associated as nominee for the Vice-Presidency Arthur Sewall, a shipbuilder of Maine.

This nomination split the Democratic party. The seceders nominated John M. Palmer of Illinois and Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky. But the Populists named Bryan for President with Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for Vice-President. And the Free Silver party,—mostly former Republicans from the six States of South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Colorado, Nevada, and Utah,—endorsed the Democratic ticket.

Bryan as a Campaigner.—Bryan at once set out upon a wonderful campaign trip, eclipsing utterly the record even of Blaine in 1884. He spoke everywhere, travelling 18,000 miles and speaking upon 600 set occasions. He advocated the unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1. McKinley stayed quietly at home at Canton, making porch speeches to visiting delegations. He was an excellent but a gentle speaker. By the end of September, the general expectation was that Bryan would win. But the Republicans had a campaign fund variously estimated at from $5,000,000 to $11,000,000. The Democrats had scarcely one-fifth as much as the lowest estimate. The newspapers were nearly all for McKinley, who was styled "the advance agent of prosperity." The workingman was promised "a full dinner pail." Said McKinley, "Cheap clothing makes a cheap man." The panic of 1893 was charged to the repeal of the McKinley Act. "Bill McKinley and McKinley Bill" was a favorite campaign slogan.

Wealth Wins.—Organization, money, tradition, and the G. A. R. vote won. The popular vote was 7,106,779 for McKinley and 6,502,925 for Bryan. The Democrats charged fraud in several States, bribery and ballot-box stuffing and false counting. The Electoral College stood 271 for McKinley and 176 for Bryan.

Senator Hanna.—President McKinley made aged John Sherman his Secretary of State. To the vacancy in the Senate due to this appointment, the Ohio Legislature then elected M. A. Hanna. The move was neatly made. Thereafter, Senator Hanna was the boss of the Republican party and the custodian of the McKinley policies until his death in Washington in 1904. That he used his power to promote the interests of his class,—bankers, shipowners, and manufacturers,—was

obvious and admitted bluntly by him. That he had serious personal faults and even vices was known to many; but McKinley, like Grant, was politically indifferent to the erring ways of his friends. He mourned, but in private. Grant did not mourn at all.

THE CABINET.—

State,—John Sherman of Ohio, one year; John Hay of Ohio, two years.

Treasury,—Lyman J. Gage of Illinois.

War,—Russell A. Alger of Michigan, over two years; Elihu Root of New York, two years.

Attorney-General,—Joseph McKenna of California, nearly one year; John W. Griggs of New Jersey, over three years; Philander C. Knox of Pennsylvania, five months.

Postmaster-General,—James A. Gary of Maryland, one year; Charles Emory Smith of Pennsylvania, three years.

Navy,—John D. Long of Massachusetts.

Interior,—Cornelius N. Bliss of New York, nearly two years; Ethan Allen Hitchcock of Missouri, over two years.

Agriculture,—James Wilson of Iowa, who still holds office after fourteen years.

NATIONAL EXPENDITURES.—As soon as he was inaugurated, McKinley called Congress in special session to revise the tariff, which is never right. To begin with, it is never high enough to suit the beneficiaries who are filling the land with foreign laborers and thereby destroying one another's markets, for on their low wages and standards of living these wage-servants are not large consumers. Nor is the tariff ever low enough to please the "general public." And according to some, the tariff is not only undesirable but also unconstitutional. These predict that some day soon customs houses will be turned into museums or into institutes, being obsolescent now. In 1897 more revenue must be raised, partly because prevailing duties were too high to permit imports and partly because, for alleged want of constitutionality, the income tax[1] could not be levied. The only alternative course was to reduce expenses; but it has never been the policy of the Republicans as it was never that of their logical predecessors, the Whigs, or by the Federalists before them, to reduce the national expenditures. The party has always stood for centralization; and it is incompatible with

[1]See p. 541, *supra*.

the magnifying of the business of the National Government to reduce its costs.

The Tariff.—The Dingley Tariff, passed and signed in July, 1893, was the result of the Republican policy. It increased the revenues by taking some articles from the free list and by lowering the tariff upon other articles. It was not so prohibitive an Act as the McKinley Act of 1890, and many of its rates were lower. It included, however, more articles for taxation; and yet its average per cent. of tax, 51, was still higher than the McKinley rate.

Cuba.—For all the centuries since Columbus, the island of Cuba had been under the oppression of Spain. Frequently the islanders revolted, but always unsuccessfully. Prior to 1898, for two years, a civil war of peculiar atrocity had been waged. Non-combatants were starved to death in "concentration camps." The Spanish rulers ran barbed wire fences all the way across the island at various points and treated the natives like wild animals. The American people sent food and clothing to the victims of this "pacification."

The "Maine" Blown Up.—At last, the Government despatched the battleship "Maine" on a visit to the harbor of Havana, the largest city and the Capital of the island, lying southwest of Key West, Florida. In February, 1898, the country was horrified by the news that the "Maine" had been blown up in Havana Harbor, and most of her crew and soldiers killed. The people at once assumed that the Spaniards had done this, for the harbor was filled with mines for its protection in time of war. The Spaniards at once replied,—"The 'Maine' was destroyed by an internal explosion; or if by an external explosion, then by some Cuban rebel, in order to arouse America." Not until the summer of 1911, when we drained out the part of the harbor where the wreck of the "Maine" lay, did we really know the truth as to whether the explosive was internal or external. We know now that it was both, and it is fair to assume that the external explosion set off the ship's own powder magazines, but whether a Spaniard or a Cuban discharged a mine or a torpedo, we are not likely ever to know.

American Victories.—The country, however, did not wait to find out who or what destroyed the "Maine" and killed our sailors. The cry "Avenge the 'Maine'!" went over the land.

The war-spirit that had been awakened by Cleveland's Venezuelan message still stirred in the army and navy, in the sensational newspapers, and in many of the younger citizens. On March 23, 1898, the President, under the pressure of opinion in Congress and out of it, issued an ultimatum to Spain to reform her severe course; on April 20, he issued a second ultimatum to take her troops out of Cuba; on April 25, getting no response, he advised Congress to declare war, which Congress did upon that day. Land forces were sent into Cuba. The navy organized a squadron that included the "Oregon" from the far Pacific. Her cruise of 15,000 miles around Cape Horn ended just in time for her to take part in the naval battle off Santiago, in which a Spanish squadron was utterly demolished on July 3d: Santiago surrendered on the 15th.

Across the Pacific in the Philippine Islands, Admiral Dewey of the navy took Manila on May 1. The land operations were all favorable to the Americans.

More Territory Acquired.—On August 12, the peace protocol was signed. On December 10, peace was agreed upon by treaty. This gave to the United States the Philippine Islands with 7,700,000 population, of whom all but 100,000 are of the brown Malayan race. The rest were 40,000 of the yellow race, 15,000 of mixed races, and 15,000 of the white race. The islands are thirty-one in number, containing in all 115,000 square miles (about the area of New England, New York, and New Jersey combined). The main islands, Luzon, north, and Mindanao, south, contain respectively 41,000 and 36,000 square miles. This meant to our nation a vast, new, difficult, and unwelcome problem.

By the same Treaty, we acquired also the little Pacific Ocean island of Guam, and the Atlantic Ocean island of Porto Rico, containing 3500 square miles of land (three times the area of Rhode Island) and 950,000 population, of whom 62 per cent. were whites, 6 per cent. negroes, and the rest mestizoes.

The Cuban Protectorate.—We were given also the oversight of Cuba, which was, however, to be independent. This magnificent island contains, with several small adjacent islands, 44,000 square miles (an area slightly larger than that of New York State) and had in 1899 1,575,000 population, having lost 60,000 inhabitants, partly by emigration, in the years of the last of its civil wars. That it had in 1910 2,100,000 in-

habitants, a gain of a third, is perhaps partial warrant for our intervention in its affairs. For these territories, we paid Spain $20,000,000 and assumed all claims of citizens against Spain. In other words, once more the victor nation helped the defeated as in the Mexican War. But there had been a vast difference between the attitudes of William McKinley toward war and of James Knox Polk. President McKinley deplored the war and some of its results and disclosures.

Scandals in the War Department.—The incompetence of the American War Department as compared with the splendid accomplishment of the Navy Department was a startling revelation. Considerable land forces, including volunteers, were mustered; and in the camps they died in hundreds of easily preventable diseases. The food supplies were rotten. Evidences of corruption abounded.

The War-Heroes.—From the War, two men emerged as heroes, Admiral George Dewey, who took the Philippines, and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, to whom three things were attributed,—the preparedness of the Navy of which he had been Assistant Secretary, a brilliant skirmish upon San Juan Hill when Santiago was taken, and saving the health of the soldiers by a final rendezvous at Montauk Point, the eastern end of Long Island. Unhappily, the Atlantic squadron had a feud as to who was the real hero of Santiago, the admiral in command, whose ship came late into action, W. T. Sampson, or the commander during the action, W. S. Schley.

Imperialism.—President McKinley now had upon his hands the business of subjugating the natives of the Philippine Islands. Under General Emilio Aguinaldo, they had set up a government all of their own. Senator Eugene Hale of Maine, Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, Thomas B. Reed, Carl Schurz, and many others of the leading Republicans denounced subjugation as "imperialism." No representative democracy is adapted to rule another land and people,—for at once arises the question, "What are the rights of the subjects?" The struggle in the islands lasted for two years until the leader Aguinaldo was captured. We had there 60,000 American soldiers. As the head of the government under various successive titles was former Judge William Howard Taft of Ohio.

Hawaii.—In 1898 we annexed Hawaii, and in 1900 created the Territory of Hawaii.[1] These islands, mainly given over

[1]See p. 541, *supra*.

to the production of sugar, lie 2100 miles west of San Francisco and 4900 miles east of Manila. Only eight are of any commercial importance. All together they contain some 7000 square miles,—about the area of New Jersey and twice that of Porto Rico,—but the population numbered only 154,000 in 1900. It is now growing rapidly both by natural reproduction and by immigration. Though the island of Oahu is but one-seventh the size of the island of Hawaii, it has more people and the main city, Honolulu. This population is one-half Japanese, one-sixth Portuguese, one-eighth Chinese, one-fifth native Hawaiian or Hawaiian-mestizo. The Teutons, including Americans, English, Germans, number now but 12,000 in a total of 175,000, of whom only one-third are females. The Hawaiians were and their survivors are an extraordinary race,—their men and women are tall and often weigh 350 to 500 pounds, the largest of human beings. They now number, however, scarcely a fifth of their total population of a century ago.

In 1899 we annexed those of the Samoan Islands which lie east of 171°, acquiring the harbor of Pago-Pago.

With the Allies in China.—In 1900 our soldiers marched with the allies to Pekin, China, to suppress the Boxer insurrection against foreigners. And our Secretary of State John Hay, who had been private secretary to Abraham Lincoln, but who upon marrying a millionaire heiress in Cleveland had risen to high place both social and political, who was a poet of genius and a biographer of Lincoln, secured the integrity of the Chinese Empire and "the open door," a diplomatic triumph involving directly the welfare of 400,000,000 persons of the yellow race and indirectly the good of all civilized mankind. This led to the new Chinese Republic of 1912.

Our Changed World-Position.—The administration of William McKinley had been of vast importance. Spain had been reduced to her own problem of self-government; and her world-empire was ended. By the Spanish and Chinese treaties, the United States had become a world-power, second only to Great Britain. The days of avoidance of international relations,—the days of Washington and Jefferson,—were at an end. The Monroe doctrine had been enforced and extended by the battleships of our navy.

The country was prosperous. War and trade expansion had speeded the wheels of industry and raised the prices of agricul-

tural products. In 1900 we had formally adopted the gold dollar as "the standard unit of value."

Great questions had come up,—among them the rights of Filipinos, of Hawaiians, and of Porto Ricans. This took the form, "Does the Constitution follow the flag?" Another was, —"How long shall we remain in the Philippine Islands?" We had in 1900 76,000,000 population, of whom 9,000,000 were Southern negroes and 7,000,000 Filipino Malays. Ugly race problems confronted us. The people responded by organizing ten mostly new parties that adopted national platforms and named Presidential candidates besides the Democratic and the Republican.

RENOMINATED.—President McKinley was unanimously nominated at once by the Republican Convention. The Vice-President had died; and with McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Rough Rider, then Governor of New York State, was named as Vice-Presidential candidate. He was a war-hero, a reformer, an author of high reputation, and a rich man.

THE POLITICAL ISSUES.—The Democrats named William J. Bryan[1] again and associated with him Adlai E. Stevenson,[2] hoping thereby to gain the votes of Cleveland Democrats. Bryan had been Colonel of a Nebraska volunteer regiment during the Spanish War, but had seen no service in the field, which was perhaps unfortunate for him, though not unintended by the Republican administration. He now raised three issues,— First, imperialism, asserting that the Filipinos should have immediate self-government and that for Americans to try to rule them would be to violate the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, to corrupt the morals of the soldiers in the islands, to make maladministration in government certain, and to distract attention from home problems. Second, free silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Third, trusts: these were great corporations, syndicates, and pools that had gotten control of industry partly because of the tariff system, partly because of the currency system, partly because of the panic of 1893. Bryan was against imperialism, against gold, against trusts.

THE ELECTION.—The popular vote in elections was:

McKinley 7,207,923, Bryan 6,358,133.

The Electoral College stood Republican 292, Democrat 155.

[1]See pp. 121, 533, *supra*.

[2]See pp. 538, 539, *supra*.

The Democrats had carried only the Solid South and four silver States,—Colorado, Nevada, Idaho, and Montana. The anti-imperialistic cry had lost them the Pacific Coast, which saw trade across seven thousand miles of water. The anti-gold cry had lost them the East. The anti-trust cry alone held a respectable vote anywhere in the whole North. The South stayed solid only because of the memories of Republican reconstruction, seeing in the Philippines a new race-question. This campaign, even more than that of 1896, showed that Bryan was not a master politician. He raised too many issues, thereby alienating too many groups.[1] Incidentally, he discovered in Theodore Roosevelt a political campaigner who could talk almost as long and almost as often as himself without breaking down, and who, by representing standard capitalism, got his speeches into the newspapers.

Cuban Relations.—In 1900-1901 Congress arranged to terminate the military occupation of Cuba and to start the Republic. We were to hold a certain kind of protectorate,—two naval stations upon the island were included. The Platt Amendment to the Cuban Constitution gives to the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs when we think it necessary in order to protect the independence of the island, to preserve life, property and liberty there, and to keep our treaty with Spain.

Tour of the President.—Early in the summer of 1901, William McKinley set out upon a tour of the South, the Pacific Coast, and the Middle West. The presence of Confederate veterans side by side with Federal veterans in the Spanish War, the long lapse of time, the new industrial life, had made a new bond between South and North; and Major McKinley was heartily welcomed in the South. At San Francisco he witnessed the launching of the battleship "Ohio," named for his own State. He was to make a speech at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, New York, in September, and, being in poor health, with his wife went to Canton, Ohio, to rest for a month.

Assassinated.—On September 5, the President made the address, not only the best of his life but one of the great speeches of American history. It showed him as a true disciple of Blaine. In it he expounded the doctrine of reciprocity with friendly foreign nations, a wise modification of the protective

[1] See pp. 112, 120, *supra*.

system after infant industries have reached adult size. Next day, at a reception, the secret service officers let pass a young man with his right hand done up in a handkerchief as though wounded. This man was Leon Czolgoscz, a Czech by birth, and Anarchist, who had attended private schools for a year or two here, and who looked upon William McKinley as a tyrant-ruler. Perhaps his mind had been inflamed by sensational news and pictures representing the President as the tool of plutocrats and an enemy of the people. Like the other murderers of Presidents, he was no American by blood and tradition of generations. Whether he was really an "Anarchist" or not is unknown and immaterial. His act showed that he believed in no government, death-to-rulers. Through the handkerchief, he discharged two revolver shots as McKinley stretched out a kind right hand to greet him. One bullet penetrated the abdomen.

Like Grant, William McKinley had been an excessive smoker of cigars. He preferred cheap big black ones. His health was popularly supposed to be good; but those who knew distrusted the promise of the surgeons that there would be a quick recovery. On the 14th, the patient collapsed and died, the third martyr to the greatness of the Presidency in a land that does not cherish Presidents. The assassin was duly executed in October, 1901. It was the standard mechanical revenge of society upon a man of feeble, frantic mind baffled by life's great evils.

A Growing Man.—William McKinley left no property to his invalid wife, who survived him until 1907. He had given most of his life in war and peace to the public service. He had shown powers of growth. He was one of the type of men whom plain people respect and like; and his taking off was another example of the irony of fate. Few abler Presidents in our epoch of amazing and undesired and unexpected expansion would have done as well for us as this modest and industrious soldier-lawyer-politician.

CHAPTER XXVI

Theodore Roosevelt

1901-1909
1858-

45-46 States
Admitted: Oklahoma.

Population 85,000,000

Ancestry—a frail boy—visits Europe—educated at Harvard—married wealthy wife—Alpine climber—State Assemblyman—death of wife—cattle-rancher—second marriage—defeated for mayor of New York—literary work—Civil Service Commissioner—New York Police Commissioner—Assistant Secretary of the Navy—raises "Rough Rider" regiment—hero of San Juan Hill—writes round robin—Governor of New York—reformer—Vice-President—succeeds to Presidency—more books—compared with Abraham Lincoln—rediscovers the Ten Commandments—Panama seized—the Canal—nominated for Presidency—the issues—Democratic candidate charged corruption and lying—tremendous victory for Roosevelt—many reform statutes—centralization—the fleet circumnavigates the earth—the House of Governors—rural life studied—District of Columbia affairs—Roosevelt helps peace between Russia and Japan—the Roosevelt panic of 1907—the steel merger—refuses renomination—names and elects his successor—the amazing African hunt—tour of Europe—New York State politics—still more books—superb health—versatility—compared with Franklin, Jackson and J. Q. Adams—contrasted with Hayes—his fame secure on other grounds than Presidency.

Distinguished Ancestry.—The so-called "twenty-sixth" President, but really twenty-fifth, for Cleveland counts twice, of the United States was Theodore Roosevelt, born in New York City on October 27, 1858. Upon his father's side he was of Dutch ancestry, long resident in New York. His father, a merchant, attained high civil distinction, as did others of his ancestors and relatives. His mother was Martha Bulloch, daughter of a Southern family of Scotch-Irish[1] and Huguenot extraction, of even greater prominence in South Carolina and in Georgia than the Roosevelts were in New York, though not of equal wealth. Roosevelt is Dutch-Saxon-Celt,—a Dutchman speeded up.

Not a Vigorous Lad.—Like Monroe and McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt was weak in strength and poor in health in his

[1]See p. 550, *supra*.

boyhood and youth; but both his father and the boy himself realized the need of care. He lived much of the time at his country home at Oyster Bay, Long Island, and gave special attention to rowing, swimming, horseback riding, Nature excursions, and outdoor life. When fourteen years of age, he accompanied his father to Egypt, going up the Nile to Luxor and making a collection of birds that was placed in the Smithsonian Museum in Washington.

Educated at Harvard; First Marriage.—Roosevelt was graduated at Harvard College in 1880, in the same class with Robert Bacon, who became partner in the firm of J. Pierpont Morgan and whom he appointed to several high offices, and in the same year married Alice Hathaway Lee, daughter of one of the wealthiest bankers of Boston, and employer of this same wealthy classmate. They went to Europe, where the young man climbed both the Jungfrau and the Matterhorn, and in honor of these exploits was made a member of the London Alpine Club.

Member State Assembly.—Settling in New York, Roosevelt studied law at Columbia University and in the office of his interesting uncle, Robert B. Roosevelt,[1] but before being admitted to the bar, entered actively into politics. As an avowed opponent to boss rule, he was elected in 1881 to the State Assembly. In 1883 he was his party's candidate for Speaker, but the Democrats were in the majority. Next year he went as delegate to the Republican National Convention, opposed the nomination of Blaine, and advocated that of Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont.

His Wife Died.—In this same year, his wife died, leaving him with a daughter. He immediately gave up Eastern life and with impaired health went as owner and manager into extensive cattle-ranching near Medora upon the Little Missouri river, North Dakota.

Second Marriage.—In 1886 Roosevelt returned to the East, married Edith Kermit Carow, a well-to-do lady of New York City, and at once ran for Mayor against Abram F. Hewitt, Tammany Democrat, and Henry George, Single Taxer and United Laborite. The Republican vote was the smallest of the three.

[1]He advocated cutting Central Park into building lots for funds to fill the city treasury.

Literary Work.—For several years, Roosevelt devoted himself largely to literary work. In 1882 he had published a standard naval history of the War of 1812. He brought out a life of Senator Thomas Hart Benton in 1887 and a life of Gouverneur Morris in 1888, "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman" in 1886, and "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail' in 1887.

Service in Appointive Offices.—His interest in politics now consisted mainly in civil service reform. In April, 1889, President Harrison appointed him a member of the United States Civil Service Commission. In a period of six years' service, he made a national reputation for himself by vigorous advocacy of the examination system and by efficient administrative methods. Most of the time, he was at war with Congress and Congressmen; but in the end 20,000 places were added to the reform system.

In 1895 he resigned to become President of the Board of Police Commissioners in New York City. His service was notably efficient, being a combination of sympathy with existing conditions and of determination to better them.

In 1897 Roosevelt became Assistant Secretary of the Navy under McKinley and set diligently about getting up (and ready for) a war with Spain. Secretary John D. Long was cold and indifferent; most of the long-time clerks of the department, hostile; Congress was disposed to ridicule the notion. But he undertook to improve the gunnery of the navy, collected ammunition, bought transports, sent ships and supplies to the Pacific stations, and advised the President to protest against the sailing of Cervera's fleet from Spain because it must be aimed against us, not against Cuba, which had no navy.

The Rough Riders.—All this Theodore Roosevelt accomplished because the political world had to make room for a man of so much energy, wealth, prestige, and daring. As soon as the war broke out, he resigned and raised a regiment of cavalry known as "Rough Riders." It included collegians, rich sportsmen, New York policemen, and Western cowboys and ranchmen. Dr. Leonard Wood, army surgeon and good soldier also, was colonel and Theodore Roosevelt lieutenant-colonel. Colonel Wood was soon made brigade commander. At San Juan Hill the regiment charged on foot, in the face of severe fire, and drove the Spaniards out of their trenches before Santiago. Though a colored regiment was equally

prominent and useful in this exploit, the glory came to the famous political reformer. When the war was over, Colonel Roosevelt, with others, wrote a "round robin" letter that exposed the mismanagement of the War Department. This was insubordination, but it accomplished both immediate and lasting good.

GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.—The Republican party of New York State promptly seized upon Roosevelt as the best available material for the making of a governor. In November, 1898, he was elected by a considerable plurality.

NAMED FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.—The notion of an aristocrat, a political reformer, and a man of letters leading valiantly the Rough Riders into battle caught the public fancy. As governor, Roosevelt made the Canal Commission—for the Erie Canal, like a railroad, is never done—non-partisan; introduced more civil service reform; and signed a corporation act that taxed public franchises. It was a good beginning; and Roosevelt was anxious to get another term and to go on with his projected reforms. But the national bosses of the Republican party desired a different kind of governor and conceived the idea of side-tracking a too independent man by making him Vice-President. They were also quite sure that his name would strengthen the ticket. Much to his chagrin, he was named for the obscure office of Vice-President.

SUCCEEDS TO THE PRESIDENCY.—Governor Roosevelt became Vice-President duly in March, 1901; but he never presided over the Senate, for upon the death of McKinley on September 14, he succeeded to an office that the bosses never intended him to have. The news reached him when hunting in the Adirondacks; and he immediately hastened to Buffalo where he took the oath of office, asserting that he proposed to follow the policies of the martyred President.

He was now but forty-two years of age, being much younger than any other President. Full of energy, running over with ideas, fearless, rich, famous on his own account, independent of the honors of any office, with an enthusiasm for real people derived from his ranch life and Cuban war associations, Theodore Roosevelt could not follow the policies of William KcKinley.

MORE LITERARY WORK.—Before coming to the Presidency in 1901, he had added other books to his literary record,—in

1891 one upon New York City; in 1895, in collaboration with Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, "Hero Tales from American History"; his greatest work, "The Winning of the West" in 1889-1896; "The Rough Riders" in 1899; "The Wilderness Hunter" in 1893; "American Ideals" in 1900; and "The Strenuous Life" in 1901.

Not an Economist.—In the character of the national problems that interested Theodore Roosevelt, he was more like Abraham Lincoln than any other President and the antithesis of Martin Van Buren. Like Lincoln, he cared little and knew little about economic questions as such. His interest and his understanding concerned ethical questions and the ethical aspects of all questions; the social situation that does not have moral and ethical aspects never exists or can exist. To use his own phrase, he turned the Presidency into "such a bully pulpit" for preaching the principles of right and wrong to his fellow countrymen. In the language of his critics and enemies, he "rediscovered the Ten Commandments." Along with the preaching went such accomplishment as existing statutes and the personnel of the three several branches of government,—the courts, Congress, and the executive branch,—permitted.

Unprecedented Number of Cabinet Changes.—

State,—John Hay of Ohio, four years; Elihu Root of New York, three and a half years; Robert Bacon of New York, six weeks.

Treasury,—Lyman J. Gage of Illinois, four months; Leslie M. Shaw of Iowa, five years; George B. Cortelyou of New York, over two years.

War,—Elihu Root of New York, over two years; William H. Taft of Ohio, four and a half years; Luke E. Wright of Tennessee, nine months.

Attorney-General,—Philander C. Knox of Pennsylvania, three years; William H. Moody of Massachusetts, two and a half years; Charles J. Bonaparte of Maryland, over two years, great grandson of the father and mother of Napoleon.

Postmaster-General,—Charles E. Smith of Pennsylvania, five months; Henry C. Payne of Wisconsin, nearly three years; Robert J. Wynne of Pennsylvania, four months; George B. Cortelyou of New York, two years; George Von L. Meyer of Massachusetts, two years.

Navy,—John D. Long of Massachusetts, eight months;

William H. Moody of Massachusetts, over two years; Paul Morton of Illinois, one year; Charles J. Bonaparte, one and a half years; Victor H. Metcalf of California, two years; Truman H. Newberry of Michigan, five months.

Interior,—Ethan A. Hitchcock of Missouri, five and a half years; James R. Garfield of Ohio, two years, son of James A. Garfield, President, 1881.

Agriculture,—James Wilson of Iowa.

Commerce and Labor,—George B. Cortelyou, one and a half years; Victor H. Metcalf, two and a half years; Oscar S. Straus, two and a half years.

This was a new department.

Departmental Efficiency.—Of the accomplishments of Roosevelt as President, not the least was his improvement of the efficiency of the men at the head of the executive divisions and bureaus. He was always himself the chief, treating all his Secretaries (as did Jackson and Lincoln and Cleveland), whether rich or poor, famous or unknown, old or young, as working assistants, not as colleagues. The persistent tendency of Congress is to seek to break up the unity of the executive branch by requiring reports directly to itself without passing through the hands of the President. Congress tried to do so repeatedly under Roosevelt, but failed.

The Republic Transformed.—The range of interests cared for under Roosevelt vastly exceeded those under any earlier President. The administration of McKinley had transformed the Republic. The number of Government offices and clerkships grew to 360,000 in Roosevelt's time, an increase of thirty per cent. in ten years. Theodore Roosevelt managed to make himself felt everywhere, even in places where the common sense of the public scarcely supported his intrusions. Especially disliked by many were his utterances respecting large families of children. But he set in process the demolition of great trusts, as in the attack upon the Northern Securities Company, which aimed to unite the great competing railways of the Northwest. Yet he was no legalist; and his actions, being without inner consistency, appeared those of a polyphase, unprincipled, earnest, and somewhat dangerous man. No one knew what to expect next.

The Monroe Doctrine.—The first important official action

of President Roosevelt was to modify the Monroe Doctrine[1] by a limitation. Venezuela had resented the claims of private citizens against herself. Some claims were probably fraudulent, but Venezuela did not judiciously or even judicially discriminate. When, in 1901, Germany undertook to enforce payment, President Roosevelt declared that the United States would permit punishment provided Germany did not undertake to acquire territory in the New World. A year later Germany, England, and Italy blockaded Venezuela. Next year the new Hague Court of internal arbitration supported the claims of these powers.

Similarly, Roosevelt intervened in the affairs of San Domingo, quite in the spirit of President Grant. This occurred in 1904, when he extended the Monroe Doctrine by asserting that when a government was wicked or impotent the United States might resort "to the exercise of international police power." In 1905 he signed a protocol giving to the United States control of San Domingo finances. Congress objected strenuously until in 1907 the Senate agreed to a treaty along the lines of the original Roosevelt plan.

Helps the Mine Workers and the Nation.—Early in 1902 the United Mine Workers struck for shorter hours and for higher wages. The attitude of the mine owners was offensive to the public mind. Wholly without warrant of law or custom, Roosevelt intervened, and with signal success. It was a picturesque incident in that he was laid up at the time with trouble in a leg,—the circumstance was a reminder of the experience of George Washington in his early days as President.[2] By his intervention Roosevelt saved us the horrors of a Homestead strike[3] and a Pullman riot,[4] and secured better terms for the men.

The Earth Girdled by Electric Telegraph Lines.—In the summer of 1903, the circuit of the earth by electric cable and wire was completed, and from his summer home at Oyster Bay President Roosevelt telegraphed to Honolulu and Manila. This achievement greatly facilitated government in the Pacific islands.[5]

[1] See pp. 298 *et seq.*; 542, *supra.*
[2] See p. 232, *supra.*
[3] See p. 547, *supra.*
[4] See p. 541, *supra.*
[5] See p. 158, *supra.*

In the fall of the same year, by arbitration award, the boundaries of Alaska and Canada were settled. These sustained most of the American claims.

Panama Seized.—But the most interesting of all the events of the first term of Roosevelt was a revolution at Panama, by which the State of Panama seceded from Columbia and created itself a Republic and then gave to the United States a right of way for an interocean ship-canal. Such a canal had been dreamed of for four hundred years. It was more than suspected that the "revolution" was engineered by Americans. In 1911, in an address in California, Roosevelt definitely said of Panama, "I took it."

A Highly Significant View of the Presidency.—Later in the same year, in a published article, he set forth his theory that the President has the right to do anything useful that he has the power to do and that the Constitution, the statutes, and the judicial decisions do not expressly forbid. The President is "the steward of the public welfare." In the zone lying between his powers and his prohibitions, the President deals only with his own conscience, and his only risk is impeachment.[1]

The Panama Canal.—In 1902 we had bought the old French canal as far as completed and the rights for $40,000,000. By treaty in 1904, we paid $10,000,000 to Panama for a strip of land ten miles wide. Unless the vast Gatun dam breaks, the canal will be completed in 1913, at a cost of $400,000,000, the most stupendous engineering achievement in human history, reducing the distance by sea from New York to San Francisco from 14,000 to 5000 miles, and changing the politics of all the earth. How useful this will prove in a future age of airships and aeroplanes, how soon science will make it as obsolete as the pyramids, we do not foreknow.

Nominated President.—In 1904 the Republican party named Theodore Roosevelt for President, with Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana as Vice-President. The latter was a rich corporation lawyer, a friend of former President Harrison, and at this time United States Senator.

The Democratic party nominated Alton B. Parker, Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of New York State, for President, and with him associated for the Vice-Presidential place upon the ticket Henry Gassaway Davis, former United States

[1]See p. 154, *supra.*

Senator from West Virginia, banker and railroad president, multimillionaire, and at the time eighty-one years of age.

The Issues.—The party platforms joined issue on the protective tariff, on the imperialism itself, and on the resultant colonial policy, but agreed substantially on the trusts and on the gold standard. During the campaign, Judge Parker made the charge that the Republicans were gathering immense campaign funds from life insurance companies and other great corporations. This charge Roosevelt vehemently denied, asking for "a square deal." The people believed him,—for several years.

A Brilliant Past and the Lie Win the Election.—In the election the popular vote stood for the Republicans by 2,500,000 plurality and by 1,500,000 majority. To this amazing triumph, several factors contributed. Many of Bryan's free silver followers refused to vote for the Democratic ticket; the nomination of Davis had been offensive because obviously the intention was to "tap Davis' money-barrel," yet in fact Davis gave but little; and the Republicans had immense funds, derived, as Parker has said, from the trusts and insurance companies. If, as Roosevelt asserted later, upon proof of his error, he did not know the sources of the supplies, then he was singularly blind in view of his opportunities, for his own secretary, George B. Cortelyou, was campaign manager. If not ignorant, then his stout denial was a dark and damning stain upon his mainly white escutcheon. The labor vote was his anyway.

President for Himself.—With this endorsement, Roosevelt now entered upon his own elective term with enthusiasm and confidence. He was the only Vice-President ever to be elected President.[1] No other man had ever received so large a popular vote or so great a majority. The Electoral College had stood 336 for him to 140 for Parker. It was true that Judge Parker had not proven to be a popular national candidate; and yet he was in fact a good lawyer, a man of the highest character, and was a popular man in his own State. In the trial between them, the former New York Governor, however, had defeated the Chief Justice. Even the Solid South, moved by his Southern maternal ancestry and by his favorable attitude toward negro industrial education, had

[1] See pp. 31, 32, 58, *supra*.

shown signs of breaking-up in order to honor Theodore Roosevelt.

Public Enlightenment.—His one all-inclusive aim, in what was virtually his second term, was to enlighten the public mind and to awaken the public conscience to the serious evils of the politico-economic régime. To defeat plutocracy he advocated publicity through the agencies of government. It was not a wholly logical program, it was not wholly successful, but that the aim was itself true, and that the President rendered an exceedingly important service, later history is not likely to dispute.

In 1903 the Department of Commerce and Labor had been created, and to its activities the President directed especial attention in the development of his program of reform.

Congress passed a Meat Inspection Act and a Pure Food and Drug Act in order to promote the interests of honest dealers against the dishonest adulterators.

An act was passed prohibiting the States from naturalizing as citizens any persons who cannot read and write the English language. This was a distinct step in centralization, but one so consonant with almost universal public opinion that its constitutionality has never been challenged. This limitation tends to weaken the power of political bosses in cities,—which means the power of capitalists to buy votes and to control government.

The Russo-Japanese Treaty.—In 1903 war had begun between Japan and Russia. In a single battle of that war there had fallen more killed and wounded than fell in all the battles of the War between the States together. In the summer of 1905 the American government initiated proposals of peace,—in a manner that caused both parties to hesitate to proceed. At Portsmouth, New Hampshire, upon our own soil, a treaty was finally arranged late in August by representatives of the Mikado and of the Emperor. The credit of forcing this peace clearly belongs to Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States. But historians will dispute for many a century whether or not it would have been better to let one of the greatest wars in human history work itself out to the bitter end; and what that end would have been. Russia is Christian-Greek Catholic; but Russia is also a tyranny gross, brutal, and corrupt. Japan is pagan, whatever that means, pro-

gressive, idealistic. Russians are white, Japs are yellow. And the race-struggle is the greatest fact of all the life of humanity.

As Japan was winning, the treaty was favorable to her; but not so favorable as, of course, her patriots desired. The action of Roosevelt,—with its covert threat of the interference of American troops and ships,—pleased no Japanese, and angered Russian progressives. It laid, however, new solid stones in the rising temple that, ages and ages hence, may shelter the world-parliament of peaceful mankind.

Breaks a Party Leader.—In 1906 the personal affiliations of Senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio, with corrupt business magnates and their tools and heelers, became known in part through the activities of a New York newspaper, which published some of his correspondence. The Senator had incensed the President by attacking a military order discharging three companies of colored troops for "shooting up" the town of Brownsville, Texas. There were threats even of impeachment. In fiery personal conversation, Roosevelt asserted that he "would dig a grave six feet deep, chuck Foraker into it, and stamp the earth down upon him." And he did, for he understood Ohio politics better even than the famous and eloquent but at least indiscreet Grand Army orator. Foraker was soon out of the Senate and dead in politics.

Admission of Oklahoma.—In 1907, after much parleying, the new State of Oklahoma was admitted into the Union. It contained then about 1,500,000 persons, of whom two-thirds were white, the rest being Indians, half-breeds, negroes, and mestizos. The Constitution of this State, which comprised both the Indian Territory, begun in 1838 under Jackson and settled largely in the ten years after the InterState War,—the Indians had negro slaves and supported the South,—and also the western territory of Oklahoma, contained many innovations that did not please the Northeast in general or Roosevelt in particular. It is at least radical, if not progressive; and it is certainly long enough and detailed enough, if not wise. It is not a constitution only, but legislation.

In 1912, Roosevelt became the convinced advocate of all these innovations,—direct legislation by initiative, by referendum, by recall,—and even advocated review of judicial decisions by popular vote.

An American Fleet Astonishes the World.—In 1907, in a recess of Congress, without specific legislation or appropriation therefor,[1] but by economizing in the miscellaneous funds, President Roosevelt despatched a fleet of sixteen battleships to circumnavigate the earth. It was an astonishing innovation to teach the world the greatness of the United States. When Congress assembled, there was some grumbling, for the extra cost for coal and other supplies was several millions of dollars. But public opinion exercised for Roosevelt a dispensing power.

The House of Governors.—In 1908 the President called a meeting of all the governors of the States, together with several notable multimillionaires and public leaders, to discuss at the White House the conservation of our natural resources. This led to the formation of the House of Governors, meeting annually, and has tended in consequence to State's rights through decentralized activities. The first direct result of this first meeting was the appointment of a commission to reclaim arid lands by irrigation and swamp lands by drainage; to check the erosion of soil by streams, especially to check complete denudation of hillsides of their forests; to develop inland waterways; and to regulate the removal of ores and coal from their treasuries under ground.

There was appointed by the President an unofficial rural life commission, without salary, whose direct purpose was to discover ways to induce city families to move into the country, and country families to improve their conditions at home.

The District of Columbia.—It illustrates the multifarious activities of Theodore Roosevelt that in 1906, at his instance, Congress passed an Act reforming the public schools of the voteless District of Columbia by extending to them a civil service merit system and by introducing industrial instruction. By Congressional lobbying, however, these measures were partly frustrated before they became fully operative.

In 1908, when a bill was before Congress to enforce free transfers between the several electric traction street railways of Washington, an ugly discovery was made that the private secretary to the President held in his own name 4750 shares of these companies. Upon his own written admission, as published in the "Congressional Record," most of these shares were held for Senators and Representatives. The bill was

[1] See pp. 284, 302, *supra*.

defeated to the enrichment of the companies; and the secretary became a director of the largest, whose active manager had led the lobby that in part defeated the school reform measures. Incidentally, it was revealed that the private secretary of the Speaker of the House was heavily interested in asphalt contracts for the streets of the District. Speaker J. G. Cannon was found to be interested in the Anacostia flats, which it was proposed to drain at National cost. To all such matters, the President refused to open his eyes, asserting that the government of the District was as good as the people wished it to be. His successor, however, made some prompt and beneficial changes in the District Commission and elsewhere.

The "Roosevelt Panic."—In 1907 a financial panic occurred. Its first symptoms were the failures of a prominent trust company in New York and of certain allied banks and speculators. But it spread widely, affecting banks perhaps as much as the panic of 1893. In the course of the settlement of these affairs, the United States Steel Corporation, with a capital of one and a half billions of dollars, was allowed by the President to absorb its greatest rival, the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company. That this was done in violation of the Sherman Act against trusts all now understand.[1]

Many rich men charged that this was a "Roosevelt panic," due to his preachments against "malefactors of great wealth," by which he had created general business distrust.

Declines to Allow His Name for President Again.—At the same period, he undertook to coerce Congress to pass certain bills that he favored, using measures that both astonished, angered and disconcerted his enemies. Nevertheless, had he himself been willing to accept the nomination, the Republican party would have named him for President again in the elections of 1908. He was, however, himself unwilling to run,—and for many reasons. He was by no means sure of reelection on account of a third-term cry (not wholly justified) and of the opposition of certain rich men and of many politicians. If elected, he had seen in his own lifetime the deaths of Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley and had read in history how Caesar died. He would go a-hunting and then spend his later years writing books, and to use his own phrase, reflecting upon his "perfectly corking time" as President.

Names His Successor.—Among his lieutenants, two were

[1]See p. 586, *infra*.

highly regarded,—Elihu Root and W. H. Taft. Chiefly upon the grounds of availability, Roosevelt decided to endorse the candidacy of the latter.

He took a prominent part in the campaign for the election of Taft to "carry out the Roosevelt policies."

The African Hunt.—Before he had ended his term as President, Roosevelt had been appointed "consulting editor" of a national weekly magazine, originally founded by Henry Ward Beecher, and had contracted with a high-class monthly magazine for a series of hunting articles. On March 23, 1909, he set out for Africa to revisit the scenes of his excursions as a boy-naturalist and to extend the range of his hunting to the equatorial tropics. He proposed to add to the Smithsonian Museum at Washington the finest collection of African animals and birds in the world. To this end, assisted by some multimillionaires whose names he has recently given to the public,—an admission that has created distrust regarding the Tennessee Coal and Iron deal with the United States Steel Corporation,—Roosevelt organized the greatest hunting expedition that is recorded in human history. The exploits of Nimrod are mythical, those of Roosevelt are attested by the skins of trophies, by the captured living animals themselves, by the many African, European and American witnesses, and by photographs. The hunt ended in March, 1910, with entire success. His book, "African Game Trails," is admirably written and is of substantial value as a social study and a travel record as well as the diary of a big and small game naturalist.

Tour in Europe.—Then the former President made a tour of Europe, visiting many sovereigns, and seeing its capitals and universities on even terms with monarchs and savants and statesmen. He was received with honors comparable with those of ex-President Grant, and with even louder and more public acclaim. He refused to see the Pope, because the Pope ordered him not to visit a certain Protestant minister in Rome. He failed to visit Russia, probably because the Russian autocracy had been ungrateful to him for saving its political life and the Russian people were hostile because he had delayed the coming of the Republic. All of his European addresses were widely published. One of them considerably affected European history,—that at the Guild Hall, London,

advocating a more rigorous policy in Egypt against the murderous Nationalists.

Ovation at Home.—On his arrival home at New York, almost literally all nearby America turned out to welcome him. He received an ovation like that accorded in 1899 to Admiral George Dewey, hero of Manila Bay. But he did not rest. He immediately took part in the Republican party politics of New York State, naming the candidate for Governor. After the defeat of that candidate, in 1911, he persuaded President Taft to make him Secretary of War.

Since 1910 Roosevelt has made speaking tours of the country. His magazine articles are widely read. Individually considered, the former President is the most prominent citizen of the country. But he has not the political influence of Jefferson or of Jackson. He lives at Oyster Bay, Long Island. His oldest daughter is now the wife of a millionaire Congressman,—Nicholas Longworth of Ohio. He has four sons and two daughters.

In the spring of 1912 he made a vigorous canvass for renomination as President, repudiating friendship with the President and insisting upon his right to a third term. He styled the proposition to make a President ineligible to a second term or to a third "tomfool."

Personal Appearance.—Theodore Roosevelt is a large man, not tall, but strong and heavy, weighing above two hundred twenty-five pounds. His physical endurance is not easily credible. He has already done an able man's life work in each of three fields,—in government and politics, in natural history and hunting, and in history and literature.

Ability and Character.—His versatility is his most notable intellectual quality; his intense earnestness his most notable moral quality. His fault has been insufficient consideration of important matters, with too quick aptness to interfere in misunderstood policies and details. He has, of course, been inconsistent; nor has he been above that human quality of intense natures of being blind to the faults of his friends. Too much the politician to be wholly scrupulous, Theodore Roosevelt nevertheless is easily entitled to a place among the leading Presidents. He will rank high rather in ability than in character, however; and the censures upon him will be that he exhausted his influence by dissipating his own

interests and activities and by resorting upon more than one occasion to bullying, to evading, to simulation, and to dissimulation. It is a pity indeed that one with so clean a personal life cannot rank with the reformed and the redeemed. Quality as well as quantity counts in this life.

Compared with Others.—Let us set Theodore Roosevelt with Jackson. Let us think of him side by side with Benjamin Franklin. Even so, we see that he was unique. Perhaps, Hayes was his almost exact antithesis. Perhaps, intellectually, but not otherwise, he most resembled J. Q. Adams.

For all his faults, however, Theodore Roosevelt was distinctly superior to the weakest and worst of our Presidents—to speak comparatively, for not one was intentionally unpatriotic or false to his trust—to Tyler, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, and Grant. For all his virtues, he was measurably inferior to the strongest and best of the Presidents. His ultimate rank is, of course, beyond present estimation; but with his views on war and peace, on sobriety of utterance and dignity in action before a calmer world of posterity, Theodore Roosevelt is not likely to be listed with Jefferson, Madison, Lincoln or even with J. Q. Adams, Van Buren, or Cleveland.

But owing to his admirable achievements in so many other lines and to his influence upon general American social history and to his European fame, though he may accomplish nothing more from now to his death,—which is unlikely,—Theodore Roosevelt is certain to be classed as one of the ablest of our race. He is easily an American immortal. Not often does a man appear who is an athlete—hunter—rancher—naturalist—historian — critic — politician — statesman — soldier willing to kill or to be killed all in one; and in each at least second, if not first, class. To be versatile imperils fame; but to be sufficiently versatile insures fame. In itself, versatility is a distinctive quality.

In all explicitness, Roosevelt suffers beside McKinley in modesty and in charity, and beside Taft in candor and in quiet efficiency as an administrator; but clearly exceeds even them in a terrible directness of insight. But all three together suffer in comparison with their predecessor, Cleveland, whose political career was without intrigue or secrecy or indirection. No rich friends backed Cleveland, no funds elected him, no apologists followed him to explain his public character and conduct.

But the suspicion will persist that in some day to come we shall know the inner story of the career of Theodore Roosevelt and that it will be a revelation of personal character and of American social conditions well worth reading and considering. Here is almost as fascinating an example of human nature as Napoleon, without his opportunities, with not quite his abilities but of a higher moral life. Perhaps polyphase dynamic mediocrity, though it seems intellectual disorder and moral irresponsibility, is admirable in an age that worships cautious, thorough, brilliant specialization.

Not until he is dead, will the United States have political peace. And yet perhaps "in the providence of God" (as men say) we may need strife rather than peace.

CHAPTER XXVII

William Howard Taft

1909-
1857-

46-48 States 1910—Population 92,000,000
Admitted: Arizona, New Mexico.

Taft *v.* Root for President—his ancestry—a distinguished father—educated at Yale College—fine student—personal appearance—Cincinnati Law school—newspaper work—collector of internal revenue—assistant county collector—Judge of Superior Court—United States Solicitor-General—Circuit Judge—decides against labor—marriage—multimillionaire relatives—law school dean—head of the Philippine Government—the best proconsul ever sent out by any people—$7,000,000 paid for lands of Spanish friars—public schools—Secretary of War—Panama Canal—"Uncle Sam's travelling man"—liked by Congress—"steam-roller" methods in Republican Convention—another balanced ticket—a third Bryan defeat—great funds—his Cabinet—tariff revision upward—Congress becomes Democratic—Champ Clark—Canadian reciprocity—tariff reduction vetoed—his addresses—high administration efficiency—the present issues.

Root or Taft.—Theodore Roosevelt made William Howard Taft President, but Benjamin Harrison discovered him.

Nor was he the first choice of Roosevelt, who would have preferred his Secretary of State, Elihu Root. But Root was not only a man of far-sighted statesmanship but also a great and famous, even notorious, New York corporation lawyer, rich partly by marriage though mainly by fees. The Republican managers dared not name him as Presidential candidate but instead voted their tools in the New York Legislature and sent him to the United States Senate to succeed the providentially deceased Thomas H. Platt, corruptionist and head of a corrupt express company. Taft was available. He was personally poor, but he had a rich half-brother and a very rich sister-in-law; and his wife had another rich sister-in-law, each reputed to be a twenty-millionaire, and willing to help forward a connection-by-marriage.

Ancestry.—President Taft, the twenty-seventh President to hold office, counting Cleveland twice, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on September 15, 1857. His father Alphonso Taft was a man of public distinction, a native of Vermont, graduate of Yale College and Law School, later a judge of court, then Secretary of War and Attorney-General under Grant, and Minister to Austria and to Russia under Arthur, a prominent, if not powerful, man in politics. His mother comes from Massachusetts colonial stock.

Educated at Yale; His Mind and Body.—William Howard Taft went to the Cincinnati public schools, and then to Yale where he made a brilliant and substantial record in his class as a student, becoming salutatorian. He was interested in athletics, though his huge size made his own participation in sports inconvenient.

Experiences in Early Manhood.—Taft was graduated from the Cincinnati College of Law in 1880, being tied for first place as a law student; and was at once admitted to the bar. His older half-brother, Charles P. Taft, owner of the *Times* newspaper in Cincinnati, employed him as a legal reporter for a few months. Then he went to the *Commercial*. But, early in 1881, he became assistant prosecuting attorney for his county and, in 1882, was made collector of internal revenue for the first district of Ohio. In 1883 he resigned and practiced law for two years. From 1885 to 1887, he was assistant solicitor for his county, and then was appointed to fill a vacancy as judge of the Superior Court of Ohio, an office

that his father had held at fifty-five years of age. Next year the people duly elected him judge. In 1890 President Harrison chose him to be Solicitor-General of the United States.

As Circuit Judge.—This was his first real opportunity. He was engaged in two important matters, drafting the Sherman Anti-Trust Act[1] and negotiating the Bering Sea seal controversy.[2] In 1892 he was made a United States (Sixth) Circuit Judge. In this capacity, he rendered several important decisions against organized labor. One was against the secondary boycott. Another was against the powerful Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, which tried to prevent certain railroads from accepting freight from another railroad, against which its engineers were on strike. Still another decision declared criminal a rule of the Brotherhood forbidding its members to haul freight under certain conditions. In a fourth instance, he sent an agent of the American Railway Union to jail. He said that "the starvation of a nation cannot be the lawful purpose of a combination," and also that "if there is any power in the army of the United States to run those trains, the trains will be run."

By these various decisions and injunctions, Taft became known as a friend of the railroads and an enemy of organized labor. He had especially antagonized P. M. Arthur, the able chief of the Brotherhood of Railway Engineers, and Eugene V. Debs, president of the American Railway Union.

Marriage.—The personal associations of Judge Taft caused him to favor the rich. In 1886 he had married Helen Herron of Cincinnati, whose sister was the wife of a Pittsburg multimillionaire iron manufacturer, the junior partner of the independent firm of Jones & Laughlin. His own brother was a multimillionaire, as was his wife, Annie Sinton Taft. The Tafts were intimate friends of the Longworths, an old family of Cincinnati, and commonly reputed to be its wealthiest citizens.[3] No historical view of W. H. Taft that neglects these facts is impartial and serious.

As an Educator.—In 1896 Taft was dean and professor in the Law School of the University of Cincinnati. In 1899 there was a serious movement to make him President of Yale

[1]Department officers frequently "assist" Congress in drafting legislation.
[2]See p. 548, *supra*.
[3]See pp. 576, *supra*; 582, *infra*.

University, but he favored Professor Arthur T. Hadley, who was selected. Judge Taft had had some experience in control of public schools in the city of Cincinnati, and with his usual quick and true insight into situations asserted that a college president should be a professional educator. He is now a Trustee of Yale University.

Pro-consul in the Philippines.—In 1900, suddenly, there came to Professor Taft his second great opportunity. President McKinley asked him to take the Presidency of the Commission to govern the Philippine Islands. With his usual frankness, he told McKinley that he was opposed to American rule in the Philippines. But upon the President's characteristically persuasive insistence, Taft accepted. In 1901 he became Governor-General of the Islands. He confronted one of the worst possible situations. There was constant friction between the American military and civil authorities. Though the primacy of the civil over the military is a cardinal principle of American Government, the existing situation in the Philippines made it necessary that, in many matters, the military should have right of way. The Filipinos hated the Spaniards and were scarcely more friendly at first to the Americans.

Though the United States Government supported Taft uniformly, many Americans were constantly intriguing against the régime. These included the Boston anti-imperialists, many Bryanites, and many business men who saw advantage in turmoil. But though the historian of the future may write censoriously of William H. Taft as a Judge, and not wholly favorably of him as a President, it is scarcely likely to revise the opinion that he made the best "pro-consul" ever sent out by a foreign and victorious nation to rule a conquered people up to the year 1904, when he resigned. His excellent performances included inaugurating American public schools and an adjustment with Rome by a personal visit to the Pope by which, for $7,000,000, the Philippine Government acquired all the vast areas of land owned in the islands by the Spanish friars. In 1902 President Roosevelt offered to him a place on the Supreme Court bench, but he declined in order to finish his work in the Philippines.

Secretary of War.—But in 1904, when the President asked him to become Secretary of War, in his Cabinet, Governor-General Taft resigned. In the appointment, he saw

opportunities both to forward the building of the Panama Canal, which would help the Filipinos, and also to regulate the military establishment in the Islands. He knew also that few white men can long remain in the Philippines without serious impairment of health. Despite several ocean trips during his term of office, he felt that on account of his health he should end his stay at Manila. Nevertheless, in the summer of 1905, he took a party of Congressmen out there,—the party included Nicholas Longworth, M. C., of Cincinnati, and Alice Roosevelt, the oldest child of Theodore Roosevelt.

Uncle Sam's Traveling Man.—In the fall of 1906, when the United States intervened, Secretary Taft took charge of Cuban affairs. In 1907 he inspected the Panama Canal and also visited Cuba and Porto Rico. In October of this year, he went to the Philippines and opened their first legislature. He came back *via* Japan, Siberia, and Russia, attending *en route* to several diplomatic duties. In this period he became popularly known as "Uncle Sam's traveling man."

A Popular Man.—Many forces contributed to his candidacy for the Republican nomination for President in 1908. He had had no time to make money and no time even to consider how to save any money out of his salaries. Except for the four years of his modest law professorship, he had always been a public man; and a public servant in America cannot easily save money. Theodore Roosevelt was his friend and admirer; and was now the father-in-law of a son of his nearest Cincinnati family friends.

Most of all, the "big man" had caught the public eye happily as being good-natured, diplomatic, industrious, honest, and efficient. Senators and Representatives on the Committees of Congress told how Taft, unlike all other Secretaries, when asked questions by mail or by telephone as to the Department of War about pending legislation, swung upon a trolley car down Pennsylvania Avenue and in a quarter hour was at the Capitol. Other Secretaries took days to hunt information and to write it out. One prominent Senator remarked, "Taft may be in Washington only a day a month, but he is of more use to Congress in that one day than other Secretaries who spend the whole month at their desks." It was exaggeration, but it formulated the general Congressional opinion. For one thing, "Big Bill Taft," as he had been called since college days by

many, liked to meet other men; his size and his geniality and his amazingly quick mind enabled him usually to win his points quickly.

"Injunction Bill."—But organized labor called him "Injunction Bill." Only once in his life had he come before the people for an election office, and that was for a judgeship. Though his rich brother Charles had been a Congressman in 1895-6, the Tafts were not considered popular in Ohio; and Ohio was perhaps the pivotal State. Judges seldom make popular candidates. Only four years before, Judge Parker of New York had been tremendously defeated.[1]

Work for the Republican Nomination.—The Taft enthusiasts, however, set to work to force his nomination. The Postmaster-General, Frank H. Hitchcock, a brilliant young bachelor, resigned from the Cabinet, and, being supplied with great funds, opened offices in Washington to corral the votes of all the Southern delegates, many of whom were Federal officeholders. By the time that the Convention had assembled at Chicago in June, the field was ready for "steam-roller" methods.

The vote on the first ballot stood 702 to 278 for all other candidates. For Vice-President, the party leaders then turned to a personal and political friend of Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, well known as a corruptionist, who was Roosevelt's avowed enemy, and named James Schoolcraft Sherman, member of Congress from New York State. Sherman was a scholarly man, a banker. He was known as "Sunny Jim Sherman" and as a clever New York State politician. The nomination was generally considered weak and unsatisfactory, because Sherman was not conspicuously rich and the Cannon anti-Roosevelt wing of the Republican party was unpopular.

Bryan Again.—The Democrats, however, played directly into the hands of the Republicans. They chose for Presidential nominee William Jennings Bryan, whom McKinley had twice defeated; and for Vice-Presidential candidate John W. Kern, an Indiana lawyer, who had twice been defeated for the governorship of his own State and had never risen higher than State Senator, an office that he had held for three years. He had then become city attorney for Indianapolis, leaving that office in 1901. As far as Kern stood for anything, it was for a rich Democratic politician, Thomas Taggart, who

[1]See p. 569, *supra*.

was in bad odor locally and nationally. It was a fatal association for Bryan, the reformer.

Elected President.—In the campaign, great funds were expended by the Republicans, though not so great as in the year when Hanna helped to put McKinley into the Presidency.[1] The Republican vote was 7,678,908, the Democratic 6,409,104. The Socialist vote was 420,793, the Prohibitionist 253,840. In the Electoral College Taft had 321 votes, Bryan 162.

In his inaugural address, following the Republican party platform and his own campaign speeches, President Taft advocated a strict enforcement of the John Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the regulation of railroad rates by the InterState Commerce Commission, the conservation of natural resources; a strong navy; postal savings banks; free trade with the Philippine Islands; mail subsidies for American ships; and the revision of the tariff in order to insure to our manufacturers a price sufficient to give to them a reasonable profit in competition with foreigners. All these propositions, together with his personal assurance that he hoped to help solve the race problems and to secure a better mutual understanding between South and North, indicated a desire to promote centralization and national unity.

The Cabinet of Taft.—The Cabinet chosen by the famous general agent of the American Government when he took charge of it as head aroused great interest and much questioning. The membership was:

State,—Philander C. Knox of Pennsylvania.
Treasury,—Franklin MacVeagh of Illinois.
War,—Jacob M. Dickinson of Tennessee.
Attorney-General,—George W. Wickersham of New York.
Postmaster-General, Frank H. Hitchcock of Massachusetts.
Navy,—George von L. Meyer of Massachusetts.
Interior,—Richard A. Ballinger of Washington (State).
Agriculture,—James Wilson of Iowa.
Commerce and Labor,—Charles Nagel of Missouri.

This Cabinet was universally considered, first, a Cabinet to represent "the interests," meaning thereby, the rich; second, non-partisan, for Dickinson and MacVeagh were Democrats; third, experienced and able. A strong administration was looked to, but not a progressive one. Continued popular attacks of newspaper origin and a Congressional investigation

[1] See pp. 552 *et seq.*, *supra.*

led to the resignation of Secretary Ballinger, who had forced the removal of Gifford Pinchot, head of the Forestry Division and the leading conservationist in America, a millionaire and an intimate friend of Theodore Roosevelt. The Department of the Interior was then placed in charge of Walter L. Fisher, a Chicago lawyer, a local reformer, and a conservation leader. Not long afterwards, Dickinson resigned from the War Department, finding that the hold of the bureaucrats upon the Department of War was too strong to permit the Secretary to accomplish anything.[1] He was succeeded by the defeated Republican candidate for Governor in New York State in the campaign of 1910, Henry L. Stimson, whose selection was considered an effort by the President to bind the loyalty to himself of former President Roosevelt.

Tariff Revision Upward.—In view of his election promises, President Taft called a special session of Congress for April, 1909, to revise the tariff. The people expected the tariff to be scaled downward. Instead the Payne-Aldrich compromise measure revised the tariff slightly upward, making its duties slightly higher than those of any other tariff in our history. As incidental features to secure the signature of the President, liberal concessions were made to the Philippines, always near his heart. The people generally hoped for a veto; but were greatly disappointed.

Postal savings banks were established in all parts of the land, with deposits exceeding $50,000,000 by December 31, 1911.

The Tour of the Country in 1909.—In the fall of 1909 the President made a tour of the country, traveling some 13,000 miles and making some three hundred speeches. At Winona, Minnesota, he declared the Payne-Aldrich tariff the best so far in the history of the country. This declaration aroused bitter criticism. The Congressional election of 1910 went heavily against the Republicans. Speaker Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois, a politician of a racy character, personally interesting but morally indefensible, was succeeded by Champ Clark of Missouri, long the Democratic leader of the House of Representatives, a scholar and an orator. The Democrats now had forty-six majority in a House of three hundred and ninety-one members.

Canadian Reciprocity.—But President Taft had been

[1]See pp. 191-192, *supra*.

steadily at work upon a matter of international diplomacy involving substantial free trade under reciprocity with Canada. He forced the agreement through a reluctant Republican Senate, assisted by the enthusiastic support of the Democratic House, in the summer of 1911 at a special session of Congress. This measure was a political *coup* of major importance and was extraordinarily popular with the middle and working classes of the American people, who fondly dream that the plutocracy will allow tariffs to be made innocuous.

Suits Against Great Corporations.—Decisions of the United States Supreme Court in 1911 supported the Roosevelt-Taft policy in respect to the Sherman Anti-Trust Act by ordering the dissolution of the Oil, the Tobacco and several minor trusts, from all of which dissolutions, their stockholders came out richer than before; nor was any effect upon prices favorable to the consumers.

Three Vetoes.—The special session of Congress passed three measures to reduce the tariff. These were known as the Wool Bill, the Farmers' Free List, and the Cotton Bill. The President vetoed each with the statement that he must wait upon a tariff commission that he had appointed in order to find out what reductions were fair and proper under the Republican theory that the manufacturer must be guaranteed a reasonable profit. These vetoes were effective since the Democrats of the House were not numerous enough to put the bills through against the vetoes and then to force them upon the Republican Senate for passage.

These vetoes were all unpopular, but worse befell when Canada refused, by a large majority in a general election, to ratify the reciprocity agreement. Its reason for so doing was largely sentimental and natural hatred felt by descendants of the exiled Loyalists. A defection already of importance in the Republican ranks was thereby greatly strengthened. Insurgency became strong generally and dominated the West under Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin. In the Fall of 1911 Taft made another circuit of the country; and directed judicial proceedings to dissolve the Steel Trust. He ended his tour with the assertion that either the country must have restored individualism in industry or State Socialism.

His Disposition Changing.—President Taft has written

nothing directly for commercial publication, but there have been published three volumes of his university and other addresses and speeches. A great change took place during his administration in his own disposition. At first, he was insensitive to public opinion, but later he became sensitive. This change was due in part to the return of Theodore Roosevelt from his African hunt, and to the bitter public criticism of all the features of his course with respect to the reduction of the tariff.

During his administration the work upon the Panama Canal advanced with notable rapidity and thoroughness.

Uncertainties.—In the Spring of 1912, the future of William Howard Taft is highly doubtful. Though his nomination to succeed himself is likely, it is by no means certain. A split of the party into two factions is entirely possible.[1] His reelection, despite administrative efficiency of a high order, is even more doubtful. Constant Cabinet dissensions have aided much to weaken his political position before the country. These have turned largely upon questions of the honesty and sincerity of the Cabinet Secretaries and division and bureau chiefs. There have been charges of executive betrayals of the public interest in respect to forest and coal conservation and of pure food legislation. Several prominent official workers for the public good were released from Government service and others, though retained, were permitted to suffer from continuing departmental broils.

In March, 1912, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, head chemist of the Department of Agriculture and the leader in the pure food and drug movement, was forced out of office by his official associates. To this, President Taft unwisely consented.

Rumors of great governmental and quasi-public corporation funds misappropriated to political uses, high prices and slack business, the extraordinary influence of Federal office-holders in State and local politics and "trust-busting" without constructive policies have made the country feel distrust like that in the latter days of Grant. We need leadership in a day when we are not sure as to whether we desire again free competition under regulation, or something else. At least one of our greatest corporations, one nominally with one per cent. of all the national wealth invested in it, was beginning to be in a way a coöperative collective ownership machine of production,

[1] See pp. 117, 118, *supra*.

with 150,000 stockholders, many of them being wage-earners in its service.

Reconstitutes the Supreme Court.—To President Taft has come the opportunity to reconstitute the Supreme Court by selecting five of its Justices. Nothing like it came in so brief a period to any other President since Washington. We are getting ready for two great changes in the Court. One is to enlarge it in order that it may more fully reflect existing legal and political opinion, for we have so outgrown the conditions of the Fathers that the Court rewrites the Constitution inevitably. Another change is that the Court has as its present Chief Justice a lawyer reared not in the English common law but in the Louisiana system which is far less experiential and far more Roman, theoretical, logical, rigid, and systematic. Chief Justice White is also a Catholic and a former Confederate, both facts with which we shall have to reckon if he serves long. He was educated at a Catholic University in the District of Columbia and was for a few years Senator from Louisiana.

Tariff Commission.—So unsatisfactory became the tariff situation that in 1910, with partial warrant of law, the President appointed a tariff commission to report just what tariff upon each several item would be fair. This commission made an elaborate report in December, 1911, which proved that a tariff system cannot be equitable, owing to varieties of conditions and to fluctuations of labor and other costs. The plan was foredoomed to failure because in effect it aims to set up a legislature by appointment to do the work of a legislature by popular election; and perforce Congress and people resented it.

InterState Commerce Commission and Court.—Similarly, a most elaborate governmental mechanism, the InterState Commerce Commission, formed in 1887, and strengthened considerably in 1890 by the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, was made yet more difficult and complex by the addition of an InterState Commerce Court, in 1910. In the following year the Supreme Court gave a decision by 8 to 1 (Justice Harlan, dissenting) that a reasonable restraint of trade of whatever sort is not illegal,—whereby the Court again asserted itself as a superlegislature.

All these matters give support to a growing belief that through central government we are presumptuously trying to

interfere with natural laws. There is no one man, and there are no six hundred judges, commissioners, legislators, presidents, secretaries and other chief men, fit and able to manage the business affairs of a hundred million people through four million square miles of land.

International Relations.—In the Spring of 1911, there were rumors that Mexico was about to overthrow her autocratic, though brave and progressive, President Porfirio Diaz, then serving his seventh term. The President of the United States promptly ordered a mobilization of the army upon the Mexican border and called it "a summer maneuver" for the sake of drill, asserting that intervention was wholly out of his contemplation. Diaz fell, and Madero succeeded. It was a skillful piece of diplomacy; and an excellent example of duplicity, for a good purpose. The presence of the American troops,—some fifteen thousand in number,—encouraged the revolutionists, who were especially active in the northern provinces, and helped them promptly to win and to set up a new government on the ruins of a corrupt despotism.

But the finest feature of the situation was the easy poise of the President. A Polk or a Grant would have annexed at least a part of Mexico. A Buchanan or a Cleveland would have kept the troops away from the Mexican boundary, which might have been worse than to fight at once as several Presidents would have been inclined to do, among them Jackson and Roosevelt.

Again, in the Spring of 1912, the President held in readiness for intervention in Mexico a considerable army because of the failure of the new Mexican Government to maintain order.

Whatever other mistakes Taft may have made, he made none in this matter.

Indeed, his course in respect to all international relations has been impressively competent, recalling the best traditions of such men as the three Adamses, Webster, and Seward.

Taft has patiently and wisely pursued a policy of advancing arbitration treaties with European nations and of encouraging the peace movement of the civilized world. This movement is not so much a movement as a resistance and a negation. It resists the primitive instinct of man to appeal from the *status quo,* from talk and bargain, from inefficient and ineffective reason to force and battle. It denies that the issue of war is

usually right, for behind the arbitrament of arms, the traditional resort to bloodshed is a philosophy of fate or of determinism or of materialism or even perhaps of agnosticism that whatever befalls is just as good as whatever else might have befallen. The movement asserts that the parliament of thought as revealed in speech is higher in its justice, is more likely to help evolve the ultimate man of righteousness than the battlefield and that war is wholly and always evil.

Such is the meaning of the Temple of Peace at The Hague.

Extension of the Classified Service.—On January 1, 1912, President Taft issued an order transferring 42,000 more places from the spoils system to the classified service, entry to which depends upon examination. It was an act worthy of Grover Cleveland and done in the same matter-of-fact, quiet manner.

The Family of the President.—In 1886 Taft married Helen Herron of Cincinnati. They have three children, the oldest a son, in 1912 a student in the Harvard Law School, the second a daughter, and the third a son.

Government Economies.—Late in January, the President sent a message to Congress urging the inclusion of all but the highest officers within the classified and permanent service, and showed how millions of dollars might be saved by thousands of economies, large and small, many of which were specifically cited. The political wisdom of such a publication upon the eve of the party conventions is debatable. The persons thereby eliminated prospectively became at once bitter critics; and the general public was slow to appreciate the propositions.

The Forecast.—In so vast a nation, changes come in a day, but nothing has appeared so far indicating a probability that William Howard Taft will not rank high among the Presidents for personal ability and faithfulness in an era of economic change. He may be defeated for reëlection and even for renomination. But he has at least worked for decentralization of industry, if not for decentralization of government. Yet all centralization is makeshift, for a great people consists of individuals needing and enduring but little control, and being themselves highly developed and self-reliant.

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